THE HISTORY OF THE WARRS OF FLANDERS:

WRITTEN in *ITALIAN*

BY THAT

LEARNED and FAMOUS

Cardinal *BENTIVOGLIO*;

ENGLISHED

By the Right Honorable

HENRY

Earl of *MONMOUTH.*

THE

WHOLE WORK.

ILLUSTRATED

With a Map of the Seventeen Provinces, and above Twenty *Figures* of the chief Perſonages mentioned in this HISTORY.

LONDON:

Printed for *D. Newman*, *T. Cockerill*, *S. Heyrick*, *C. Smith*, and *J. Edwin.* M DC LXXVIII.

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Printed for D. Newman, T. Cockerill, J. Hepple, C. Smith, and J. Robins.

1678
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To the Reader of Cardinal Bentivoglio's Guerra di Fiandra, *Tranſlated by the Right Honourable the Earl of* MONMOUTH.

G1042

THere are, who *Languages* a *Myſterie*
Would make, that yet does undiſcover'd lye;
Boaſting the *Spaniard* lofty, *Toſcan* ſweet,
And airy *French* to pace with graceful feet:
Whoſe *well-tun'd Layes*, in Times, than *Ours*, leſs rude,
By ſome, whoſe haſty *Vanity* t'intrude
Into the *Preſs*, having been rendred hoarſe,
Senſe, and Words, maſſacred without remorſe:
They, by *Fantaſtick-prejudice*, condemn
Young *Travellers* infection, root and ſtem
Of all *Tranſlations*; as implicitly,
As ſome damn all who on a *Scaffold* dye.
But 'tis not now, as when *Squire Jeffrey* liv'd;
The Tongue's not cramp'd ere it can be repriev'd:
Words, here, are facil, apt, ſignificant;
Such, as not make the *Senſe* too wide, nor ſcant.
His *Pen* not racks the *Reader*, as ſome do,
But gives us *eaſe*, *pleaſure*, and *profit* too.
He is our Underſtanding's *Optick*; We,
By ſuch a *Perſpective* much clearer ſee.
The *Map* of *Italy*'s choice Language, here,
To *Brittiſh* eyes, in *Landskip* does appear:
Though that the *Garden* of the World we do
Eſteem; *This* is that *Garden's Garden* too:
Where flow'rs, tranſplanted thus, become more fair,
Fragrant, and rarifi'd, by *ſuch* pure air.
Nor is't an eaſie work; ſince two, we ſee,
Joyn'd, with ſucceſs, i'th' *Gallick-Hiſtory*.
But *He*, our *Atlas*, bears *this* weight *alone*;
And now, by th' *Monarch* of *Tranſlators* known.
If *Bentivoglio*, then, the *Peace* not break,
When *Spaniard*, *French*, and *Dutch*, His language ſpeak;
No more can *He* their *dialects* tranſgreſs,
Who gives them both our *ornament* and *dreſs*.
Good, is not ſo *myſteriouſly* good,
To become *leſs* for being *underſtood*.
What-ere *He* did, was ſomething *more* than *well*;
But, *here*, *He* may be ſaid, *Himſelf* t'excel;
Since th' *Authors ſoul*, her ſuperſtition fled,
Is ſo transfus'd in *Him*; ſhould, from the dead,
Pythagoras now riſe again, by this
Alone Hee'd prove his *Metempſychoſis*.
But I preſume no *praiſe*; that fits *Him* beſt,
Who can contain *Himſelf*, and ſuch a *Gueſt*:
Only in honour to *Nobility*,
That with ſome *Train* it ſtill attended be;
Though made, by Moſt, our *Country's ſin* and *ſhame*;
To help ſupport *His ſtate*, not raiſe *His fame*;
In this *Corteggio*, I a Servant, lo!
Crowd, when *His vertues* in *Proceſſion* go.

 R. *BAKER.*

To the Right Honourable the EARL of *MONMOUTH*;

Upon his Tranſlation of BENTIVOGLIO.

MY LORD,

AS their great *Letter* of *Exchange*, by you
The learn'd of Foreign Nations, make a true
Payment to us, of what they wiſely thought
Fit to *Inſtruct*, or for example *Taught*.
You are the *Bank*, where they addreſs their Store;
You give it all to us, yet make it more:
For, ſee how much in knowledge we do thrive
By reading them in You; they do derive
From You ſo much of *Honour* and *Renown*,
Which makes this Nation love them as their own.
Now what ſhall we return, my *Lord*, who are
Improv'd by You, without our *Coſt* or *Care!*
We can but wiſh Your *Fact'ry* to *Increaſe*,
Your *Credit* and *Employment* ne'r to ceaſe;
Learn'd Correſpondents, to advance Your gains
In Honour, the Reward of Learned pains.
That oblig'd *Rome* may to your Name preſent
But as much Fame, as to her Son y'have lent;
And *Belgia* when ſhe on her *Reckoning* looks,
Confeſs her ſelf a *Debtor* in your *Books*.

Your Lordſhips moſt humble Servant,

PH. FROWDE.

THE STATIONER TO THE READER.

IF I ſay this Book hath been often call'd for, you may believe me. For, none who are not un-read or un-travell'd, but know what value is paid to *BENTIVOGLIO*; not only in *Italy*, whoſe Language it wears, and in *Flanders* which gave it Subject; but in *France* and *Spain*, who by worthy *Tranſlations* have made it their own. 'Tis therefore no wonder it hath been ſo oft Re-printed in *French*, but that it came no ſooner into *Engliſh*. And the rather becauſe (to ſpeak the *Author*'s words) *Whoſoever ſhall conſider the ſucceſſes of this War, ſhall find ſo many and ſo illuſtrious Scenes of various accidents, as he ſhall be compell'd to confeſs, that never any afforded more matter of humane inſtruction.* For marvellous it is, that a few Fiſher-men ſhould fight ſo long with a Monarch, ſo vaſt and puiſſant, that the Sun both riſes and ſets in his Dominions, when the opening of a Sluce, or cutting of a Damm would drown them and their Country. How this was done, the *Riſe* and *Growth*, the *Deſign* as well as the *Action*, are skilfully and clearly told you in this Book. If you ask why 'tis call'd The *WARS OF FLANDERS*, which ſtrictly taken, is but one Province of *Seventeen*, (and this Book ſpeaks equally the Wars of all the reſt) our *Author* himſelf Anſwers it, *Page* 2. And if you read but the very firſt Leaf, 'twill furniſh you ſufficiently (without farther Preface) to the whole WORK. It likely may diſpleaſe you to ſee him ſtile the Enemy *Heretick* and *Schiſmatick*; but conſider 'tis the uſual Language of that Church whereof he was a Member; and Writers who are of the contrary Perſuaſion, do beſtow as ſharp Epithetes on Him and his Friends. This I now offer, is an accurate Hiſtory of the *WARS OF FLANDERS*, and how the Author hath perform'd the Work, there needs no Evidence but the word of Learned *Grotius*, who (in a Letter to Monſieur *Du Maurier* the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*) ſays, "*I confeſs my Expectation was*

"*much*

" *much deceiv'd in Cardinal* BENTIVOGLIO; *I could not hope*
" *from the hand of an Enemy to receive ſo impartial a Hiſtory of*
" *our Wars: I doubted not his Ability, for I had formerly ſeen ſome*
" *Diſcourſes of his; but this ſhews he knew what to write, and*
" *wrote what he knew: His Education abroad, and long Reſidence*
" *in* Flanders *enabled him for both; My Countrey will by this be a*
" *Gainer and a Loſer: Our* Courage *and* Diligence *was equal to*
" *theirs, our* Swords *as ſharp; but now* BENTIVOGLIO
" *hath Conquer'd us with his* Pen, *and will wound us to Poſterity.*

Ad

Ad Comitem Monumethenſem de *BENTIVOGLIO* ſuo.

Floribus Angligenis *non hanc tibi necto Corollam,*
Cum ſatis indigenis te probet ipſe Liber;
Per me Roma *ſciet tibi ſe debere, quod* Anglo
Romanus *didicit cultius ore loqui;*
Ultima quæ tellus Aquilas duce Cæſare *vidit,*
Candida Romulidum *te duce ſcripta videt:*
Conſilio ut quondam Patriam nil juveris, eſto,
Sed ſtudio cives ingenioque juvas;
Namque dolis Liber hic inſtructus & arte Batava,
A Belga *nobis ut caveamus, ait;*
Horremus per te civilis dira furoris
Vulnera, diſcordes Flandria *quaſſa monet;*
Hic diſcat Miles *pugnare, orare Senator,*
Qui regnant, leni ſceptra tenere manu:
Macte (Comes) *virtute novâ veſtri ordinis ingens*
Ornamentum, ævi dæliciæque tui;
Dum ſtertunt alii ſomno, vinóque ſepulti,
Nobilis antiquo ſtemmate digna facis.

ED. WALLER.

To the EARL of *MONMOUTH:*

On his Tranſlation of BENTIVOGLIO.

THoſe who could rule the ancient World with eaſe,
Could ſtrictly govern all, yet none diſpleaſe,
Were thoſe who cheriſh'd Learning; not becauſe
It wrapt in rev'renc'd Myſtery the Laws;
Nor that it did the Nobles civilize,
But rather that it made the People wiſe;
Who found by reading Story (where we ſee
What the moſt knowing were, or we ſhould be)
That only *Peace breeds bliſs*, and only they
Breed Peace, who (*wiſely fooliſh*) Pow'r obey.
Of ſuch importance for the Publick good
Is Learning, when by th' People underſtood;
But thoſe who dreſs it in a *foreign Tongue*,
Serve *Meat* in cover'd *Plate* to make them long;
Whilſt thoſe who foreign Learning well *tranſlate*,
Feed weak Minds full, and at the cheapeſt rate.
This you have done, *my Lord!* which only ſhows
How free your Mind in publick Channels flows:
But if that good to which ſome Men are born,
Do leſs then good-acquir'd our Names adorn;
The ceaſleſs nature of your Kindneſs then,
Still ready to inform un-languag'd Men,
Deſerves leſs Praiſe, if rightly underſtood,
Than does your Judgment how to do Men good;
Which none can value at too high a rate,
Judging the *choice* of *Authors* you *tranſlate*.

WILL. D'AVENANT.

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

PART I. BOOK I.

An Introduction to the Hiſtory. The ſituation and Government of the Provinces of Flanders. *The firſt occaſions of the War deſcribed. In what condition* Flanders *was, when the Catholick King,* Philip *the ſecond, reſolved to leave thoſe Countrys, and to return for* Spain. *The general States, upon his departure, are aſſembled together at* Gaunt. *His Speech to the Dutcheſs of* Parma, *(whom he leaves Regent of thoſe Provinces) concerning the manner of Governing them. He departs, and goes his journey by Sea. Divers difficulties which the Dutcheſs meets withal at the beginning of her Government, and eſpecially in matters of Religion. The Nobility begin to ſtir, and cannot tollerate the too great authority of Cardinal* Granville; *but chiefly the Prince of* Orange, *the Counts of* Egmont *and* Horne. *Their grievances or complaints, they write all three joyntly to the King, declaring openly againſt* Granville, *and deſire that he may be removed from* Flanders. *The King will not give way thereunto They are ſcandalized at the refuſal, and together with the reſt of the Nobles, are ſo much the more incenſ'd againſt* Granville: *they come to open contempt of him. And finally, force the King to remove him from thence.*

THE Provinces of *Flanders* in former ages, were divided one from another: almoſt every one of them had its particular Prince; but rather Titular, than eſſential. Afterward, at ſeveral times they by degrees joyned one with another. The male Line failed in many of them, and Women came to ſucceed; by whoſe Marriages the States in thoſe Parts began chiefly to increaſe; and together with the ſtrength of the States, the prerogative of Princes. By this means the houſe of *Burgundy* did at laſt unite thoſe Provinces into one body, and govern'd them with ſuch greatneſs. And afterwards the Houſe of *Auſtria* came to poſſeſs and govern them in greater glory. The firſt of this Family on whom the Inheritance fell, was *Philip* the firſt, Son and Succeſſor to *Mary*, the laſt Princeſs and Heir of the *Burgundian* bloud. From *Philip* who dyed in the flower of his age, came *Charles*, and from *Charles*, *Philip* the ſecond. *Charles* poſſeſt *Flanders* in great quiet; but in the firſt year of *Philips* ſucceſſion, thoſe Provinces grew into ſuch alteration, through divers home-bred, and foreign occaſions, the miſchief creeping in from the very beginning by degrees; now in one ſort, [illegible] another, it at laſt broke forth into open tumults; and from tumults into one of the longeſt, and moſt bitter Wars that hath at any time happened. The events of this war is that which I undertake to deſcribe; which doubtleſſy are the greateſt and moſt famous which can be expos'd to the Worlds Theatre. Forty years of continual troubles have paſt over ſince the firſt tumults, to the beginning of the Truce for twelve years. In which time, as alſo in the times following, wherein the Truce being ended, Arms were reaſſumed: he who ſhall conſider the ſucceſſes of this war, ſhall find ſo many and ſo illuſtrious Scenes of various accidents, as he ſhall be compell'd to confeſs, that never any afforded more copious matter of Humane Inſtructions; or that any war more memorable than this, was ever written of, either in Ancient or Modern Hiſtories. You

ſhall ſee Countries of a ſmall circuit, conteſting with a mighty Monarchy; but you ſhall ſee them ſo favour'd by the Arms of Nature, by the Sea, and Rivers, and by Forces from abroad with all poſſible aſſiſtance, as it is not to be wondred if they have made ſo long oppoſition, and if they continue ſtill to make it more vigorouſly then ever. You, in their unvanquiſh'd Rebllion, ſhall ſee the rage of Hereſie againſt the Church, joyned to the like of Subjects againſt their Prince: And *Flanders* divided within her ſelf, miſerably to conſume by wars, cauſed no leſs by Religion, than by State-Intereſt; and ſet on fire no leſs by internal, then by external Forces. You ſhall ſee bloudy battles, unheard of ſieges, dreadful ſackings, firings, and ruins: Succeſſes at Sea, which will not yield for cruelty, to thoſe by Land; and wars carried with no leſs Atrocety from the neighbouring Seas of *Europe*, into the moſt remote Seas of the *Indies*. Buſineſs will ſometimes appear amidſt Arms: and amidſt the raiging noyſe of war, the natural deſire of peace. Yet ruine, death, and deſtruction, ſhall be ſeen to prevail on all ſides; And it ſhall appear, that on the fatal fields of *Flanders*, as on the Liſts of a publick Combate, almoſt all the Nations of *Europe* have ſtrove, and as it were vied to vent forth their anger and malice, and with their ſword in hand to buckle themſelves ſtill more obſtinately one againſt the other.

But before I enter upon my intended Narration of the mentioned Affairs, it will be requiſite that I take their beginnings from a little further off; ſhewing firſt what the condition of the Provinces of *Flanders* was, and how the Neighboring Countreys were diſpoſed, when the mentioned Commotions began; to the end that their more inward cauſes being known, the future ſucceſſes may be the better underſtood. 'Tis then known to all men, that the Provinces of *Flanders* paſt from the Line of *Burgundy*, into the houſe of *Auſtria*, in manner as hath been already ſaid. The aboveſaid Provinces are ſcituated upon the utmoſt confines of that Northern Continent of *Europe*, which neighbours moſt upon *Germany* and *France*. Some of them therefore go under the name of *Galla Belgica*; but all of them in common under the name of the Low-Countryes of *Germany*; and more commonly by the name of *Flanders*. In time paſt, when they were all joyned together in one body, they made up the number of 17 Provinces, and were divided into the Dukedomes of *Brabant*, *Limburg*, *Lucemburg*, and *Ghelderland*: into the Counties of *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Holland*, *Hennault*, *Zealand*, *Namures* and *Zutfen*: into the Marqueſate of the Holy Empire; and into the Lordſhips of *Frieſland*, *Malines Utricht*, *Overiſſell* and *Groninghen*. To which Countries was added, (but not as of the ſame body) the City of *Cambray*, together with the Territory of *Cambreſis*; and likewiſe the County of *Burgundy*, which is divided from all the reſt by the Interpoſition of *Lorain*. Theſe Provinces were very conformable one to another, in the inſtitution of Laws and Government. The Catholick Religion flouriſht equally in all of them, and the States repreſenting each of them, were generally formed of three ſorts of Perſons: Eccleſiaſticks, the Nobility, and the more common ſort of people. The Eccleſiaſticks were for the moſt part Monaſtical Abbots, who lived in their Monaſteries, which were uſually ſeated in the Country. The Nobles, were of the beſt qualified families, who likewiſe reſided commonly in the Countrey, in their Lordſhips, and Caſtles: and the meaner ſort of people were Tradeſmen, and Artificers living in Cities; Civil and criminal cauſes were within the Cogniſance of the Counſels of each Province, or of the Magiſtracy of every City; according to the quality of the affair, and the Inſtitutions of the Place: and Appeals were generally made to a ſupream Tribunal, which was placed in *Malines*, as the place moſt commodious for the whole Countrey. Three moſt remarkable Councels handled the affairs of Government at Court; The Councel of State, the privy Councel, and the Councel of the Exchequer, or Treaſurie. The firſt was compoſed of ſome of the chiefeſt Lords of the Provinces, and of ſome Churchmen likewiſe and Gowmmen, and things of greateſt conſequence were therein treated of: in the ſecond, which conſiſted wholly of Lawyers, ſuch matters of Juſtice were reſolved on, for which it was neceſſary to have recourſe to the Supream Authority of the Prince. And in the third the Prince his Patrimonial revenues were managed, as alſo all contribution-monies, according to the need of the Provinces, which paſt through the hands of two or three of better account, and of other inferior Officers: and ſometimes the States-General of the whole Countrey were aſſembled: but this was only in the moſt weighty affairs; and wherein neceſſity more than good will brought the Prince to ſee his people united together in one body: leſt they upon ſuch occaſions might be ſo bold as rather to impoſe laws than receive them. This was the former form of the Government of the Provinces of *Flanders* in General. The People there have always enjoyed many Prerogatives and Priviledges in the form of their Government: and therefore have yielded unto their Princes an obedience mixt with libertie. No place can more abound in all things requiſite for humane life, than *Flanders* doth, let wine and ſome others things aſide. The winters



The Emperour Charles the 5th Prince of ye Low-Countreys.

winters there are not too excessive cold, the colds being rather long, than sharp, and transgressing much more in moisture than in hard weather. The Country is full of navigable rivers; and which for the most part, by the flowing of the sea, bring the sea it self, and the commerce thereof very far into the continent: but it is no lesser full of great Towns, Cities, and inhabitants, who for the most part are tall of stature, of a candid aspect, and almost of as candid nature, much given to Traffick, and of a pleasant and tractable nature, when they are not angred; but altogether as contumacious, implacable, and revengefull, when offended.

The possession of these parts, falling (as hath been said) upon *Philip* of *Austria*, he begot his eldest son *Charles* in *Gaunt*, which is the chiefest City of the peculiar Province of *Flanders*: who likewise inherited the Kingdom of *Spain*, and not long after was made Emperour of *Germany*. This *Charles* being born in *Flanders*, past his first childhood there, and was afterwards oftner seen there, than in any other part of his so many Kingdoms and Provinces, in the so frequent voyages which he continually made for the administration of their several governments: together with the inclination which nature had given him towards the Dutch by his being born and bred up amongst them, he alwayes shewed a particular affection to them, by making use of them in his weightiest and most important affairs. Signeur *De Ceures* had the charge and government of him in very Ample manner in his youth; Cardinal *Adrian*, who was afterwards Pope *Adrian* the sixth, together with *Ceures*, govern'd *Spain* in his absence; *Charles De Laonia* governed the

Kingdom of *Naples*, as alſo all the affairs of *Italy*, for a long time, with almoſt an abſolute Authoritie. And in the wars of *Germany*, eſpecially in thoſe which burſt forth often in his time towards the Frontiers of *France*, of all other his Dominions, he made moſt uſe of the *Flanders* forces; upon all which occaſions, the Flemiſh Nobility was alwayes greatly honoured and favored by him, and very great was the demonſtration of love which he ſhewed towards thoſe Countryes; the people whereof forgat not *Charles* his great affability to them in his tender years, and how graciouſly he alwayes heard and received them: and that of a Prince becoming a private man, he would oft times lay aſide his publick Majeſtie, to make his particular affection towards them appear the more; which cauſed them alwayes to ſhew all requiſite obedience, and conſtant devotion toward him, unleſs it were in that little Commotion in *Gaunt*, which was quieted as ſoon as begun. *Flanders* after this injoyed full and perfect felicity as long as he lived; for except it were in the Frontiers toward *France*, which ſometimes ſuffered by taking up of Arms, all the reſt of the Provinces injoyed a flouriſhing Peace, and perpetual tranquilitie, in ſuch ſort, as it cannot be expreſt how much the inhabitants plenty, the frequencie of traffick, the beautie of Cities, and abundancy of all things requiſite therein, were augmented. Particularly you would have thought that *Europe* had choſen *Antwerp* for the Univerſal ſtaple Town of her traffick; in ſo great numbers, and with ſuch varieties of Merchandize, did all forrein Nations, even from the remoteſt regions flock thither: which was much occaſioned through the moderate and wiſe government of two Princeſſes, whoſe names will for ever be celebrated in *Flanders*: which were, the Lady *Margaret*, Aunt to the Emperour, and her ſiſter, the Lady *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*: the one or the other whereof governed all thoſe Provinces almoſt all the while that the Emperour lay in the field. *Charles* (as hath been ſaid) had no ſon but *Philip*, who was born and bred up in *Spain*; and becauſe his Father foreſaw how much the keeping of *Flanders* well united to the reſt of the Monarchie of *Spain* did conduce to his ſons greatneſs, he made *Philip* come thither when he was yet very young, that he might be ſworn his ſucceſſor after his death by the Flemiſh, as he was: *Philip* ſtaid not long in *Flanders* the firſt time: he returned thither a ſecond time, when he was of more mature years, having been in *England* with his wife Queen *Mary*, and then he ſtaid ſome years in *Flanders*, after that his Father the Emperour had reſigned over unto him all his Hereditary States and Dominions; till upon very urgent occaſions it behoved him to return again to *Spain*: whilſt *Philip* aboad amongſt the Flemings, they ſaw the difference of Natures and inclinations between the Father and the ſon; great was both their Pieties and Religion; great their Juſtice, and conſtancy of Mind. But *Philip* was as much given to Peace, as *Charles* was to War: the one was affable and gracious; the other extraordinarily grave, and compoſed: the latter aquainted with all languages, and accommodating himſelf to all Nations; whereas the other as well in his language as in all things elſe, ſeemed as if he knew not how to adapt himſelf to any thing, but the *Spaniſh* Garb. It was therefore generally conceived in *Flanders*, that *Philip*, by reaſon of his Nature and cuſtomes, would ſhew himſelf to be wholly a Spaniard, would retire into *Spain*, and put the government of *Flanders* wholly into the hands of Spaniards, which opinion was confirmed in them by the particular favour which he was alwayes ſeen to bear to Prince *Ruygomes Di Silva*, to the Duke of *Alva*, and to the Conde *De Feria*; and that he communicated all his moſt weighty affairs, and even thoſe which did more properly concern the intereſt of *Flanders*, with them, and with Monſieur *De Granville*, a *Burgonian*, Biſhop *of Arras*. They therefore apprehended an alteration in their government; and ſo much the rather, for that they knew that *Charles* had towards his end begun to be ſomewhat jealous of them, and *Philip* much more afterwards: one of the chief reaſons whereof was the infection of Hereſie which from the neighboring parts began to break forth in *Flanders* whilſt *Charles* did yet live. The chief Hereſies which then reigned in *Germany*, *France*, and *England*, all of them neighboring upon *Flanders*, were three. In *Germany* Lutheriſme, in *France* Calviniſme, and in *England* a compound of both theſe, together with a reſervation of ſome outward ſhew of the Catholick Religion: nor was the number of Anabaptiſts few, which were mingled with the Lutherans in that part of *Flanders* which lies towards *Germany*. This ſo powerful evil required no leſſe powerful remedies; and therefore *Charles* in his time had publiſh'd many ſevere edicts againſt the infected, which were afterwards confirmed by *Philip*: which had occaſioned impriſonments, exiles, confiſcation of goods, and even death it ſelf to many of the inhabitants: and becauſe a particular office was erected to purge the Country of Hereſie, which was in the hands of Church-men, and which did much reſemble the inquiſition; the Flemiſh began even from the beginning to grumble at, and to ſhew open repugnancy to ſuch an office, to the which they gave hateful names, fearing to finde the effects thereof daily more hateful. Neither did the common people apprehend this more

than



Philip the Second King of Spaine, Prince of the Low-countreys.

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Ro. Vaughan sculp.

than did the great ones: Who ſeemed more moved thereat, for that either Authority which govern'd the Provinces was increaſed by protecting the Inhabitants. There were then many in *Flanders* of much eminency for birth, valour and adherency: eſpecially two who did much exceed the reſt: which were, *William* Prince of *Orange*, *Lamoral* Count *Egmont*. *Orange* was born an Heretick in *Germany*; and coming whilſt yet a youth into *Flanders* to inherit large poſſeſſions, both by the Father and Mothers ſide, became a Catholick, and was alwayes very much favoured by the Emperour. And *Egmont* being come wholly of Flemiſh parentage, had alwayes enjoyed the prime places of Honour and eſteem in *Flanders*, eſpecially in Military affairs; great part of the victory which the King got at the memorable battel of St. *Quintain* was attributed to his valour; and to him alone that of *Graveling*, where he commanded the Kings Army.

Theſe two perſonages, though of almoſt clean contrary genius and nature, were in equal authority and favour with the *Flemiſh*. *Orange* was more for Civil than Military affairs; wary, wiſe, a great Maſter of ſpeech, and no leſs good at Counſel; in his faſhion and behaviour popular; and of whom it was queſtionable whether his ability was greater in comprehending buſineſſes, or his warineſs in managing them. Rare qualities all of them when they are level'd at right ends; but do ſtrangely degenerate when they are made uſe of (as they were afterwards by *Orange*) to ambitious and corrupt deſignes. *Egmont* on the contrary was more given to ſtudie war than peace: of a free nature,

candid



William of Nassau
Prince of Orange 5

candid in his thoughts and words; popular likewise, but rather amongst soldiers in the fields, then with the vulgar within walls: in all things else, much apter to win preferment amongst Arms then at Court. The Government of the Provinces, and Military commands, were put into these two mens hands, and some others of the chiefest of the Country. And though till after the Kings departure thence, none of them had any ways opposed the aforesaid Edicts; yet it was well enough known, that many of them were not well pleased with them; and 'twas feared that those would make use thereof who under palliated pretences, had a mind to disquiet the present Government, and introduce some novelties. *Orange* had till then given greatest suspicions thereof; for whilst he was in *France* with *Henry* the second, for one of King *Philip*'s hostages, in performance of the peace which was concluded in *Cambray* between those two Kings, the year 1559, he honesting the occasion thereby, slipt into *Flanders*, and revealed to his adherents a strong plot, which those two Kings had in secret, to extirpate Heresie. And the Nobility of *Flanders* having spent very much in *Charles* his time, and many of the best of them being but in bad condition, therefore the King being to leave *Flanders*, they did in that behalf begin to murmure aloud, and very much to complain; as if by the Kings perpetual future absence, the *Dutch* were to be deprived of those advantages which they had so largely enjoyed in the time of his Father the Emperour. Which might occasion fear that they would endeavour the preservation thereof by exciting of troubles, as having but little hopes to effect it by the way of peace. Nor were many of the Church-men



Margaret Dutchesse of Parma and Piacenza Daughter to Charles the 5th Governesse of the Lowcountreys 9

men much better satisfied than were the people, and the Nobility, by reason of the new erection of Bishopricks, which were instituted in the chiefest Cities of the Country: which being at first procured by *Charles*, for the better Church-government in *Flanders*, and especially to bridle Heresie, were after compleated, and constantly continued by *Philip*. Upon the reason of these new erections, it was necessary to suppress many Abbies and Priories. And the Bishops being to enjoy the first place in Ecclesiastcial Orders, the Abbots held themselves thereby offended, who formerly made the greatest number of Ecclesiasticks, and held the chief place at publick meetings. To these several distastes in all the three Provincial Orders, another was added, with the introducing of foreigners, as *Germans*, and *Spaniards* into the chief Forts, which were formerly Garison'd by people of their own Provinces. These, and many others passions, wherewith the minds of the *Flemish* were agitated, were not unknown to the neighbouring Princes, who watched all occasions which might cause commotions in *Flanders*, and were desirous to propagate them. And though they were not all of a mind in point of Religion, and divers other things, yet they all joyned in one end, which was to see the greatness of the house of *Austria* somewhat lessned, and especially the King of *Spains* power. And none of them were well pleased to see the Provinces of *Flanders* joyned to his Crown: which by reason of their situation, circuit, and opulency, were of such consideration, as when they were only in the hands of the house of *Burgundy*, had oft-times reduced *France* to great straits, and troubled *England*, and the near adjacent parts of *Germany*, more than once.

In *France*, after the unfortunate mischance of *Henry* the second, who was wounded as he was running a Tilt, and died at the celebration of his daughters marriage with the King of *Spain*, and his sisters with the Duke of *Savoy*; *Francis* the second succeeded in the Crown whilst he was yet a child. The Government of the Kingdom was therefore wholly in the hands of his mother *Catharine* of *Medices*: but so distracted, and so full of factions, as it could not be in greater disorder, nor more confused. Heresie, which was first in secret, and fraudulently crept into *France*, shew'd it self now bare-faced. And her Fautorers, hiding their own ambitious ends under the deceitful vizard of conscience, proceeded from their first Court-contentions, to the taking up of arms, to the great detriment of the whole Kingdom. Those hereticks were called *Hugonots*: (nor is it well known from whence that word proceeded) and *Lodovick* of *Burbone*, Prince of *Conde*, made himself the cheif head thereof: he was brother to *Anthony*, King of *Navar*, first Prince of the bloud-royal; and his chief, rather guider than follower, was *Jasper de Coligni*, Admiral of *France*, who proved afterwards the plague of that Kingdom, and at last his own ruine. But the cheif heads who maintained the Catholick cause, were not less suspected, especially those of the house of *Guise*; out of a received opinion, that under the speeious zeal to religion, they hatched divers designs of bringing themselves to greater power. *France*, whilst thus afflicted within her self, could not contribute much to the afflictions of others. Yet it was evidently discerned, that what fomentation from thence could be expected to the troubles of *Flanders*, would never be wanting, especially by the instigation of the *Hugonots*.

In *England*, the succession of that Kingdom, and of *Ireland*, was fallen to *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Henry* the eight; Queen *Mary*, who was wife to *Philip* King of *Spain*, dying without issue. *Mary* was not more resolute in restoring the Catholick faith in *England*, than *Elizabeth* was in resuppressing it, incited thereunto by the example of her mother *Anne* of *Bullen*; and for fear left by the Laws of the Church, her succession might prove illegitemate; from which fear she thought her self secure under the *Dogmata* of Heresie. *Elizabeth* making Religion thus subservient to State-Interest, would have heresie to be received throughout all *England* and *Ireland*. And detesting the Pope, and King of *Spain*, by which two she might be the most indamaged, she likewise endeavoured to prejudce them as much as she could. She therefore persecuted the Church infinitely in *England*, and was very intent upon all those sinister successes, which might befall the King of *Spain*, especially in *Flanders*, where his power was neareſt unto her, and from whence she did most suspect it.

From those parts of *Germany* which lie neareſt to *Flanders*, all those heretick Princes who were there Masters of any States or Dominions, shewed the same dispositions against the Church and the King of *Spain*. But the most considerable amongst them, and of whom the greateſt fear was had, for that he was more amidst the *Austrian* Forces of *Germany* and *Flanders*, was the Prince Elector *Palatine* of *Rhine*. 'Twas therefore much to be feared that from these external parts, all the inward commotions of *Flanders*, were upon all occasions to be fomented. This was the condition of Affairs, and the disposition of minds in *Flanders*, when the King was there, and upon his departure for *Spain*.

I will take my rise in the History which I undertake to write, from hence; after having with as much brevity as I could, acquainted you with what hath already been said. The King was resolved to go for *Spain*; to the which he was moved not only out of his particular natural addiction to those Kingdoms, as out of mature wisdome and advised choice. He saw his vast Empire hardly well setled and consolidated, after the so many voyages and great pains of his Father; and finding it composed of so many members, and so far divided one from another, he thought it expedient, that he should share out and disperce the vigor and spirit of government from out the principal part thereof, as doth the heart in humane bodies; and certainly *Spain* was to be reputed not only the most important, but the fitteſt place for this purpose; there wanted not moreover many other urgent necessities, which required the Kings presence, and particularly those which were occasioned partly by the danger of Heresie which was already begun there, and partly by jealousies of the *Moors* wherewith *Spain* was greatly infected, and with whom it was greatly feared that upon any inteſtine commotion, the neighbouring *Moors* of *Africa* would joyn themselves.

The chiefeſt busineſs which before the Kings departure was taken into consultation, was to whom he should leave the government of *Flanders* in his absence. Two Ladies neerly allyde unto the King by blood were taken into consideration; the one was *Christierna* Dutcheſs of *Loraine*; who was daughter to a sister of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and the other *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Parma*, natural daughter to the same Emperour: great was the contestation, before it was resolved which of the two was to be preferred



Elizabeth Queene of England France & Ireland &c 6

ed. *Chriſtierna* was the elder: very well known in *Flanders* by reaſon of the neighborhood of *Loraine*: praiſed for her great wiſdom, in having worthily diſcharged the Government of that State, remaining ſtill a Widow: and the aforementioned Peace of *Cambray*, which by her means, (ſhe being there preſent in perſon) was managed and concluded, had very much increaſed her reputation. By which ſucceſſe, *Flanders* being freed from the moleſtation of Arms, ſhe won more upon the affection of the Flemings. *Orange*, was chiefly for her, out of the hopes he had of marrying one of her Daughters, and therefore laboured her Election as much as he could; hoping alſo by that marriage, that the government of *Flanders* might be more ſway'd by him than by *Chriſtierna*. But the Kings inclination bore him at laſt to like beſt of *Margaret*, as ſhe who had been born and bred up in *Flanders*; and who having her Husbands Eſtates of *Parma* and *Piacenſa* in midſt the forces of the Dukedom of *Millan* in *Italy*, and reſolving to ſend her only ſon *Alexander* to the Court of *Spain*, promiſed a more abſolute dependency upon the King: where on the contrary the houſe of *Loraine*, by reaſon of the condition of the Country, and more in reſpect of intereſt, was inforced to depend almoſt wholly upon the Crown of *France*; beſides the great deſire which the Flemiſh themſelves ſhewed to have *Chriſtierna* for their Regent, made the King and Spaniſh officers more averſe thereunto: with whom the Biſhop of *Arras* joyned in opinion, who was one of the moſt imployed Miniſters of the Court. Out of theſe reaſons they alſo hindred *Orange* his afore mentioned Marriage; it appearing to them that it was not good to conſent to

ſuch an Alliance, ſo neer to the King himſelf; and that it would make *Crarge* yet greater in *Flanders*, by the near leaning ſtock of *Loraine*, and would cauſe yet more ambitious deſires in him, than thoſe which had more than once been already diſcovered in him: when the King had choſen the Dutcheſſe of *Parma* to be Governeſs of *Flanders*, and cauſed her therefore to come from *Italy*, he thought it fitting before his departure to call a general Aſſembly of all the Provinces, the which he held in *Gaunt*. Where the Deputies being aſſembled together, the King ſpoke firſt ſeverally with every of them apart, concerning the affairs of chiefeſt importance; and at the firſt opening of the Aſſembly, he was preſent himſelf in perſon, together with the new Governeſs, where after a great ſilence, The Biſhop of *Arras* began to ſpeak by the Kings command to the Deputies; and inlarged himſelf into a long diſcourſe, wherein he ſhewed the reaſons which forced the King to go for *Spain*, and afterwards apply'd himſelf to the particular affairs of *Flanders*. He ſaid,

That his Father the Emperour had not for the ſpace of many years ſeen Spain, *and that at laſt he went thither out of no other end but to lay his bones there: that the preſent King had alſo abſented himſelf from thence for many years, not to abondon* Flanders, *which was then expoſed to the greateſt dangers of War, which was very hot between him and the King of* France. *That at laſt the peace of* Cambray *was inſued; his Marriage with the Daughter of* Henry *the ſecond, and all good intelligence and concord between both the parties: that the affairs of* Flanders *being thus ſetled, reaſon did require that he ſhould now turn himſelf to the affairs of* Spain, *to provide in thoſe parts likewiſe for many things, which did neceſſarily require his preſence: that the King hoped either to return quickly himſelf to* Flanders, *or elſe to ſend his ſon thither: that he did acknowledg thoſe Provinces to be his principal Patrimony; and that from thence he had his riſe to the ſucceſſion of ſo many Kingdoms: and that therefore he would vie with his Father in his love to them, and endeavour to exceed him in his favouring of them: that certainly of all goods that could befall them, peace was to be preferred, which occaſioned commerce; commerce traffick; and traffick the plenty which the people of* Flanders *did now enjoy: that in peace likewiſe the Church did moſt flouriſh in her Miniſtry, and the Nobility enjoy their greateſt privileges: that then this quiet was equally advantageous for all the three orders of the Country, and that the King was therein intereſted more than any others, by reaſon of the dangers whereinto the Princes Authority doth uſually fall through the peoples turbulencies: that the King knew nothing could more croſſe this his ſo wiſe and pious object, than Hereſie, the monſter of impiety and Sedition: and that when people did once arm themſelves againſt their God, they did at the ſame time arm themſelves againſt their Princes; of which the neighbouring Countries did afford too horrid and dreadfull examples: that therefore the King, as a Father no leſſe than as a Prince, did exhort the Provinces to preſerve the purity of the ancient Faith; to wit, that faith which their Forefathers had for ſo many Ages profeſſed with ſuch lively zeal, and cauſed to flouriſh with ſuch conſtant Piety. That therefore they ſhould cauſe the Edicts to be obſerved, which were firſt publiſhed by his Father, and afterwards confirmed by him, in this point: that they ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed by falſe words, taking licentiouſneſs for liberty: that they ſhould take example from the evils of others not to fall into the like themſelves: that they ſhould give all due obedience and reſpect to their new Governeſs: and that they ſhould aſſure themſelves, that as the King went from them full of Gratitude for the good ſervice which they had done him and his Father, ſo he would alwayes continue his Fathers and his own affection towards thoſe Provinces: to witneſs which he would preſently cauſe all forreign Garriſons to be drawn from forth their fortreſſes, and take away all unuſual contributions from the Country.*

Theſe were the chief things which the Biſhop of *Arras* uttered in the Kings name. The anſwer which the Provinces did at the preſent give, was full of Humility and obſequiouſneſs, and ſeemed to breathe forth fidelity: but thoſe States ended afterward with very little of ſatisfaction to the King: For touching the things ſpoken of before, wherein the Country ſeemed to be diſtaſted, he ſaw the ill-diſpoſed minds of the Provinces, in the faces of their Deputies, and might judg that affairs would not continue long in the condition he left them. The Flemings were then chiefly vexed through fear of having the Inquiſition introduced amongſt them, and there wanted not ſome who ſpoke their minds therein publickly in the States.

That Flanders *was not accuſtomed to ſuch Rigors: that it was terrified at the very name of the Inquiſition: which would be the cauſe of deſerting traffick and Merchandizing throughout the whole Country. How much better would thoſe evils be remedied by fair means, than by fire and ſword? That every Humane body had its particular Habit: and ſo every Nation its proper and natural conſtitution of temper. That what did become* Spain *and* Italy, *might not be fit for* Flanders; *nor for the other more Northern people of* Europe, *who were more naturally inclined to liberty than thoſe of the Southern parts.*

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By theſe and ſuch like words wherewith they pierced the ears of the King, they would either have had him have annul'd the publiſhed Edicts before his departure, or at leaſt have moderated them. But he would never aſſent thereunto. But gave this remarkable anſwer to one of his Officers, who repreſented unto him the danger which he thereby might run into of loſing either all, or many of thoſe Provinces; and that therefore he might do better ſomewhat to connive, alledging the neighbouring Countries for his example, *That he would rather be without Kingdoms, than enjoy them with Hereſie.*

Moreover the King with no leſſe maturity of judgement, than zeal of Riligion, foreſaw the pernitious conſequences which might from thence ariſe in his other Domminions; for ſuch an example would have encouraged the reſt to have made the like deſires: and would be very dangerous to be admitted of; and no leſſe dangerous to be refuſed. He therefore remained reſolute to have the ſaid Edicts put in execution; as alſo fully to eſtabliſh the new Erection of Biſhopricks. The King in the year 1555, had renewed the Edict which his Father the Emperour had made in the year 1550, wherein by Authority of the Apoſtolick See, the form was ordained which the Inquiſitors were to obſerve in the expunging of Hereſie. The ſubſtance whereof was; That they ſhould proceed with all rigor in ſeeking out thoſe who were infected with Hereſie, and in puniſhing them according to the penalties appointed, the execution whereof was committed to the Magiſtrates of Cities, and to the Provincial Councels, with proviſion to be had that no particular Tribunals ſhould be introduced for the Inquiſition as it was formed: and as for the new Erection of Biſhopricks, it was carried as hath been ſaid in the relation.

The King having ordered matters of Religion thus, declared that for all things elſe, the former ancient Government ſhould be continued: wherein next unto the Regent, the Councel of State ſhould have the firſt place, of which were many of the chief Lords of *Flanders*: and becauſe it was impoſſible to confide in them all, therefore the King gave private inſtructions, that the Regent in matters of greateſt jealouſies and weight, ſhould abridge the number to a few, and intruſt the chief managing thereof in the hands of the Biſhop of *Arras*, whom to this purpoſe he left with her. Before the King went from *Gaunt*, he would make a new creation of Knights of the golden Fleece in the places of many that were dead. And amongſt others, he honoured ſome Lords of that Country with that Order, whoſe Anceſtors had formerly been thereof. Finally, the King preparing for his journey, and being deſirous firſt to give ſuch inſtructions to the Dutcheſſe of *Parma* as were moſt convenient for the adminiſtration of Government; he took her one day aſide, and as it is reported, ſaid thus unto her.

'I could not give you a greater teſtiomony (my beloved Siſter) of my confidence in 'you, than that which I have now depoſited into your hands, in aſſigning over unto you 'the Government of theſe Provinces of *Flanders*. You ſee their ſituation; by how much 'they are the more remote from my other Kingdoms, ſo much the nearer are they to 'be endangered by the States which do inviron them. 'Tis true, *France* is now at peace 'with me, but 'tis not ſo within it ſelf; being full of Factions, and in the hands of a 'child, who inſtead of giving Laws, will be inforc'd to receive them; to boot, that the 'emulation which hath always been, and ever will be between *France* and *Spain*, is too much 'known. The Queen of *England* who oppugns the Religion which I defend, will always 'be plotting to the prejudice of my forces, particularly thoſe of *Flanders*; the ſame ſuſ'pitions, almoſt out of the ſame reaſons, may be had of the Heretick Princes of the 'neighbouring parts of *Germany*. As alſo for the ſpite they bear to ſee the Empire con'tinue ſo long in my blood. Theſe neighbours will ſtill be practiſing ſome innovations 'here. And the moſt dangerous buſineſs which can be apprehended from them, will be 'their infecting the People with Hereſie, and the making the Nobility, upon ſuch oc'caſions, aſpire to Novelties. They will then endeavour to incite the vulgar people to 'madneſs by the poiſon of falſe opinions, and to withdraw them by degrees from liber'ty to licenciouſneſs; from licenciouſneſs to tumults; and from tumults to Rebellion. And 'without doubt the introducing of Hereſie being permitted, theſe other evils will con'ſequently follow. True piety, and falſe cannot cohabit together. And when people be'gin once to differ in their belief, the great ones break forth preſently into Novelties, 'and by a thouſand falſe pretentions turn Religion into Faction. Miſerable effects are 'ſeen hereof in *Germany*, and no leſs miſerable are already begun in *France*. Therefore 'to preſerve *Flanders* from ſo dangerous evils, care muſt be had above all things to keep 'her free from Hereſie, and that only the Catholick Religion be practiſed there; Which 'is the true and ancient Religion; and which alone is profeſt in my other Kingdoms: 'From hence doth my Family acknowledg her chieſeſt greatneſs; and by the means 'thereof, as Subjects are more united within themſelves in the worſhip of the Altars and 'Temples, ſo are they by her means alſo the cloſer tyed together in obedience to their 'Princes and Magiſtrates. So as I by defending and ſuſtaining of her, am by her de-

'fended and ſuſtained. And rendring hereby the greateſt ſervice that I can to God, I do 'conſequently the greateſt advantage I can to my Crown. I go from hence therefore 'reſolved that the Edicts publiſhed againſt the Hereticks in theſe Provinces, be inviolably 'executed; wherein I ſhall deſire you to uſe your greateſt vigilancy, and to be ſure that 'your ſence be the ſame that mine is: which is not, notwithſtanding, that a ſetled Inqui-'ſition be introduced here. I ſee the differences between theſe Provinces, and thoſe which 'have received it. But on the other ſide, the greateſt evils require the ſtrongeſt reme-'dies. To boot, that this doth not oppoſe the priviledges of the Provinces, nor the form 'of That Government which I have promiſed and ſworn unto: Nay, to tollerate the in-'troducing of hereſie, would be the greateſt violation thereof I could commit. Since hi-'thereto it hath wholly been grounded upon the Catholick Religion; and all things would 'be diſturbed, and quite overthrown, if I ſhould give any allowance to the bringing in 'of hereſie. When this danger ſhall be provided for, it will make the remedy the eaſi-'er for the other which may ariſe from ſome peccant humour of ambition in ſome of 'the great ones. Ambition uſually ſeeks out pretences, ſo as courſe muſt be taken that 'no ſuch be found. Of all other pretenſions, that of conſcience is the moſt ſpecious; 'and they who plot moſt againſt the common good, ſeem by this way to be moſt zea-'lous in procuring it. Let this ſo plauſible occaſion be taken away, the other which may 'move the people to commotions will the more eaſily ceaſe. You (my ſiſter) very well 'know the humours of the people of *Flanders*, and how they ought to be govern'd: They 'are born almoſt as much to liberty, as to ſubjection. He that commands muſt intreat; 'and oft-times muſt yield inſtead of obtaining. To ſuch natures 'tis fit to adjuſt a pro-'portionate Government: You muſt therefore uſe all poſſible diligence in maintaining the 'accuſtomed Priviledges and Immunities of the Country, and endeavour to ſatisfie the 'people in them, they being almoſt wholly conſtituted in their power. The common peo-'ple live peaceably when at eaſe and quiet; and 'tis little to be feared, that the ambi-'tious can either diſcompoſe them by hidden fraud, or grow more bold by open conſpiracy 'to move them to commotion: and yet you muſt by all means endeavour to keep the 'Nobility devout to my ſervice, by particularly giving them their due imployments, their 'due reſpects, and by aſſuring them that they ſhall always ſee my father ſupervive in me, 'in favouring and protecting them. Thus it may be hoped that affairs may here ſuc-'ceed happily, and that none of the great ones inſtead of expecting honours and favours 'from me, will provoke me to rigour and ſeverity. But howſoever, it is in you that I 'place my chieſeſt hopes of being well ſerved in theſe Countrys: in you who are ſo 'near unto me; and who in all reſpects, as well your own, as of the Family of *Ferneſe*, 'ought to aſſiſt to all my greatneſs, and eſteem my fortune as yours: For what remains, 'if the preſent calamities of *Europe* ſhall prove ſuch, as it ſhall be impoſſible for humane 'wiſdom to preſerve *Flanders* from ſharing therein? we muſt leave the event to God. 'But I truſt he will never abandon his Religion, which is mine; nor thoſe intereſts 'which out of juſt ends, ſhall be alwayes by me conſtantly imbraced, and with equal 'conſtancy defended.

The Dutcheſs her Anſwer unto the King was:

That ſhe received thoſe his counſels as ſo many oracles of piety and wiſdom; and that ſhe would imploy all her ſtudy in ſeeing them executed; and that for all things elſe his Majeſty might be confident, that both her ſelf, her husband, her ſon, and the whole family of the Ferneſes, *would always place all their fortune in abſolute dependency upon that of the Royal Houſe of* Spain.

The King going afterwards from *Gaunt* to *Fluſhing*, which is the neareſt haven of *Zealand*; he took ſhip, and made for *Spain*; where he proſperouſly arrived about the latter end of *September*, the year 1559: though he was not well landed when a horrible tempeſt aroſe, which rent and ſunk many of his ſhips, almoſt in his own ſight. The King being gone, the Dutcheſs came to *Bruſſels*; and preſently applyed her ſelf wholly to the affairs of Religion, to prevent the enſuing of ſuch novelties, as by reaſon thereof was to be feared in *Flanders*. A buſineſs which was notwithſtanding very difficult; for as nothing could more move the minds of men to novelties, than the introducing of hereſie into the Country; ſo was there no more odious remedy to be found, than that of the Inquiſition, in what manner ſoever it ſhould be handled. The Dutcheſs began quick-ly to find divers difficulties, in thoſe erections of Biſhopricks which were not yet whol-ly eſtabliſhed. The Abbots never gave over their former complaints; but endeavouring to add publick murmurings to their own particular grievances, they exagerated, 'That 'theſe Erections were made contrary to the priviledges of the Provinces, whoſe conſents 'ſhould have been given thereunto. That formerly the Abbots were choſen in the Coun-'try, who did above all things lay to heart the intereſts thereof: whereas henceforward 'Biſhops will be choſen by the Pope, at the King of *Spains* nomination, and will have

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Anthony Perenott Cardinall Granvel
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&c.

'their chief dependency upon the Court of *Rome*, and that of *Spain*. Theſe reaſons prevailed with ſome of the Provinces; and eſpecially with *Brabant*, which is the chief for dignity, and hath moſt priviledges, in ſo much, as divers of her Deputies came to *Bruſſels*, deſiring the Regent that ſhe would conſider better upon this buſineſs. They preſt in particular that no new Biſhoprick might be erected in *Antwerp*; which is a City united to *Brabant*, and which as it was feared, might by this occaſion ſuffer much prejudice in the freedom of her Traffick. In this behalf the Regent thought that for the preſent, ſatisfaction might be given to that Province: in the reſt ſhe would have all things done as was decreed, not without the great indignation of many: who being either too much wedded to their own opinions, or too much inclin'd to novelty, called Biſhops, Spaniſh Inquiſitors, and much vilified the new erection of Biſhopricks. The Regent treated but little of this affair in the Councel of State; for as a buſineſs already reſolved on by the King, ſhe rather thought to ſee it executed, than to hear new opinions concerning it. And if ſhe did at any time treat thereof, it was with the Biſhop of *Arras*, or ſome other confident, and not in full Councel; as ſhe did likewiſe in other matters of greateſt jealouſie. And this was in nature of a ſecret or Cabinet Councel; and ſo did the reſt of the Councellers term it with a great deal of bitterneſs, who were not admitted thereinto. Next to the Regent, the Biſhop of *Arras* had the cheif ſtroke in Government, as hath been ſaid: and to him two of the graveſt Councellors of State did openly adhere; *Viglio*, a Lawyer of great eſteem, and Preſident of the Privy Councel; and Monſieur *de Barlemont*,

Barlemonte, one of the chief of the Treasury; who being both of them absolutely resolv'd to follow the Kings sense, would acknowledg no other interpreter thereof than *Granville*, in whose breast they knew that the King had chiefly deposited them. Jealousies began therefore suddenly to arise amongst the Councel, and from jealousies they soon past to factions, to the great prejudice of Government, and of the Kings affairs. In the new erection of Bishopricks, the King had made *Granville* Archbishop of *Malines*; as well that he might be heightned in preferment, as also that he might not be forced to absent himself from the Regent, whose residency was usually to be at *Brussels*, a Town within the Dioces of *Malines*. He likewise the next year 1560, did by the Kings favour obtain the dignity of Cardinalship; so as with this his increase of honour, his Authority in the Government was much increased. *Antonio Cardinal di Granvilla* (for so he stiled himself) was son to *Nicholas Perenot*, a *Burgundian*, Lord of *Granville*, who had a long time, and with great credit been Secretary to the Emperour *Charles* the fift; whom his son succeeded, as well in his Office, as in his fathers favour, being made Bishop of *Arras*. In this his fathers School, and among the *Arcana* of this Prince, *Antonio* had much better learnt the art of absolute, than of limited command. And passing from *Charles* his service to the like of *Philip*, in equal imployment and power; and being afterwards left in *Flanders* with the Dutches of *Parma*, as Arbitrer and Moderator of her Government, he could hardly be brought to temper that Authority which the Kings passionate affection gave him in *Flanders* in so high a degree; but being haughty and cholerick by nature, and of a mind which tasted more of the Laick, than of the Ecclesiastick; he loved to boast how great his power was with the King, rather than to keep it conceal'd. He loved in contestation and envy to be above all others, in rather an imperious than moderate manner: in all things else he was an able Minister of State without all question; through his knowledg of many tongues, and many sorts of learning, and by the experience of so many things, seen and managed by him, in the service of so memorable Princes. On the other side it was hard for the chief and prime Lords of *Flanders* to tollerate the Cardinals imperious power. *Orange* and *Egmont* were principally moved hereat, as also Count *Horne*, who was Amiral at sea; a man of a fierce and rash nature: he enjoyed the place of Admiralty in *Flanders*, *Orange* the government of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utricht*, together with that of *Burgundy*: and *Egmont* was Governor of the particular Province of *Flanders*, and of *Artois*. These were all three of the Councel of State; and being scandalized to see the continuance of the Cabinet Councel, wherein many things of weighty consequences were resolved on without their acquaintance, they murmured publickly against it in all places.

Was this the reward of their past services and merits, That the King, under the name of the Dutches of Parma, *should make their Country be governed, and domineered over by the Cardinal* Granville? *that the King did only confide in him, and made him only acquainted with his true intentions. That they were allow'd votes in the Councel, and places in the Provinces, only as* insignificant *cyphers: that the weightiest affairs were treated of in secret, unknown to the Councel; and that such Laws were given to* Flanders *as best liked a stranger, an imperious* Burgundian, *and one of so mean a beginning, as those of his Family would not disdain to serve them. That the Inquisition was chiefly the off spring of his advice: That he would thus bring in the Government of* Spain *and* Italy *into* Flanders, *and rule over their consciences as well as their persons. That the estates, the honours, nay even the lives of the most innocent amongst them, was expos'd to the rigour of the Inquisition, upon any appearance, any report, how false, how slight soever it was. Let* Spain *and* Italy *groan under such a burden; the one so infected with the* Moors, *and the other so often overrun by* Barbarians. *That* Flanders *enjoyed the purity of its antient blood, and the moderation of its peculiar Laws. That it had been Catholick thus long of its own will, and would of its own will be so still.*

Orange and the other two spread abroad these complaints, not only amongst the Nobility, but amongst the common people; and 'tis not to be believed what a commotion they begot: For nothing more plausible could be touched upon, than what had respect to the preservation of their publick priviledges, nor more odious than the Inquisition, by which they expected to be every day more and more prejudiced. They forbear not to shew their senses herein to the Regent her self; who set upon on the one side by the absolute decrees of *Spain*, and on the other by the apprehension of so bitter complaints, could do no otherwise but give good answers, and hopes of timely remedy. That which she was most troubled at, was to hear that *Orange* in particular had propounded a Convocation of the States General, as the most efficacious remedy which could be apply'd to the evils in matter of Religion, which at that time threatned *Flanders*. He seemed to propound this out of his zeal to the love of Religion, and of the King: saying, that

thus,

thus, by the opinion of all the Provinces, the Inquiſition might either be moderated, or wholly ſuppreſt, by the applying of ſome more moderate remedy in the lieu thereof, and which uſed with the ſatisfaction of the Country, might be altogether as efficatcious.

This advice could not be well received from *Orange*, who was eſteemed mighty ambitious, and very crafty. It was rather thought he endeavoured thus anticipately to work upon the peoples inclination, to the end that he might afterwards rule this publick Aſſembly when it ſhould be called, according to his own will, and his own ends. The Cardinal did not let ſlip theſe occaſions to raiſe the greater jealouſies in the King, of *Orange* and the reſt, who ſeemed to contrary him, and detracted from his actions. He ſhew'd,

'How much ſuch a Convocation would redound to the Kings prejudice; and how that 'the meeting of this Aſſembly was to be ſhun'd at all times as much as might be: which 'coming the better to the knowledg of its power by its union, endeavoured alwayes to 'leſſen the Princes Authority and Prerogative, and to advance their own. But of how 'much greater danger would this be at ſuch a conjuncture of time, wherein ſuch a pre-'paration of peccant humours were ſeen to be in all the degrees of the Country? So as 'it was to be held for certain that the Abbots would appear diſcontented; the meaner 'ſort of Gentry would be wrought upon by the greater; and the common People, of 'themſelves alwayes greedy of Noveltie, would much more willingly obey their Deputies, 'and the reſt of eſteem amongſt them of their own degree, than the King, the Regent, or 'any other of the Kings Officers. That therefore the King was not by any means to 'admit of ſuch an Aſſembly; but that it was better to temporize a while between rigor 'and mildneſs, till this inclination to Innovation ſhould paſs over; it being to be hoped 'for, that *Orange* and the reſt would never endeavour it, when they ſhould ſee no hopes 'of bringing it to paſs.

The King would have been averſe enough of himſelf from the calling together of the Sates General, for theſe very reaſons which he himſelf very well knew: but the Letters which *Granville* writ to him to this purpoſe, and which were fully confirmed by the Regent, made him be much more ſo: inſomuch as the King perſiſting ſtill more and more in the execution of the Edicts againſt the Hereticks, renewed his orders therein often to the Regent; and by her the Commiſſions were reiterated in the Provinces: where the Magiſtrates meeting every day with greater difficulties in making them be executed, ſaw their Authority often times ſcorned and derided. Hereſie had by this time got too deep rooting; and ſtill corrupting the peoples minds more and more by the alluring liberty of her Tenets, had begun to beget in them an open alienation from their due obedience to the Laws and Magiſtrates: contrary to publick orders, papers were every day given abroad by the Hereticks, firſt in writing, and then in Print; firſt in matters only which concern'd conſcience; and then in ſuch things as might make the people the more fear to ſee the form of Government altered to their prejudice. On the part of *France*, theſe pernitious practiſes were managed in the *Walloon* Provinces; under which name are comprehended thoſe Provinces of *Flanders*, which are ſituated towards *France*; and wherein there is great commerce of wine, and other Merchandize, with that Kingdom; and eſpecially in the two Cities of *Tourney*, and *Valenciennes*. On the ſide of *Germany*, the Hereticks ſought in like manner to infect *Friezland*, and all that neighbouring part of the low Countryes within land. But the infection was greater, which was brought both by Sea and Land, into *Holland* and *Zealand*, by means of the commerce which the Cities in the *Baltick* Sea had in *Amſterdam*, and in *Middleburg*; both of them places of great Traffick; as alſo in many other Towns of great Traffick both in *Holland* and *Zealand*. Great was the commerce of Traffickers likewiſe into both thoſe Provinces from *England*. And Heretical Miniſters entring on all ſides, under the profeſſion of Merchants, they accompanied their ſeditious writings with words of mouth yet more ſeditious; reproving the Flemiſh in particular of their too much remiſneſs and patience in bearing the yoke, which as they ſaid, was laid upon their conſciences.

That Germany *had thrown it off long ago, as they might ſee, even againſt the forces of* Charles *the fifth: that* England *had now happily done the like: and that the reformed Religion made daily great advancements in* France; *that they might then know their own power, and how to make uſe of it; that the Regent was a woman, wholly in their power:* Granville *a forreiner, and hated by the Country: that the King was far off, and but little hopes of his ever returning thither in perſon: and to what end did the diſarmed Authority of the Princes ſerve, but to make them be the more ſcorned and leſs feared.*

The Heretical Miniſters, and other Sectaries, fill'd the ears and minds of the Flemiſh in all parts with theſe conceits, which infuſed impiety and ſedition. And in concourſe of time it was diſcovered, that *Orange* held intelligence particularly with the Admiral of *France*: which was contracted upon the occaſion he had of entertaining himſelf in *France* with

with *Henry* the ſecond, as one of the hoſtages of *Philip* the ſecond, in performance of the Peace of *Cambray*, as hath been ſaid: and time produced at laſt, that *Orange* took for his fourth and laſt wife a daughter of the ſame Admirals (though the Admiral was then dead) as ſhall be ſaid in its due place. This correſpondency in endeavours between them, was eaſily contracted by the ſimilitude of their natures. For both of them were very Ambitious and Fraudulent, and did equally endeavour to advance their own private Fortunes by the publick ruine. In fine, in the opinion of all men, the one was born to be the cauſe of *France's* misfortunes, the other of the calamities of *Flanders*. And both of them by their Tragical ends, ſhewed what puniſhment is reſerved for thoſe, who loſing all reſpects either of Laws or God, do erect their Altars here below to Ambition and Impiety, and to the Idols of other immoderate and blind Humane paſſions. The Kingdom of *France* was at this time involved in great troubles. *Francis* the ſecond was dead: whom *Charles* the ninth ſucceded at the age of ten years. *Catharine* of *Medicis*, mother to them both, retained the chief place in Government in *Charles* his time, as well as ſhe had done in his Brothers, who not able to ſuſtain it but by intreaty, or prayer, was forced to divide it ſometimes with the Catholicks, ſometime with the *Hugonots*. But ſtill in danger of the Ambitious deſigns, which was diſcovered in both the parties. *France* was never agitated with greater Tempeſts than theſe. And the *Hugonot* faction prevailing then continually more in the Kingdom, 'tis no wonder if the Hereticks took the boldneſs to foment the evils from that part, which were a hatching in *Flanders*; expecting that by the conjuncture of times and actions, they might come from ſecret fomenting, to open conſpiracy. Amidſt ſo many forreign Plots, and home difficulties, the Regent was every day more ſtraitned in matter of Religion. On the one ſide *Granville* encouraged her to have the Edicts executed; on the other ſide, the Governours of the Provinces deſired to be excuſed; ſhewing that the number of the Hereticks was already too great; and that in many places the Magiſtrates themſelves were infected with Hereſie. It was known notwithſtanding that they did not what they might have done; were it either that they deſired ſome diſhonour and ſhame might redound to *Granville* from ſuch diſorders, who had the chief ſtroke in Government; or that the King ſhould be the more inforced to ſeek for remedy therein by their means. They continued their former complaints againſt *Granville*; and diſcovered an apparent hatred and ſcorn of him: as was particularly ſeen upon a certain occaſion, which was thus. At a certain Feaſt there happened to be Count *Egmont*, the Marqueſs of *Berghen*, (who was likewiſe one of the chief Lords of the Country, and Governour of *Henault*) and Min Here *Montigni*, Brother to Count *Horne*, and divers other of their Friends: where a diſcourſe hapned (were it caſual, or premeditated) upon the Liveries which the Pages and foot-men of the Lords and other chiefeſt of the Court wore: here one of them riſing up, ſaid, Why do we not all make one and the ſame Livery, which by the ſimilitude of our colours, may denote the conformity of our minds? the propoſition was inſtantly entertained, and lots being drawn who ſhould chuſe the Livery, it fell to *Egmont*; and he choſe one with a certain Odde Coule, or Hood, which in *Flanders* are Buffoon-like, and are wont to be put on the heads of Fools or Jeſters. Many others of the Court preſently took up this livery; and for divers dayes there was no other work done in *Bruſſels*. The *Dutcheſſe* was hereat offended; for none doubted but that this habit had relation to the Cardinals habit; and that this was done in deriſion of him. Beſides, it might be feared, that this might be the beginning of a league and union within the Court, which might ſoon ſpread abroad throughout the whole Country, to the great prejudice of the King. The Dutcheſs laid this particularly to *Egmonts* charge; who excuſed it, as a thing which had hapned caſually, and without any intention of offending the Cardinal, and much leſſe of proving prejudicial to the Kings ſervice. They then left off their Coule, and took for their common impreſſa, a bundle of Arrows tied up together; which was an impreſſa often uſed in the Kings coyn. They would have it believed that this ſignified their joynt union in the Kings ſervice; but it was generally thought, that this union had for its end, the defence of publick Priviledges, and their conformable ſenſe to conſpire unanimouſly againſt *Granville*: nor was it long ere this conſpiracy broke forth: for people growing ſtill more haughty, not being able to deſcend to diſſimulation, as neither was the Cardinal on his behalf, nor yet to any ſort of going leſſe, eſpecially when he ſaw himſelf ſo bitterly provoked; *Orange*, *Egmont*, and *Horn*, together with divers others, combined joyntly together againſt him; and theſe three in particular, reſolved to write a letter to the King; which was to this purpoſe.

How great our devotions have alwayes been to your Majeſties ſervice in theſe parts, we believe may be ſufficiently known both by our ſo faithful ſervice to your Majeſtie, and by thoſe favours which in lieu thereof you have upon all occaſions ſo graciouſly confer'd upon each of us. The ſame zeal makes us now perhaps tranſgreſs the rules of reverence, that we may not

prove

prove faulty in thoſe of Loyalty. Your Majeſty, at your departure left the Government of theſe Provinces in the Dutcheſs of Parma; *ſo vertuous a Princeſs, as ſhe hath fully anſwered the applauſe of ſo worthy a choice. It was believed that the Biſhop of* Arras, *now Cardinal, was left with her to Counſel and adviſe her, and not to be Arbitrer in the Government: but he arrogating unto himſelf the abſolute diſpoſal of all things, and leaving nothing of Regent to the Dutcheſs but the bare name, diſpoſes of theſe Provinces, as he would do of his own private houſe. He orders all things as he pleaſes; he handles and reſolves the weightieſt affairs without the knowledg of the Councel of State: and doth this ſo imperiouſly, and with ſuch contempt of all the Nobility, as the manner is more odious than the thing it ſelf. If the evils which inſue from hence did terminate in our own private offences, we might at laſt reſolve to bear with them; but experience doth ſhew daily more and more, that this maladie is already become Publick; and that not ſtopping in the Court, it paſſes, and breakes out into the Provinces, with great danger that the effects will ſtill prove worſe. As long as Cardinal* Granville *ſhall tarry in* Flanders, *ſo long will theſe inconviencies and diſorders increaſe; and becauſe they may perchance in time arrive at ſuch a height, that it will be too late to remove him from hence; we therefore have thought it ſuited with the obligation which the Candor of our fidelitie, and the condition of our ſeveral imployments impoſeth upon us, to acquaint your Majeſty with what hath been ſaid, to the end that you may apply ſuch remedy as is neceſſary: which certainly conſiſts in taking the Cardinal from* Flanders, *as ſoon as may be. Thoſe who are here of the beſt ſort, and generally all the reſt of the Provinces are of our opinion; in which let not the Cardinal boaſt himſelf that he deſires the integrity of the Catholick Religion more than we; for we may rather juſtly glory, that had it not been for us, the worſhip thereof would have been much more damnified, and diminiſhed in them.*

This was written in March 1563: thoſe who writ it, knew very well, that the Cardinal did nothing but by expreſs command from the King; and therefore to blame him, was through him to blame the King; the King forbore from anſwering them ſome months; and at laſt, with ſuch brevity and ſtate as became a King, he anſwered thus:

'I am glad that I can attribute all that which you all three have written touching 'Cardinal *Granville*, to the particular reſpect of my ſervice. I commend your zeal, and 'am well pleaſed with your carriage. But on the other ſide, I do not uſe for any 'complaint made by others, to bereave any Officer of mine of his imployment, without 'hearing him ſpeak for himſelf. Moreover, it is fitting in buſineſs of this nature, to 'come from generalities to particular offences; to the end that if the accuſed cannot 'juſtifie himſelf, his puniſhment may be the greater. But becauſe theſe are things which 'peradventure may better be diſcuſt by word of mouth, than by Letters, I think it beſt 'that ſome one of you to that purpoſe, come over to me in perſon; with aſſurance of 'being here by me, both willingly heard, and honourably received.

Orange and the reſt were much confuſed at this Letter: they were not therewithal ſatisfied; but being the more incenſed, they writ again unto the King, a longer Letter, complaining that after ſo long a delay, the King ſeemed ſo much to ſlight their endeavours. They ſaid in that Letter,

That they had not ſubſcribed themſelves in their former Letter, as the Cardinals accuſers, but as his Majeſties Councellors; and therefore bound to acquaint him with that which they conceiv'd made moſt for his ſervice; that they did not deſire the Cardinal ſhould be any wayes damnified by their means; but did rather wiſh him all encreaſe of honour and employment, ſo as it were out of Flanders; *that his being in* Flanders *did too much harm, for the reaſons they had formerly alledged, which were ſo known, as they needed no further proof. For what remained, they did not put ſo great a value upon the Cardinal, as that any of them ſhould come into* Spain *upon his ſcore. And ſince the King did ſo little believe them, they deſired he would be pleaſed that from hence-forward they might forbear coming to the Councel, where they could no longer either ſerve the King, or do themſelves any honour.*

This in ſhort was the contents of the ſecond Letter. To which the King after a while did alſo anſwer to this effect:

'That he would conſider of what was beſt to be done concerning the Cardinals per-'ſon; that in the mean time they ſhould continue to do him that ſervice which he ex-'pected at their hands, as well in the Councel, as in their other employments, for 'which they were to expect from him by way of recompence, all grateful acknowledg-'ment.

There paſt little leſs than a whole year in the intercourſe of theſe Letters; but *Orange*, *Egmont*, and the reſt, continuing ſtill their boldneſs, and knowing that there was little good to be hoped for from *Spain*, touching *Granvilles* removal from *Flanders*, they re-

olved to put ſuch ſcorn upon him, and ſo to deſpiſe him, as he himſelf ſhould deſire to be gone from thence. They treated little with him: they ſeldom appeared in Councel; they termed ſuch as adhered therein to him, Cardinaliſts: in their meetings, at their feaſts, and almoſt at all times and in all places, they mockt and laught at him: and there wanted not ſome of them who affirmed that the ſpeedieſt way of ridding *Flanders* of him, was to rid him of his life. So as the Cardinal being reduced to thoſe terms, as that he could not ſerve the King to any purpoſe in thoſe parts, nor ſtay there with ſafety to his own life, he himſelf at laſt craved leave of the King to be gone. Who agitated a while between the neceſſity of granting his requeſt, and his own dignity in denying it, reſolved at laſt to give way thereunto, ſince he could now put on no more vigorous reſolutions. But this injury remained notwithſtanding, deeply imprinted in his mind: which he reſented upon other occaſions, as we ſhall hereafter ſee. The Cardinal *Granville* went then from *Flanders* in *March* 1564, and going firſt into *Burgundy* about his Domeſtical affairs, he was afterwards ſent for by the King with much honour into *Spain*: and was there made one of the Councel of State, and employed in the moſt weighty affairs of that Crown. Many were of opinion, that the Dutcheſs was not much troubled to ſee *Granville* gone, as one who was upheld by the King in too great Authority with her. Yet the truer opinion was, that ſhe was very much grieved to be deprived of ſuch a man, and one ſo well experienced in the affairs of *Flanders*. To boot, that upon any ſiniſter events, (whereof many, and of very great moment did enſue after his departure) he might have juſtified her behaviour therein unto the King, and have eaſily freed her from thoſe accuſations, which were afterwards often laid unto her charge in the Councel in *Spain*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK II.

The Nobility are glad at Granvilles *departure. Factions in the Councel of State. The Regent makes the Councel of* Trent *be received.* Orange *oppoſeth it, and ſhews an unquiet diſpoſition. Hereſie begins to appear bare-faced in* Flanders. *The Inquiſition ſtill more deteſted.* Egmont *goes into* Spain. *The King perſiſts in his former reſolutions.* Egmont *returns, and the Country is diſtaſted. The Nobility do in particular conſpire, and form an Inſtrument in writing, by the name of Compromiſe or Covenant. Some of the chiefeſt meet together at* Breda, *a Town belonging to the Prince of* Orange. *the Dutcheſs grows very apprehenſive of theſe proceedings. She underſtands that a great many of the Nobility meet together, to preſent her with a Petition; ſhe endeavours, but in vain, to hinder the delivery of it.* Brederodes *Oration to his other companions. They preſent the Petition. They take upon them the name of Beggers. And why they do ſo. The Marqueſs of* Berghen *and Mouſieur* Montigni *are ſent into* Spain, *and are not admitted of by the King. The practiſe and profeſſion of hereſie is publickly introduced in* Flanders. *The Nobilities audaciouſneſs in defending it. Their aſſembling together at* Getrinburg. *The Regent endeavours to ſatisfie them. And is at laſt inforced to take away all manner of Inquiſition. The hereticks and unquiet people are hereby encouraged. From whence they come to open violencies againſt the Churches.*

WHEN Cardinal *Granville* was gone from *Flanders*, occaſion of complaining did rather ceaſe in *Orange* and the reſt, than a will to complain. And therefore ſeeming very well ſatisfied with this the Kings reſolution, they made publick demonſtrations of joy in all places,

That now the Country was freed of him who ſought to oppreſs it; The Councel left in its former dignity; and the Regent her ſelf in the reputation which was due to her in the Government. That Flanders *had not a ſorer enemy than the Cardinal; nor the Nobility a more malicious interpreter of their actions to the King. Let him in Gods name, carry that pride and arrogancy which he ſo much joy'd in, ſomewhere elſe; and let him exalt himſelf, where either the obſcurity of his birth was not known, or where the ſplendor of others was leſs eſteemed of.*

They accompanied the Cardinals departure with theſe words, full of bitterneſs; not yet ſatisfied with the hatred, which whilſt preſent, they had in ſo many ſorts ſhewed towards him. On the other ſide they ſhewed all due obſervancy to the Regent; they never intermitted coming to Councel; neither did they let ſlip any other occaſion by which they might reconcile her unto them, and make her their Protector unto the King. We told you before, that the preſident *Vighlio*, and *Barlemont* did ſide with the Cardinal in all things in Councel; he had made the King have a great good opinion of

their fidelity and wiſdom, as alſo the Councel of *Spain*; ſo as when the Cardinal was gone, 'twas ſoon ſeen that the Regent confided more in theſe two in many reſolutions, than in all the reſt: and 'twas eaſily to be judged that ſhe had Orders from the King ſo to do; and that though the Cardinal was gone, yet his Councels remained ſtill in *Flanders*. *Vighlio* was an upright man, and no leſs pious in matters of Religion, than faithful in what concern'd the King. And where it was needful, he oppoſed the ambition and arrogancy of great ones, more than became his condition. Succeeding then in *Granvilles* ſenſe, and encouraged thereunto by the eſteem which was put upon his Councels in *Spain*, he forbore not to put the Regent in mind,

'How little cauſe ſhe had to confide in thoſe great ones, who having no other end 'than to make themſelves every day greater, could not receive any addition to their 'Authority, which tended not to the diminution of the Regal power. That their eyes 'were now upon *France*; and by the example of thoſe Contrivers of Innovations, they 'would introduce the ſame troubles and Faction into *Flanders*, that they might after-'wards fall out within themſelves, who ſhould have the greateſt ſhare of their Country, 'when they had made a prey of her. Was there any doubt but that all thoſe pretences 'were falſe which they had made uſe of to remove *Granville* from *Flanders*? How had 'he offended them, unleſs they would eſteem themſelves injured by the ſervice which he 'had done the King, and which with ſuch loyalty and conſtancy of mind he had alwayes 'endeavoured to ſuſtain, not regarding their complaint nor threats? That ſhe would be 'ſoon enough aware of this: For one pretence failing, they would raiſe up others; and 'after having warred againſt the Kings Miniſters of State, they would bare-faced make 'war againſt the King himſelf. This ſpeech of *Vighlio's* proved a propheſie, ſo fully was it confirmed by the event. Nor was it long ere (juſt as he had foretold) *Orange* and the reſt took up new occaſion of Complaints, in a buſineſs which fell out in Religion; and 'twas this: The Councel of *Trent* was already publiſhed; and the controverſies which aroſe between the Catholicks and Hereticks in matter of religion, were truly determined by that divine Oracle of the Church: neither had her ſacred Decree brought forth leſs fruit, in the reformation of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Of all the Princes of Chriſtendom, the King of *Spain* had made it his particular care to ſee that Councel take good effect: He was alwayes fixed and unalterable, not to admit of any Religion in his Kingdoms and States but the Catholick profeſſion: For his Territories being ſo far divided one from another, he thought that they might be the eaſilier united in their obedience under him, by the bond of an uniform zeal which might equally faſten them in their devotion to the Church. The Councel then being ended, the King was reſolved for what concerned his Temporal authority, that the Decrees made thereby, ſhould be obſerved in all his Dominions; and therefore had given ſuch orders as were needful, to the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, to make them be received and obſerved in *Flanders*. She propounded this to the Councel of State; and there wanted not ſome who preſently oppoſed the propoſition. They ſaid,

That the Councel was in many things contrary to the priviledges of the Provinces; that the Eccleſiaſtical government would be too much advantaged thereby? that the ſtrictneſs thereof did too much oppoſe the liberty of the Country; and finally, that the Catholick Princes of Germany *had refuſed to receive it, and that the ſame contrarieties appeared to be in* France.

Orange in particular moved theſe oppoſitions: Though it was not true that any evil could redound to the Country by the Councel, as experience did afterwards ſhew. But he did this, that he might not let ſlip any occaſion in ſhewing himſelf zealous in whatſoever might appear ſerviceable for the common good of the *Flemiſh*: To boot, that it was already begun to be feared, that theſe might proceed from ſome corruption in him in point of religion. He had already two years ago married for his ſecond wife, *Anne*, daughter to *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*, a woman who was an Heretick: whereat the King was diſpleaſed, neither was the Regent nor Cardinal *Granville* well pleaſed thereat. Bringing her afterwards to *Bruſſels*, he gave way that not only ſhe, but many others under colour of belonging to her family, had the exerciſe of the Lutheran religion uſed amongſt them: So as the ceremonies thereof were obſerved in his houſe; and his wife had with her ſome of her ſiſters of the ſame ſect. *Orange* excuſed himſelf herein, by reaſon of the Liberty of Conſcience which was enjoyed in *Germany*, and by his being obliged ſo to do in his conditions of marriage. But whatſoever his opinion was then in point of Religion, it was thought that he had willingly allied himſelf to a Prince ſo conſiderable in *Germany*, to the end that he might get new adherences in thoſe parts, and thereby advantage or aggrandiſe himſelf upon any occaſion that might ariſe. He therefore under the aboveſaid pretences did oppoſe the introducing of the Councel more than any other: And being egg'd on by Ambition, and by thoſe ends which till then he had

ſecretly

ſecretly hatched in his mind; not ſtopping at thoſe difficulties which aroſe of Religion, he propounded many other things by way of Reformation of Government, under pretence of doing the King ſervice, and of the good which would thereby redound unto the Country. 'He propoſed how that it would be much better, to have all things diſcuſt 'in the Councel of State, which were now ſeverally agitated in the Cabinet Councel, 'and Councel of the Treaſurie. He ſaid that many times the reſults of one Councel did 'thwart thoſe of another; and that by reaſon of the affairs being thus divided, they were 'uſually ſpun out into much length, and great difficulties were occaſioned. That the 'Councel of State being eſteemed the chiefeſt, it was as the eye of the Prince, which 'watched over the common good of his people: that therefore the Government there-'of ſhould be anſwerable to its dignity. That notwithſtanding, not to ingroſſe the whole 'body of buſineſs into the Councel of State, a deputation might be made to ſome inferi-'or officers who might diſcuſs the more common affairs of the two other Councels; and 'that theſe of greateſt importance being thus united, and choice being made of the ableſt 'Councellors to manage them, the expedition would doubtleſly be much greater, and 'the profit much more. But all the reſt of the Councel did not agree in this; *Egmont*, though he was oft times drawn to be of *Orange* his opinion, through the advantage which the ſubtile craft of the one had over the others more open nature, ſeemed not to approve of theſe innovations touching the Councels; and in the buſineſs of the Councel of *Trent*, he ſaid, that it was a buſineſs to be maturely conſidered upon; to the end that the Kings orders therein might be effected, ſo as might give beſt ſatisfaction to the Provinces. But *Veghlio* was for the preſent putting of the Councel in Execution. He ſaid;

That the Church in all ages had endeavoured by the way of Councels to preſerve the Purity of her decrees, and the order of her Diſcipline. And how ſalutiferous would ſuch a remedy be in particular, to thoſe evils wherewith Flanders *did at the preſent labour, and which did ſtill threaten her more and more? that if the Councel could any wiſe prejudice the priviledges of the Provinces, ſome accommodation might be thought upon therein. For what remain'd, that the King ought to boaſt and glory himſelf that he had not either the ſame neceſſity or the ſame ſenſe as others Princes had; and that this was ſo conformable to that of the Church, and grounded upon ſuch reaſons which did ſo well unite Wiſdom and Piety together.* Neither did he leſs oppoſe *Orange* his propoſition touching the reducing the three aboveſaid Councels into one. Shewing,

That, that would be not to order, but to confound buſineſſes; which being ſo many and of ſuch weight and labour, might be ſufficiently digeſted in each of them apart: that the introducing of thoſe Councels did not then begin, but that the uſe of them was ſo Ancient, as ſhewed the good uſe which was made of them, and that therefore they ought not by any means to be altered.

And afterward inciting the Regent in ſecret againſt *Orange* his Ambition; he ſhewed how dangerous ſuch propoſitions were to the Kingly Authority, and that of her ſelf. For that the Councel of State would by this means not only be ſuperior to her Regency, but to the power of the very King. *Barlemont* agreed in opinion with the Preſident *Vighlio*; and theſe two, together with ſome others which they had drawn over to ſide with them, were by *Orange* and the reſt who had ſhewed themſelves enemies to *Granville*, called by the name of *Cardinaliſts*. Complaining ſtill that his ſenſe remained in *Flanders*, though not his perſon: the complaints and contrarieties of opinions in the Councel did therefore daily increaſe more and more; and from theſe diſorders the like in the Provinces, where the Edicts meet with ſuch difficulties as ſome of meaner ſort of Hereticks had lately had the boldneſs in *Antwerp* to hinder the publick execution of juſtice which was to have been done upon one of them, by burning him in the place appointed thereunto. The like had not long before happened in *Valenciennes*, and the like was feared in *Tourney*: to this was added, that in theſe other Cities the Hereticks were heard to ſing their vulgar Pſalms by night publickly in the ſtreets. And did by day exerciſe their ſects in more than one place; and did almoſt threaten that they would have the free uſe thereof by force, ſince they could not have it by Toleration. The Dutcheſs wavered between the inconveniencies and dangers which might inſue as well by putting the Edicts rigorouſly into execution, as by giving any the leaſt connivency to the exerciſe of Hereſie; ſhe therefore thought good that Count *Egmont* ſhould go to *Spain*, to inform the King fully by word of mouth, of all the occurrences of *Flanders*, and in particular of thoſe which had reſpect to Religion: and to ſolicite ſuch remedies as ſhould be thought moſt fit. The Councel approved of his going, and becauſe in the informations which were given unto the Count of thoſe things which he was to ſay in *Spain*, *Orange* thought that the diſorders which were already riſen, and which yet were to be feared in matter of Hereſie, were not repreſented in ſuch manner as they ought to be: he ſpake as much concern'd, or very feelingly therein; reflecting particularly upon

Vighlio

Vigilio, who was to draw up the inſtructions.

This (ſaith he) *is either to deceive our ſelves, or the King, in going about to leſſen thoſe evils, which are ſo much greater than the Relation which is now to be ſent, makes them appear to be. Let the King know the bottom of our evils, to the end that he may the better know them, and know how the more eaſily to cure them. Let us not conceal how great the number of hereticks are here almoſt in all our Provinces; how little they do already value his Edicts: how ſmall reſpect they bear to the Magiſtrates: and let it be concluded that* Flanders *is not not capable of the Inquiſition. And that to continue it, would be a greater evil than the malady it ſelf. I am* (ſaith he) *a good Catholick, and a faithful ſervant of the Kings; but the deplorable examples of* Germany *and* France, *do ſufficiently prove, that conſcience will be perſwaded, not enforced; and that hereſie ought not to be ſuddenly allay'd by violence, ſince it may ſooner be quenched by fair means.*

He put them in mind again of the difficulties of the Councel of *Trent*, and what he had propounded touching the reforming of the Councels; upon which things he did much expatiate himſelf with great fervency. But the Dutcheſs taking Count *Egmont* aſide, and giving him ſuch inſtructions as ſhe thought fitteſt, diſpatched him away for *Spain*, loading him with all thoſe hopes which might more encourage him to the journey, and wiſhing him for his own ſake to carry the buſineſs ſo as might ſtand beſt with the Kings liking. The King was well pleaſed that *Egmont* ſhould come to *Spain*, for he was thought to be of a good and eaſie nature, when left to himſelf; and therefore the King hoped to draw him the eaſilier over to his ſenſe, by favours which he would confer upon him. And that having won him, who was ſo much beloved in *Flanders*, the others would either forbear novelties, or being divided amongſt themſelves, they ſhould not at leaſt ſo eaſily put them in execution. *Egmont* began his journey in the beginning of the year 1565; and when he came to *Madrid*, he was honourably received by the King and the whole Court. But as for the buſineſs, he prevailed no more than the former endeavours, and complaints about the Inquiſition and Edicts againſt the hereticks had done. The King was firmly ſetled in his firſt reſolution, of not giving any the leaſt toleration at all therein: and he, as alſo the whole Council of *Spain*, was as firmly perſwaded, that the miſchiefs of *Flanders* in matter of *Religion*, were chiefly occaſioned by the weakneſs and connivency of thoſe who were truſted with ſeeing the Edicts executed. The King was diſpleaſed with the Propoſition touching the alteration of the Councils, as arguments of ambitious and unquiet thoughts, which ſtill appeared more in *Orange*: Nor would have any thing ſpoken thereof, nor liſten to any oppoſition that was made to the Council of *Trent*. He notwithſtanding diſpatcht *Egmont* away in a very benign manner, and full of hopes that he himſef would follow ſpeedily after him, to *Flanders* in perſon, to ſee the better to the affairs of thoſe Provinces. He did him many favours, and in particular preſented him 50000 *Dutch* Guelders, and promiſed he would help to ſee his daughters (of which *Egmont* had good ſtore) well married, and would take him, and all the intereſts of his Family, into his particular protection. He therefore returned very well ſatisfied from the Court of *Spain*, magnifying the Kings goodneſs, his inclination to the *Flemiſh*, the favours which he would in particular confer upon the Nobility; and his firm reſolution of coming quickly into *Flanders*. But *Orange* ſeeming little to believe what *Egmont* ſaid, and not truſting to the hope which he ſo amplified, told him upon a time in the preſence of many, by way of ſharp deriſion,

'That he little underſtood the *Spaniards* cunning: and that ſuffering himſelf to be de-
'luded by his own private advantages, he had not well minded the Countrys publick welfare,
'whilſt he was in *Spain*.

At the ſame time that *Egmont* returned from *Spain*, *Alexander Ferneſe*, Prince of *Parma*, and ſon to the Regent, came likewiſe from thence to *Flanders*, by reaſon of the marriage which was concluded between him and the Princeſs *Mary*, of the bloud Royal of *Portugal*. This *Alexander* is he who afterward governed the Low-Countryes ſo gallantly for the ſpace of 15 years, and who by his ſo many illuſtrious actions will enrich this our Hiſtory, if God permit me life to finiſh it, and a ſutable vigor to my pen. His marriage was to be celebrated in *Flanders*; and not long after *Peter Erneſtus*, Count *Mansfield*, Governor of *Lucemberg*, went by ſea, together with his wife, and a noble and numerous attendance, to conduct his Bride from thoſe parts. And after a dangerous voyage, having at laſt brought her ſafely to *Bruſſels*, the marriage was there ſolemnized; to the which *Octavius Ferneſe*, Duke of *Parma*, came from *Italy* to honour his ſon, and ſee the Regent his wife. But to return to the affairs treated of by *Egmont* in *Spain*. The Regent thought it fit, that he himſelf ſhould make relation thereof in the Council of State. The Councils opinion was, that a conference ſhould be had in *Bruſſels* of ſome Biſhops, ſome Divines, and ſome Lawyers, who might conſider how the Kings Orders in the aforeſaid matters of Religion, and wherein was ſo much difficulty, might beſt be effected. To

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this end the Regent ſent for the Biſhops of *Arras*, of *Ipri*, and *Namures*, who had intervened at the Council of *Trent*: For *Ravanſtain*, and *Janſene*, two of the moſt eſteemed Divines which were then in thoſe parts; for two Preſidents of the Provincial Councils of *Flanders* and *Utricht*, together with two Councellors, the one of *Malines*, the other of *Brabant*. The reſult of this conference was,

That all poſſible care ſhould be taken to preſerve the true Catholick Doctrine throughout the whole Country: That to this purpoſe Seminaries ſhould be inſtituted in Cities, and Schools in other places: That it ſhould be endeavoured to reduce all Eccleſiaſtical perſons to convenient reformation. And laſtly, it was judged, that touching the puniſhment of Hereticks, the neceſſity of the times were ſuch, as for the preſent, moderation was rather to be therein uſed than rigor; ſince it was ſeen that the ſeverity of puniſhment made them ſtill more mad and pertinacious.

The Dutcheſs acquainted the King at large with all that was treated of in this Conference, by her Letters of *July* the ſame year 1565; to the which the King anſwered, by a new and expreſs Declaration,

That he would not forgo what he had already ſo maturely reſolved on concerning his Edicts, the Inquiſition, the Council of Trent, *and other things which concerned Religion. He ſeemed much incenſt, that diſpute ſhould be ſtill had about ſuch buſineſſes: and complain'd that the diſorder of the Heretick was occaſioned and increaſed through the too great connivency of his Officers: that if any of them were wanting either in courage, or in zeal, the Regent ſhould change them, and ſhould conſider that the dangers were not ſo great which might be feared from obſerving the Edicts, and from ſo moderate a uſe of the Inquiſition; but that thoſe were much greater, which would inſue by leaving Hereſie, and the wild boldneſs of her Sectaries, without ſuch a curb. He concluded, that the Regent could do him no ſuch acceptable ſervice, as to endeavour by all poſſible means, the maintaining of* Flanders *united in the Catholick Religion to his other Kingdoms: ſince by rendring this obedience to the Church, the obedience which was due to his Crown was the better eſtabliſhed; and that when theſe two obediences ſhould be given, he would in all things elſe, not only make* Flanders *enjoy her Priviledges, but confer greater immunities upon her.*

Theſe ſo ſtrict commands being come to the Regent from *Spain*, ſhe ſuddenly publiſhed a new Edict againſt the Hereticks in confirmation of the former; ſhe writ herein apart to the Councils and Governours of the Provinces. And deputed certain perſons in each of them, who were to give her an account every three months of the ſtate of Religion, and particularly what obſervance was given to the Council of *Trent*.

It was generally hoped for in *Flanders*, upon *Egmonts* going into *Spain*, that the King would have moderated the Edicts, and wholly have ſuppreſſed the Inquiſition. So as when the contrary appear'd, and that the Rigor of the Edicts was rather augmented, and that the Inquiſition, ſo much abhor'd by them, was eſtabliſht, it cannot be ſaid how much the People were hereat inraged: and what preparations were ſuddenly made for the enſuing troubles. The fear of the Inquiſition being by this new Edict every were diffuſed, and the terror thereof being by many artificiouſly encreaſed, ſome grew ſo bold as to give a beginning to a confederacy, whereby they ſtraitly bound themſelves to keep united together, and to oppoſe the Inquiſition as much as they might. *Philip Marniſſius*, Lord of Saint *Aldigonde*, was reputed the Author hereof; who was a bold man, and who already began to think ill of the Catholick Religion, and was alwayes afterwards one of the moſt obſtinate of the Heretick Faction. A particular writing was then drawn up in teſtimony of the aforeſaid confederacy, and was ſuddenly ſubſcribed by many. And in reſpect of the reciprocal promiſes therein contained, it was called a Compromiſe, or Covenant; the Tenor whereof was,

That the King being abuſed by ſome few under the pretence of Religion, who were more ſway'd by Ambition, Avarice, and infidelity, than by honeſty, Juſtice, or the love of their Country, would by all means eſtabliſh the Spaniſh Inquiſition in Flanders; *the uſe whereof, and the calamities which would thereupon inſue, were ſet down in the moſt fearful terms that could be deviſed: 'twas added, that the care of remedying ſuch evils belonged chiefly to the Nobility; and that the beſt remedy was, to joyn all in one ſenſe, not to admit of the Inquiſition in any manner whatſoever: 'twas ſhew'd how that the ſame intention would be had throughout the whole Country, ſuch a novelty being too pernitious to all men, and did too much repugne the publick Priviledges: and in fine, the confederates engaged themſelves each to other by oath, never to ſeperate, or ever to admit of the uſe of the Inquiſition, under whatſoever name either of viſitation, commiſſion, or Edict. They call'd God to be a witneſs of their good intentions, and invoked the Holy Ghoſt to bring their endeavours to a happy end.* This is the Compromiſe, Arbitrement, or Covenant, which is ſo much written of by all thoſe who relate the affairs of *Flanders*. And this proved the firſt ſparkle of that fire, which did afterwards involve, and doth to this day keep all the Provinces in ſo long and ſo bitter a War. The

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above-ſaid writing was ſuddenly diſperſt abroad throughout the whole Country: for the firſt confederates dividing themſelves into the chiefeſt Cities, and all poſſible diligence and cunning to make it be ſubſcribed by as many as they could; They gave out, that all this was done by the Agreement of the perſons of beſt quality in all the Provinces; and that *Orange*, *Egmont*, the Marqueſs of *Berghen*, and divers others of the prime nobility, were the Authors thereof, though they would not yet diſcover themſelves; to the end they might do it hereafter to better purpoſe. Thus Catholicks and Hereticks, the Nobles and Citizens, Merchants and Plebeians, and many others of all conditions and profeſſions, ſtrive who ſhall run faſteſt to ſubcribe. The confederacy is praiſed, and received with great applauſe: In their cups, and at their meat, great is the order which is ſeen in every one to embrace it. Down goes the Inquiſition; the miſchief ſuddenly grows greater; the venom whereof doth not now creep in, but like a Torrent, overflows and enlargeth it ſelf every where. Of ſuch force is enraged fear with mortals; and ſo much more doth apprehended evil ſometimes prevail, than the evil would do were it effected. At the ſame time many ſeditious papers were ſcattered about in the Cities of greateſt commerce, whereby the apprehenſion of the Inquiſition was endeavoured to be augmented in the people. In particular it was given out, that *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, was ſhortly to come with ſome *Alman* Forces to aſſiſt the Inquiſitors. That to this purpoſe requiſite moneys were ſent from *Spain*; that the King ſent ſome Inquiſitors of the very *Spaniſh* Nation; and that already one *Alonzo del Canto* was in *Flanders* to this purpoſe. The Dutcheſs of *Parma* was exceedingly troubled to ſee this: and the more ſhe thought, the leſs ſhe knew what to do: ſhe ſaw how needful rigor would be; but on the other ſide, ſhe could not exerciſe it without Forces.

What good was there to be expected from new Orders, or new Edicts, unleſs it were to make her authority the leſs eſteemed, and the peoples boldneſs the greater in deſpiſing her?

The Regent being thus perplext, and not knowing yet for certain whether the chiefeſt Lords had joyned in ſubſcribing to this Compromiſe, or no; ſhe was advertiſed that many of them were at the preſent with *Orange* in *Breda*, a Town of his, together with divers other perſonages of quality. The appearing occaſion of their meeting was to viſit the Count of *Zwarſenburg*, who had married a ſiſter of the Prince of *Orange*, and who was then upon his departure for *Germany*. With *Orange*, was Count *Lodovick* (a brother of his) a man of a turbulent and fierce Nature. And the reſt of that Aſſembly were the Counts of *Horn*, of *Hoſtrate*, and of *Mega*, together with ſome others of thoſe Noblemen who had ſubſcribed the Compromiſe; and becauſe *Egmont* and the Marqueſs of *Berghen* could not be then at *Breda*, they were invited together with all the above-named, the next day to ſupper in *Hoſtrate*, by the Count thereof. The aforeſaid confederacy was much diſcuſt, firſt in *Breda*, and then in *Hoſtrate*.

At theſe meetings, *Orange*, after many complaints made againſt the Cardinaliſts, ſhewed how that it appertained to them, who were of the Council of State, and of the Order of the Golden Fleece, to endeavour the remedy of thoſe evils which ſo important a commotion did threaten the Country withall. He ſaid that the number of the confederates was great in all parts; and eſpecially thoſe of the better ſort: and he ſpake as if he approv'd of the confederacy, and as if he endeavoured to draw the reſt of his Collegues joyntly to embrace it. *Lodovick*, the Brother of *Orange*, agreed with him in all things, who was commonly thought to be an heretick, and was not diſpleaſed to be thought ſo; either for that he really was ſo, and valued not thoſe puniſhments which he did not fear; or for that *Orange* himſelf, for ſome hidden ends of his own, was well enough content to ſee his brother in favour and Authority with the Hereticks. *Egmont* and *Berghen*, did not ſeem to adhere to *Orange* his ſenſe, and the Count of *Mega* much leſs, who ſpake boldly againſt the raſhneſs of the confederats. *Horn* and *Hoſtrat*, ſuſpended their opinions, and thus the meeting ended, no particular reſolution being taken. The Regent was ſoon acquainted with all theſe proceedings, by *Egmont* and *Mega*; who together with *Barlemont* and *Vighlio*, encouraged her, and adviſeth her to raiſe ſome ſoldiers; to which neceſſity ſeemed likewiſe to perſwade her, for that it was every day heard how the number of confederates did every where encreaſe, as alſo the ſuſpition that they would atempt ſome novelty: nor did they any longer delay it. When a great number of them were gathered together, they drew near to *Bruſſels*, and deſired the Regent that ſhe would permit them to propund a buſineſs of importance unto her, and which (as they ſaid) concerned the Kings ſervice, as well as their own good. The Council differed in their opinions, what they ought to adviſe the Regent to do in this point; the manner of the requeſt being conſidered, ſome thought that it was abſolutely to be rejected; others, that only two or three might be permitted to preſent it; but that opinion which was judged moſt neceſſary, prevailed at laſt, ſince without forces there was nothing elſe to be done: and it was, That all of them ſhould be ſuffered to enter *Bruſſels*, which

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was coloured over by ſuch of the Council, as were not diſpleaſed at the action, by alledging that it was not fitting to exaſperate ſo many of the Nobility, by rejecting their Petition before it was heard: and that they came but to make ſupplication, the moſt deſirable tribute of ſubmiſſion which Princes could receive from their people. Of all the Confederates who had as yet ſubſcribed, *Henry* of *Brederode*, Lord of *Viana*, a Town in *Holland*, in which Province he was highly eſteemed for the nobility of his blood, and for which he was likewiſe much reſpected throughout the whole Country, was acknowledged as the Head, or Chieftain: he was an heretick without diſſimulation, of a troubleſome ſpirit, and more troubleſome tongue, deſirous of novelties, and the more incited thereunto at this time, by his being choſen to be the head of ſo many Nobles. He therefore came into *Bruſſels*, accompanied with a numerous multitude in the beginning of *April* 1566; and was ſoon followed by Count *Lodovick*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, who was likewiſe well accompanied: as alſo by the Counts of *Collemburg* and *Treſemberg*. Theſe four were then the chief men: their rendezvous at *Bruſſels* was in the Count *Colemburgs* houſe; and therefore that houſe was afterwards razed to the ground in Duke *Alva's* time, in memory of ſo execrable an acceſs: their numbers are diverſly ſpoken of. Some will have them to be 200, others 300, others 500. The Dutcheſs had this mean while endeavoured by many expedients, and did ſtill endeavour to bring the Confederates to ſome more wholeſome Councils. They therefore fearing leſt ſome of their aſſociates might be thereby wrought upon, *Brederode* deſirous to appear in the firſt place, and to enjoy it rather by the boldneſs of his advice, than by the prerogative of perſons, ſpoke thus at one of their meetings.

We have already overcome the worſt (generous Aſſociates) in being met together in ſo great a union from parts ſo far diſtant, and now in ſo great numbers here. The Regent cannot any ways deny our juſt deſires. But ſay ſhe ſhould do ſo, and ſtill perſiſts in the rigor of the Edicts, and the bitterneſs of the Inquiſition, according to the Orders received from Spain; *which of us is it that in ſuch a caſe will not expoſe his eſtate, and life, to free himſelf, his wife, his children, and his Country, from ſuch ſore yokes? Let us firſt conſider the condition of our evils, and then we ſhall ſee the great juſtice of our deſires. And to ſay truth, what more unhappy condition can be imagined, than to have ſo many miſerable creatures under pretence of Hereſie, be continually hurried away into the Inquiſition, and there either to die by torments, or be ſtarved in priſons; or being out of priſon, to be deprived of their Country, and Eſtates, and oft-times of life it ſelf, by the horrible puniſhment of Fire? What greater unhappineſs can there be, than to ſee innocency it ſelf ſo often ſuffer ſhipwrack in that ſea of Calumnies, for every Argument, for every accuſation? Than to ſee ſecrecy baniſht from our houſes, friendſhip from out Cities, and to have all Human rights, and rights of Nature violated amongſt ſuch as are neareſt ally'd in blood, and in belief? Theſe are the Fruits, theſe the publick and private advantages which the Inquiſition brings with it: And yet we muſt eſteem the preſent puniſhments but ſlight, and tolerable, in reſpect of thoſe which threaten us in the future. Which of you is unacquainted with the coming of* Don Alonzo del Canto, *that new Spaniſh Inquiſitor, into theſe parts? and who knows not what cruel and fearful Orders he brings with him? New priſons are already begun to be built, new Irons to be made, and other new ingenious inventions of torments, by this Architects deſigning. Gaſtly looks, ſad complaints, and in ſum, the height of calamity will reign in all places. And this ſort of ſlavery will then appear to us the harder, by how much we have been accuſtomed by the Laws of our former government, to the ſweets of Liberty. Kings themſelves (I know not whether you know ſo much or no) are liable to the laws of the Inquiſition, and oft times to the great ſcorn of their Scepters, they muſt undergo the ſeverity of puniſhment, and the ſuperiority of Empire and Command; and what more unworthy caſe can be heard of, than what befel our Emperour of ever happy memory? it affrights me to relate it. That vanquiſher of* Europe, *that Monarch of new worlds; and he who was more glorious in renouncing them, than in poſſeſſing them; He, even he was compell'd by Orders from the Inquiſitors, to do publick penance at his return to* Spain, *for having only treated with the* Lutheran *Hereticks in the wars which he made in* Germany. *Now if the dangers of the Inquiſition be ſo many, and if they be ſo hard to be evaded, by the very* Spaniards, *and* Italians, *who are by nature ſo wary and cautious, how ſhall we* Flemings *ever hope to eſcape the leaſt part thereof? We, I ſay, whoſe hearts are with ſuch candor ſeen in our words? who lead ſo free, and ſo converſable a life? and who hold it for a particular law of faithful friendſhip, not to keep any thing concealed one from another, in our balls, feaſtings, cups, and invitations? ſhall it be imputed as a fault of misbelief, if ſome vain or idle word eſcape our mouths, amidſt thoſe our innocent delights? The Inquiſition will quickly take from us theſe our contentments: we ſhall be turn'd Savages in our demeanours; and our Cities will at laſt be turned into Deſarts, and our Provinces into ſolitary habitations: Commerce will be every where deſtroyed, which conſiſts almoſt wholly in contracting with ſuch foraigners as profeſs liberty of conſcience, and who cannot tolerate ſo much as the very name of the Inqui-*

ſtion, *Thus* Flanders *will in a ſhort time fall into ruine and deſolation: And thus our formerly ſo fortunate Provinces, will for the future be an example of infinite miſery to all* Europe: *whereas formerly their felicity hath been envied by all other Countrys. By the condition of the evils which I have laid before you, the juſtice of the deſires which we ſhall make to eſcape them, will conſequently and clearly appear. The King hath ſworn to maintain our Country in her liberties: and what doth more deſtroy them, than doth the Inquiſition? The King himſelf hath for a long time been vers'd here in our cuſtomes: and what is more averſe unto them than theſe his Edicts? The* Spainards *will introduce the government of* Spain *into* Flanders; *and what greater repugnancy can there be, than what is ſeen between their Laws and ours? between Subjection which is there adored, and by all men here ſo much deteſted? Kings cannot extend their Laws beyond thoſe of Nature; nay, they are as liable to her Laws, as are their ſubjects. Let* Spain *and* Italy *then retain and enjoy their Inquiſition as they ſhall like beſt, which* Flanders *never received but by force, and from which force ſhe is now reſolved to free her ſelf. But ſince 'tis underſtood that thoſe amongſt our ſelves who partake of the Regents moſt ſecret reſolutions, and which are now more* Spaniſh *than* Flemiſh, *endeavour to divide us, who is he amongſt us that will be found faulty in his faith? Faulty in things ſo ſolemnly promis'd and ſworn unto? And finally, faulty to himſelf, to his blood, to his honour, and to the ſo great danger of his Country? God forbid that any ſuch thing ſhould be dream'd of, much leſs ſeen. Let each of us conſider the ancient glory of our* Belgicks, *and eſteem it a good fortune to be able upon this occaſion to imitate them. The worth of progenitors ought to paſs together with their blood, into thoſe that deſcend from them. And the latter ought not only to approve themſelves heirs, but even competitors of the former in all glorious actions. I then (moſt noble companions) will with all humility lay before the Regent the bitterneſs of the evils which we undergo, and the neceſſity of our being relieved therein. But if all due reſpect, obſequy, and reaſon, ſhall prevail no more in theſe our preſent inſtances, than they have formerly done, what is to be done in ſuch a caſe, but to have recourſe to ſuch remedies as deſperation uſeth to ſuggeſt againſt violence. I ſhall for my part be as ready to hazard my life then, as I am willing now to uſe my tongue upon this preſent occaſion. We ſhall find the greateſt in the Council will agree with our ſenſe, and we ſhall find their aſſent to what we ſhall ſay, by their ſilence. And doubtleſly all the reſt of the Country will cheerfully take up ſuch reſolutions, as we ſhall do in ſuch a caſe which cannot be more juſt, ſince they cannot be more neceſſary.*

Thus did *Brederode* inflame himſelf and the reſt againſt the Inquiſition. But it was not true (as hath been often ſaid) that the King intended to introduce a ſetled form of the uſe thereof in *Flanders*. Nor was it true that *Alanſon del Canto*, was come to *Bruſſels* for any thing concerning the Inquiſition: and what he affirmed touching the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, was a meer fable raſhly invented and believed: who accompanying ſo many of his other excellent vertues with his innate piety, did never treat with the Hereticks in *Germany*, but when neceſſitated ſo to do, that he might rid them of their Frenzy, either by the uſual way of their Diets, or by force of Arms in Battel: and for what concerns the Inquiſition, though the Country were generally averſe thereunto, yet there were many of try'd wiſdom and zeal, who found in themſelves, and deſired to inform others by the benefit which *Spain* and *Italy* had received thereby, how advantageous it would be to *Flanders* to have a moderate form thereof introduced in her Provinces. They ſaid,

That ſome little ſeeming of ſeverity being taken away from the Inquiſition, there were not in effect any Tribunals leſs ſevere than hers. Nor whereby more juſt and Candid ways the preſervation of the Honour and Purity of Faith was endeavoured. That the name and uſe thereof was to be eſteemed moſt ſacred. That if ſo many temporal Laws were made in favour of Princes, to keep humane Majeſty unharmed; ſpiritual Laws were much more to be approved of in favour of the Church; by puniſhing thoſe who were guilty of high treaſon againſt the Majeſty of God. That by defending this right which doth ſo ſtraitly bind the faithful to God, and to Religion; the other which was due from the people to Princes and their States, was the better ſuſtained. That if Calumny were to give way to truth, as of right it ſhould, it muſt neceſſarily be confeſt that nothing maintained States in the ſincerity of Faith more than the Inquiſition; whereas when Hereſie once enters, Factions ſuddenly ariſe; from Factions civil Wars: and from civil Wars, Forreign ones inevitably. So as Princes together with their People were ſuddenly ſeen to fall into deplorable miſeries and calamities: what unhappy proof may Flanders *fear herein through her own evils? and to how many fatal ſcenes may* Germany *and* France *ſerve for a Theatre by reaſon hereof? nor were the ſame revolutions and misfortunes leſs in others Countries, where Hereſie hath been able to open the Schools of error, and diſplay the Enſigns of Rebellion. That* Spain *and* Italy *this mean while did enjoy a perfect and happy peace; which was the ſupream good of mortals, and that which diſtinguiſheth men from beaſts, and Cities from wilderneſſes: nor was it to be doubted but that the one and the other of them did acknowledg ſo happy a condition much more from the Catholick unity, and from the ſtrong holds of the Inquiſition which defend that unity, than from the immence walls of Mountains, and vaſt ditches of Seas, wherewith they are by nature invironed and united.*

Thus

Thus ſpoke they in favour of the Inquiſition who knew more than did the reſt; and endeavoured thus to make it be better thought of. The Regent had made uſe of the ſame reaſons, to the ſame end, and at the ſame time, as ſhe had often done formerly, to moderate the violence and the heat of the Nobles who were gathered together in *Bruſſels*: but their hearts were too much hardned, and their ears deaf, to admit of any reaſon in this affair. *Brederodes* diſcourſe was received with a favourable Hum. And in ſign that they would perſiſt more than ever in the reſolutions which they had taken, they all cry'd aloud, He is a Traytor that proves faulty; hereupon they were admitted to Audience before the Regent; who would have the Council of State, and thoſe Knights of the golden Fleece who were then in *Bruſſels*, to be preſent. The Confederats marcht two by two, from *Colembergs* houſe, as it were in Proceſſion, to the Regents Palace; and the two laſt were Count *Lodovick* and *Brederode*. *Brederode* ſpoke in the name of them all; he firſt complained of the bad relations which he ſaid were made of them to the King and the Regent: and then added; that the Publick neceſſity of the Country, and their own private urgencies, had inforced them to this kind of Action. He then preſented a petition to the Regent in the name of them all; and deſired it might be read. The contents were theſe.

'That infinitely praiſe-worthy was the zeal which firſt moved the Emperour, and then the 'King, to provide for the dangers which might befal the Catholick Religion in *Flanders*. That 'time, which is an uncorupt Councellor, had made it clearly ſeen, that the remedies which 'were applied did aggravate the evil; that the King continuing notwithſtanding in the ſame 'mind, and greater diſorders daily accruing, The Nobility could no longer contain from re'preſenting the danger. That they were chiefly concern'd therein both by their prerogative 'of place, and by their ſtrict bond of Allegiance: but that their intereſt did likewiſe particu'larly oblige them thereunto: ſince the Nobles living for the moſt part in the Country, and en'joying there their Eſtates, they ſhould be the firſt who ſhould be ſenſible of the inconvenien'cies, and experience the injuries, when the alterations which were to be feared, ſhould hap'pen: that therefore it was neceſſary to take away the occaſions, which would inevitably pro'duce ſo bad effects. That the Inquiſition, and Edicts had put the whole Country into com'motion, and in all places had turn'd patience into deſperation. That therefore they did hum'bly beſeech her Highneſs, that ſhe would as ſoon as might be, advertiſe the King of the pre'miſes by expreſs Meſſengers, and that in the mean time ſhe would ſuſpend the uſe of the for'mer, and moderate the rigor of the others: that the neceſſity wherein Religion was concern'ed might better be ſeen into by the States-General, and a remedy found out, by their uniform 'conſent. That if in fine it ſhould appear that theſe their humble and devout intreaties ſhould 'no wayes avail, they cal'd God to witneſs, the King, her Highneſs her ſelf, and all the Gen'tlemen that were there preſent, that they had done what upon ſuch an occaſion belonged to 'good and faithful ſubjects: and that the fault was not to be put upon their account, if perad'venture any evil ſhould enſue.

The Regents anſwer was,

That ſhe would conſider better upon what they had propounded.

And ſhe afterwards anſwered them in writing thus,

That ſhe would ſend ſome perſonages of purpoſe into Spain, *according to their deſire. That States were grounded upon Laws: And that ſuch Laws were moſt neceſſary, as did moſt favour Religion. That notwithſtanding, for their better ſatisfaction, proceedings ſhould be had therein, with all poſſible moderation: That in the mean time, the Kings mind was to be known; to whom, as ſhe would do them all the good offices ſhe could, ſo ſhe promiſed unto her ſelf, that they would ſhun all manner of novelty in this behalf.*

The Confederates would gladly have received a more direct anſwer to their requeſt of having the Inquiſition ſuſpended, and the rigor of the Edicts moderated. And ſome there were who interpreted the words of the Regents anſwer to the worſt ſenſe. So as they ſeemed not only not to be ſatisfied therewith; but did in bitter terms complain thereof. They this mean while ſhewed their mad pranks in divers manners. One of which was, the apparelling of many of them in one and the ſame colour, near upon the ruſſet, of an ordinary cheap ſtuff, and the ſhewing of themſelves ſo together in company. Upon a certain occaſion, the Regent her ſelf ſaw them; and 'tis reported that *Barlemont*, who was then with her, ſhould ſay unto her,

Madam what fear can you have of theſe Gueux? (A *French* word, which in *Engliſh* ſignifies Vagrants, or Beggers.) There are ſome Writers who ſay that *Barlemont* gave them this name when they went to preſent their Petition to the Regent in way of proceſſion; and that this being by them known, they took occaſion thereupon to apparel themſelves, and to appear in manner aforeſaid: and not contented with the bare colour and habit of beggers, they hung ſome upon their hats, ſome about their girdles, certain vile and ſordid implements, ſuch as are uſed to be worn by beggers: they had nothing in their mouths but the word *Gueux*; they uſed it in all places, and upon all occaſions; but eſpecially in their cups, and in the freedom

they take at meals. This fell out particularly one day when they a great many of them were at a ſolemn invitation, in Count *Colemburgs* houſe: where beyond all other vanities, they ſtrove who ſhould moſt celebrate the name of *Gueux*, or beggers. The wine is ply'd, and great goblets go round: the deſie encreaſes, and they lay hands on veſſels of a very large ſize: they break their order of ſitting; one gets upon chairs, another upon tables, and there drink the fury of drunkenneſs fits them with a thouſand mad vagaries, they cry as every glaſs goes down, *Long live the King, Long live the Gueux.* And the whole houſe rung of nothing but this. They had an oath amongſt them likewiſe very ſutable to that place, and that action, in *French* dog-rime, to this purpoſe.

By this bread, by this ſalt, and by this Budget,
The Gueux will from their Tenets ne're budg yet.

Nor yet contented herewithall, they wore almoſt all of them as they walked the ſtreets of *Bruſſels*, a certain medal hanging at their girdle, wherein theſe words were written in *French*,

True to the King, even to the Budget.

Thus did they rejoyce, and as it were, triumph in this name of *Gueux*; an unfortunate name to *Flanders*, which from that time began to loſe its quiet, and which hath ſince, ſo long, and by ſo many means beg'd it, and could never obtain it. The Petitioners deſires to the Regent conſiſted chiefly in two things: the one, That ſome expreſs perſonages might be ſent into *Spain* to the purpoſe ſpoken of: The other, That in the mean while the Inquiſition, and the rigor of the Edicts, might be forborn in *Flanders*. The Dutcheſs then deſigned to ſend the Marqueſs of *Berghen*, and the Lord *Montigni*, brother to Count *Horn*, to the Court of *Spain*: both which were propounded by the Petitioners. And for what concern'd the ſecond point, ſhe ſent to the Governours of the Provinces, to cauſe a new form of Edict to be propounded in each Province, by which the Inquiſition was ſomewhat moderated, but not ſuſpended; and the like was done in the Edicts; ſeditious papers were this mean while diſperſed about from divers parts, both within and without *Flanders*, by which the Petitioners were ſtill more incited to perſiſt in their demands. They were incouraged in theſe ſeditious papers, by the example of the liberty of the neighbouring Countrys, and eſpecially by that of upper *Germany*, with which 'twas affirmed, that divers of the lower Provinces were incorporated; and it was particularly ſuggeſted, that as the former did enjoy the confeſſion of *Auſperg*, ſo ought *Flanders* without all queſtion, to enjoy it. The fire was no longer in burſting out: Whilſt the Edict of moderation was propoſed by the Regent throughout the Provinces; whilſt it was doubtful how they would interpret this, and much more how the King would be pleaſed with it, ſome of the more turbulent ſpirits amongſt the Petitioners, inſtigated by the ſubtiler ſort, gave out, that the Regent had granted all that was deſired, and in confirmation thereof, a counterfeit writing was given about: This report ran preſently over the whole Country like a Torrent, and did ſo provoke the common people, as that in divers places of the Provinces, the dores were thrown open to the heretick Preachers. They cunningly thought, that thus the King would be by neceſſity induced to grant all their demands. The firſt Sermons were made in the very Province of *Flanders*, and 'twas firſt begun to be done in ſome great Villages, for they feared, leſt if they ſhould do it in Cities, they might be hindred by the Magiſtrates. They forthwith did the like in other Villages in *Brabant*, near *Antwerp*, and ſuddenly the malady encreaſed every where; ſo as it began to diſperſe it ſelf through the greateſt part of the Provinces.

In the Countrys of *Lucemberg*, *Hennault*, *Artois*, and *Namures*, no novelty at all was made. The Hereticks appeared more licentious about *Tourney* and *Valenciennes*, than in other parts. And thoſe two Cities ſeemed moſt diſpoſed to receive and favour them. *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, and *Anabaptiſts*, began in troops to divulge their Hereſie: each of them exalted their own ſect: the common people flockt unto, and applauded novelty. Not the moſt learned, but the moſt hairbraind amongſt them, took upon them to preach; and through the blind and moſt monſtrous perſwaſion that every one was able to teach the word of God, the baſer ſort of women had the affrontedneſs to have their ſeveral meetings, if not at preachings, yet at conferences: they went armed where they preached, leſt the Magiſtrates might hinder their meetings. And diſobedience was already manifeſted almoſt every where: So as the Regent thought it not now fit to proceed in the intended Edict, touching the moderation of the others that were already gone out, and touching the Inquiſition; but publiſhed another upon very ſevere penalties, againſt the Preachers, and againſt ſuch as ſhould follow them, inhibiting all meetings which ſhould be made to this purpoſe. The Regents orders did as then ſome good, in containing the vulgar within Cities, in their duties; yet the ſame licentiouſneſs continued

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in the Country Villiages. The Regent complained of the Governours of the Provinces; and they again of her, ſhewing that to ſide too much with the ſenſe of *Spain*, ſhe had ſuffered the Edicts and Inquiſition to be ſo far proceeded in.

Had not they foreſeen the evil which was now burſt forth? how oft had they mentioned the remedy? but that more belief was adhibited to Granville, *and after him, to thoſe who in his abſence ſuſtained his faction, and who being looked upon as the moſt faithful, had proved moſt perfidious to the ſervice of their King and Country.*

Such conteſtations as theſe fell out often in the Council of State, even in the preſence of the Dutcheſs her ſelf: where *Orange*, *Egmont*, and the other Lords who interven'd therein, would with much freedom upbraid *Barlemont*, *Vighlio*, and *Aſſonville*, who was one much imployed by the Regent, and went hand in hand with the other two, with the aboveſaid diſorders. The Hereticks did not as yet preach publickly in Cities; and becauſe this was feared dayly more and more, and eſpecially in *Antwerp*, where the danger was thought to be the greateſt, by reaſon of the frequency of people, and the liberty of Commerce which drew a great number of forreign Hereticks thither, the Regent therefore ſent the Count of *Mega* thither to endeavour with the Magiſtrate that he would permit a garriſon to be put in there. But it was impoſſible to effect it, it being alledged to the contrary, that it was not expedient to mix ſouldiers with Merchants: this mean while the Marqueſs of *Berghen*, and Monſieur *De Montigni* were arrived in *Spain*, and after having ſtaid there a conſiderable while, could not get audience of the King. It was well known in the Court that they brought with them the ſenſe of the Petitioners, and that they were rather ſent by them, than diſpatcht away by the Regent. Yet thinking it was his beſt courſe to diſſemble at the preſent, he writ to the Governours of the Province: *Shewing how much he relied upon them, and exhorting them to provide by all poſſible means, remedies for the evils already begun. That his intention was to come himſelf in perſon into* Fanders, *and that divers neceſſities of his other Kingdoms had made him delay, but not change his former thought therein. That he would by his own preſence, give full ſatisfaction to all the deſires which were made unto him: that the tumults in the mean while might be appeaſed; and that particular care might be taken that no innovation might be made in matter of Religion.*

The Regent writ likewiſe to the chiefeſt of the Petitioners, who were already gone from *Bruſſels*, complaining of too long delay in the demands which they had made. She gave a touch upon the ſuſpition ſhe had of their introducing an Heretical Army; and acquainted them with what ſhe thought neceſſary for the remedying the Novelties which enſued. Yet they, nevertheleſs, little regarding the Regents endeavours, or little truſting what ſhe ſaid; did not only not ſatisfie her juſt deſires, but with greater contumacy than before, reſolved to aſſemble together again at *Getrinberg*, a town in the Biſhoprick of *Liege*. To this end having had many preceding practices both by people and by letters in divers places, a great many of them met there in the moneth of *Auguſt*, where the moſt ſeditious were moſt liſtned unto. They appeared to be of divers opinions; ſome would have them to break forth into publick tumults, and get that by force, which they had not as yet got by intreaties. Others, that the States-General ſhould meet together of their own Authority, and that by that means the Edicts and the Inquiſition might be thrown down. Others, that to the end they might lead on their deſigns the more advantageouſly, they might firſt adviſe with their neighbours, and be aſſiſted by them; yet ſome were more moderate in their opinions, who propounded that they ſhould better conſider ere they reſolved on any thing; and that they ſhould firſt ſee what effect the Marqueſs of *Berghens* and *Montigni's* journey to *Spain* would produce, and what the mean time the Regent would do in *Flanders*.

But the moſt ſeditious prevailing, it was reſolved, That by all means, as well within *Flanders*, as elſewhere, that liberty which they pretended to in Religion, might be endeavoured. The Dutcheſs was very much troubled at the news of this meeting at *Getrinberg*, and preſently uſed all her induſtry to break it off. To this purpoſe ſhe ſent *Orange* (ſome Writers ſay it was the Duke of *Areſcot*) and *Egmont* to *Duffle*, a town in *Brabant* neer *Antwerp*, and not very far from *Getrinberg*, willing them by all poſſible means to appeaſe the Confederates, and to aſſure them again, that they ſhould receive full ſatisfaction both from her, and from the King.

The effect of this was, That they clean contrary, ſent ſome of their Deputies thither: *Orange* and *Egmont* propounded divers things in ſatisfaction of the Confederates; they ſaid that the Dutcheſs would undoubtedly procure leave from the King for the convocating of the States-General; that in the mean time all lenity ſhould be obſerved in matter of Religion; and that the Dutcheſs would quite forget the former diſorder which had inſued thereupon: and they gave hopes likewiſe that a liberty of preaching might be allowed, provided it might not be with any armed concourſe. In anſwer whereunto the Deputies uſed rather complaints than reaſons; and it was clearly ſeen, that though they deſired ſatisfaction, they would not accept of it; ſo as full of contumacy they returned to *Getrinberg* more reſolute than ever to have

have liberty in matter of Religion, without attending any anſwer from *Spain*, or relying any longer upon the ſenſe of the Provinces. To which they were incited by thoſe who gave out that nothing was to be expected from *Spain* but artificial delayes; nor from the Regent, but ambiguous reſolves: yet divers negotiations were kept on foot; and ſome mutual expedients were indeavoured to be found out, by which the confederats ſhould not be proceeded againſt for any novelties that had happened, and whereby they might receive ſome ſatisfaction touching the liberty of Preaching: and whereby the Regent on the other ſide might be ſure that they ſhould for the future deſiſt from fomenting the begun diſorders. But in fine all proved but loſt labour; the wound which was firſt exulcerated, threw forth immediately great ſtore of putrified matter. From preaching, which the Hereticks at firſt introduced in the open Fields, they proceeded to uſe violence upon the Churches in the neighbouring villages, breaking thereinto by force, ſpoyling their ſacred utenſils, and uſing all manner of greater impeities. This was firſt done in ſome parts of the province of *Flanders*, wherein *Egmont* the Governour thereof was; and where either his diligence was not ſuch as was requiſite, or elſe the violences ſurpaſſeth his authority. He excuſed himſelf in divers wayes, as did others in other parts where the like plague preſently burſt forth, which at laſt dilated it ſelf into Cities, and of them, with a horrible ſcene of impiety and ſacriledg, into *Antwerp*. Upon the holy-day celebrated every year for the Aſſumption of the Virgin *Mary*, a ſoleman proceſſion is uſed to be made in the City, wherein a carved image with much devotion is born about: that proceſſion proceeds from the Cathedral Church, and after a large perambulation returns thither again: the Hereticks were heard to belch forth that day much blaſphemy againſt the image, as it was carried about, and many injurious ſpeeches againſt the Church-men who were imployed in that proceſſion; and 'twas feared that the rabble-rout of the Hereticks would that day break forth into yet more greater madneſſes; but through much diligence that was uſed, they were kept from doing ſo at that time: on the twentieth day of the ſame month, ſet on by new furies of themſelves, or inſtigated by others, they went to the Cathedral Church, one of the moſt famous ſtructures, and moſt ſumptuouſly adorn'd that is in all *Europe*; being got in, they ſhut all the doors; they then began wickedly to mock at the image, and at the like of many other Saints, which were therein venerated; their merriment being at laſt turn'd into rage, and their inſolencies into Frenzies, they flew upon all the images, and broke them all to pieces. Neither did they contain themſelves here; but turning their fury principally againſt a Crucifix which was gallantly cut, and placed on high; they by the force of ropes pull'd it to the ground, and in a moſt execrable manner tore it to pieces, and trode upon it. At the ſame time they overthrew the Altars; dealt worſe with the painted images, than with thoſe that were carved, and did profane that ſo famous Church throughout, in a thouſand other manners. Nothing more of villany remaining to be committed there, they ran to do the like in the other Churches of that City. From Churches they fly to force Monaſteries; and from Monaſteries of men, run more greedily to thoſe of the women. The ſacred Virgins are ſorely affrighted, and run to their Parents houſes. The Heretick-rabble grow more perverſe, and every where leave ſigns of avarice, impiety, and barbariſm: At laſt, rather weary, than ſatisfied with ſo much wickedneſs, which endured from noon till the next night was almoſt over, they diſperſed themſelves here and there, and returned to their own houſes.

The tumult was of great conſideration in it ſelf, but much more in the example thereof: it was undertaken by a few, deſired by many, and at laſt conſented unto by all. The meaner ſort of people in that City, which was then very numerous becauſe the Trading of *Europe* was greater there than in any other place, were generally infected with hereſie. And the people of better quality, even thoſe who were the more zealous Catholicks, did ſo abhor the Inquiſition, and the rigor of the Edicts, and thought the effect thereof ſo pernitious to the liberty of Merchandizing, as that they were not ſorry to ſee the King neceſſitated to grant that, which could not till then be obtained, and wherein his conſent was ſtill deſpaired of: By the tumult of *Antwerp*, as by diſplayed Enſigns, all the other chief Cities of almoſt all the other Provinces, were forthwith invited to do the like: only the *Walloon* Provinces, upon the Frontiers of *France*, kept free from theſe novelties. The Dutcheſs perceiving ſo great and ſo univerſal a commotion, and ſuſpecting leſt the Governours of the Provinces might ſeem to tollerate it, and in ſecret to authorize it; ſhe began to fear ſhe might not be ſafe in *Bruſſels*, where hereſie had likewiſe got good footing. She enclined to leave that Town, and to go to *Mons*, the chief City in *Hennault*; but divers of the chief Lords that were about her, did joyntly oppoſe themſelves thereunto, and in particular, *Orange* and *Egmont*; they ſaid that the troubles which were riſen in other places would be appeaſed, and they aſſured her there ſhould no diſorder happen in *Bruſſels*: which though her own preſence alone was ſufficient to prevent, yet if need ſhould require, they would hazard their lives in hindring it. But the greateſt conſideration herein was concerning themſelves, ſince they ſhould be too much blamed, if the Dutcheſs, they being preſent, ſhould retire, or rather run away in ſuch a manner.



Peter Ernest Count Mansfelt
Governeur of Luxemburg
Campe-master at ye Battaile of Gemblac
Generall of the French Expedition .31

How would this reliſh in Spain? *how would the King be thereat ſcandalized? and how much ſhould they ſuffer in their honours? for no juſtification would be able to free them from being thought to be the true Authors of ſuch violences done by the common people.*

The Regent therefore reſolved to ſtay at *Bruſſels*; but for her greater ſafety, that *Peter Erneſtus*, Count of *Mansfield*, ſhould get together ſome ſoldiers, who might ſerve to remedy any tumult which might happen in the City, and her own perſon might be the more ſecure. It was debated in Council how ſo many and ſo great diſorders might be provided againſt. It was thought fit to treat again with the Petitioners, wherein were ſo many of the Nobility of the Country, to ſee whether any ſatisfaction might be given them, ſo as that their union might be broken, and ſo the people might want that fomentation, and the King the mean while might put on more vigorous reſolutions, which the Regent might with more eaſe execute. To this purpoſe ſome of the Council were deputed by her, and ſome others by the Petitioners; and after many contradictions, they pitched upon that which the neceſſity of the time, upon that occaſion, did require. Thus by a new Edict, which ſeemed to be in anſwer to the Petition delivered the preceding *April*, the Regent declared,

That no uſe of the Inquiſition ſhould be had or made in Flanders; *and that there ſhould be no uſe thereof for the future: That the Edicts ſhould be ſo moderated as ſhould give full ſatisfaction to all the Provinces: That the Confederates ſhould not be proceeded againſt for any of*

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the late novelties: and that the liberty of Preaching ſhould be permitted where it was already introduced; provided that no tumults were occaſioned thereby, and that the Catholick worſhip ſhould not be in any wiſe hindred.

Another Edict came forth preſently after in the Kings expreſs name, denouncing heavy puniſhments to all thoſe who had committed ſo many and ſo horrible enormitties againſt the Churches and Monaſteries. But by how much the Regent went every day leſs in her authority, ſo much more did the audacity of the Confederates, and the reſt who held Intelligence with them, increaſe: So as the hereticks not laying aſide their former inſolencies in *Antwerp*, did ſtill inſult in divers manners over the Catholicks. They by violence made their Churches be ſhut up: they ſtormed to ſee that they could not get any one of them for themſelves to preach in; and not being able to do it elſewhere, they preached publickly in the *Piazza's* of the new Town of *Antwerp*, the Lutherans in one place, in another the Calviniſts: and the ſtinch of many other ſectaries gave occaſion of divers other ſorts of meetings, both in private and publick. Theſe ſects did greatly differ one from another, but they joyned all in their rage againſt the Catholick religion. At laſt they prevailed ſo far, as it behoved, to come to expreſs capitulation with them: by vertue whereof, they got ſo much liberty, as did amount almoſt to a full exerciſe of hereſie: and at laſt they were permitted to build a particular Fabrick, which they called by the name of Temple, where their Miniſters were heard to preach, and all other exerciſes of their ſects were officiated. As ſoon as this permiſſion was obtained, men and women flock'd thither from all parts, Merchants and Plebeians, Gentry and Citizens, to put their hands to the building of this Temple. The Prince of *Orange*, to boot with his being Governor of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and of a part of *Burgundy*, was likewiſe Governor of *Antwerp*. In the tumult which had hapened in that City, he had endeavoured that it might appear, he had uſed all diligence to impede them, he himſelf came often thither in perſon: and when he could not be there himſelf, he ſent the Count of *Hoſtrat* thither. 'Twas known that *Orange* his authority in that City was very great; ſo as few thought that he would make uſe thereof according as occaſion did require: And when they ſaw *Hoſtrat* adhere unto him, they thought they were both of the ſame mind. *Orange* had likewiſe gone into *Holland* and *Zealand*, to appeaſe the tumults which had enſued there in matter of Religion, preſently after that of *Antwerp*; But his endeavours there availed but little likewiſe, by reaſon of the malign conſtellation of times; or they were but little ſincere, by his own, peradventure, more malign contrariety. Great was the commotion which had enſued in *Gaunt* the cheif City of *Flanders*; where the hereticks had likewiſe inſolently introduced the uſe of their hereſie, as alſo in almoſt all the other conſiderable places of that Province. *Egmont*, who was Governor thereof, had been there too in perſon; and becauſe his preſence had done but little good, he began to be ſuſpected as well as *Orange*. Though it was conſidered by ſome, in their juſtification, that in the Province of *Groninghen*, where Count *Aremberg* was Governour, and in *Ghelderland* and *Zutfen*, which were Governed by the Count *Mega*, both of them being eſteemed great Catholicks, and faithful to the King, the like revolts were ſeen in matter of Religion, and like difficulties in removing them: but howſoever, thoſe two were chiefeſt ſuſpected; ſince they exceeding the reſt ſo far in Authorities, 'twas thought that the tumults fomented by them, had made all the reſt prove likewiſe remedileſs.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK III.

The King is highly offended for the novelties happened in Flanders. *A Letter from* Montigni *to Count* Horne; *the Regent resolves to take up Arms. A meeting of* Orange, Egmont, *and others in* Tetramond; Valenciennes *is besieged: is reduced. So is* Antwerp. *The Regent enters* Antwerp *well provided of Arms. A great disposition throughout the whole Low-Countries to quiet. Consultations in Spain upon the affairs of* Flanders; *two opposite Orations made unto the King by the Duke of* Feria, *and the Duke of* Alva: *the King resolves at last to send an Army into* Flanders. *And gives the command thereof to the Duke of* Alva: *upon news hereof,* Orange *returns into* Germany. Alva *enters the Low-Countries: he forthwith imprisons* Egmont *and* Horne. *The Dutchess of* Parma *departs for* Italy. *The Duke of* Alva *is Governour of the Low Countries.*

THUS went the Affairs in *Flanders* at this time (*Anno.* 1566.): in the interim news was brought to *Spain*, of the so many and so strange innovations happened of late in those Provinces; nor can it be said how much the King and his Council were troubled thereat. Wherefore the Marques of *Berghen*, and the Lord *Montigni* could not be admitted to Audience before the King; and the King did not only seem not to approve of what had been done in *Flanders* to the so great prejudice of the Catholick Religion, and his regal Authority; but he discovered a great indignation against the *Flemish*, and a firm intention to chastise them: and because such a design required time, and time dissimulation; therefore the King yielding in this conjuncture to the force of necessity, writ unto the Regent, That she should endeavour by all means possible to compose the tumults the best she might, encouraging her notwithstanding to use force, when she should think it were a fiting time to do so. To this end some moneys were sent from *Spain*; and thereupon it was taken into consideration, that for the present some *Alman* and *Walloon* forces might be raised, till time should better advise what was to be resolved on, touching the sending of *Spanish* forces, and the like of other nations subject to the Crown of *Spain*, into *Flanders:* by reason then of these Orders which were come in secret, and much more by reason of the manifest appearing necessity of providing by Arms against the tumults which had already happened, and to those of greater danger which might insue; the Regent resolved to raise a good number of soldiers, and to place them under such Commanders as she might confide in: the speediest and neareſt Levies which could be made abroad, were the *High Dutch*, and in *Flanders* the *Walloons*: The Regent had not as then any other soldiers then those who a little before she had assembled to secure *Brussels* from tumults and for the more safety of her own person: which might be about 500 *Walloon* foot, and 100 Harquebusiers on horse-back, under the Command of *Ernestus* Count *Mansfield*. She did then without any delay give order for the raising of the afore-

aforeſaid forces; to wit, the Lower *Almans* in two Regiments, under the Counts of *Aremberg* and of *Mega*; and two Regiments of the Upper *Almans*, under Count *Erbeſtin*, and Baron *Shamburg*. The *Walloons* were divided into three Regiments; one of which was given to *Charles* Count *Mansfield*, ſon to *Erneſtus*; another to the Count *De Reules*: and the third to Monſieur *De Hierghes*, ſon to the Lord *Barlemont*: to boot with theſe foot, order was given for the raiſing of ſome horſe. The opinions of thoſe of the Council of State touching the raiſing of Arms were different. Thoſe of greateſt Authority amongſt them did not ſeem to incline thereunto: alledging, that inſtead of taking away jealouſies, which was of moſt importment, this would be the way to increaſe them. Others thought this remedy requiſite, ſince fair means had hitherto prevail'd ſo little; but the Regent would adhere unto the latter opinion, and ſhewed how that it was the more neceſſary, for that it was known a little before, that the confederates had divers projects on foot to raiſe men alſo; and that to this effect, divers correſpondencies had already been had between them and the neighbouring parts of *Germany* and *France*. This preparation for Arms did much trouble ſuch who thought they might be uſed againſt them. The Hereticks who had ſo many ways offended, had reaſon to fear; and the better ſort of the Petitioners, and the reſt of their order, who had licentiouſly run upon ſo many Novelties, had almoſt as much cauſe to fear: but *Egmont*, *Orange*, and *Horne*, were in private no leſs troubled hereat; they being ſuſpected to have continually fomented the diſorders, more than the other Lords. Their names were publickly torn to pieces in *Spain*; and they were already called Traytors oftner than Subjects. This opinion which the King and the whole Court had of them all three, and in general of the *Flemiſh*, had often been ſignified by Letters written by the Marqueſs of *Berghen*, and the Lord *Montigni*: and one in particular was ſent (as it was commonly reported) from *Montigni* to his brother Count *Horne*, the contents whereof were theſe.

How much our arrival here is deteſted by every one, hath been often times ſignified by the Marqueſs of Berghen, *and by my ſelf: but in this letter wherein I may be more free, becauſe it will be convey'd with more ſecreſie, I will add many things, which it was wiſdom to conceal in the reſt: In brief, our affairs cannot be worſe received, nor worſe reliſhed than they are here. After ſo many months, we are ſtill denyed Audience: we are permitted but little to Treat with the State-Miniſters; and their anſwers are every day more ambiguous, as much as to ſay, every day more viſibly oppoſite to our negotiations. They term our Covenant, conſpiracy; our Petition, a plot; and our popular tumults, manifeſt inſurrection: it is not then to be doubted but that they will ſhew their reſentment by Arms: The* Flemiſh *themſelves do now make preparations againſt* Flanders. *But the true deſign is to make uſe of Foreigners, and eſpecially of* Spaniards. *They are chiefly incenſt againſt the greateſt amongſt us, believing that the miſchief is in ſecret chiefly fomented by them.* Granville *rejoyceth at the commotions which have enſued; and boaſts that if he had ſtill continued in* Flanders, *theſe things had not happened: if his Councils were formerly Turbulent, he now ſuggeſts them with much more violence, That the King either come himſelf in the head of an Army, or elſe ſend an Army: that he quell the* Flemiſh, *and upon ſo fair an occaſion violate their Priviledges; and that having bridled them by his Forces, he keep them ſtill in the ſame poſture: and theſe his propoſals cannot be better received than they are. The haughtineſs of that Nation is too well known. The* Spaniards *ſee how far they come ſhort of the* Flemiſh *in their prerogatives. They envy our liberty, and would reduce it if they could to their ſubjection: and becauſe that cannot be done but by force, they will have recourſe unto force. This is the cloud which now threatens our Provinces, and the tempeſt will break forth ſooner perhaps than it is imagined. They who foreſee it, give notice of it; and let them to whom notice is given, either undauntedly encounter it, or warily ſhun it. As for us two who are here, may it pleaſe God, that as our coming hither was unlucky, our return may not prove more unfortunate.*

This Letter cauſed much fear; and the end thereof ſhewed (as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place) that the two that writ it, foreſaw the tragical ſucceſs they ſhould have in *Spain*. *Orange* had often intreated the Regent to give him leave to quit his imployments, and to retire; proteſting that in times of ſuch trouble it was impoſſible to ſatisfie his ſervice to the King on the one part, and on the other the Countreys neceſſity: But his true end herein, was thought to be his deſire to forgo *Flanders*, with the Kings leave, to the end that he might not be held guilty of the plotted Machinations, if he ſhould leave it in a leſs becoming manner. The Regent would never be perſwaded to move any ſuch thing to the King; but on the contrary ſhe exhorted *Orange* to embrace the Kings affairs ſo much the more, by how much the time did now reqnire his ſervice, which might be ſo advantageous. And ſtill by publick praiſe, or private diſſimulation, ſhe made uſe of him in the moſt important affairs. He afterwards did by Letters make the ſame deſires unto the King, but ſtill received the like anſwer. He did not rely at all notwithſtanding upon any ſhew made by the Regent, nor upon any demonſtrations that he received from *Spain*. He reflected upon what had been advertiſed by *Berghen* and *Montigni*; the which he likewiſe



William Lodovic Count Nassau
Catts &c. Governour of Friſland.
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wiſe underſtood by other ways. For it was ſaid that the Admiral *Colligny*, by reaſon of the correſpondency which was between them, did advertiſe him from *France* of many particular important paſſages, to make him ſtill the more jealous of what reſolutions would be put on in *Spain*, upon the diſorders which had happened in *Flanders*. *Orange* being thus at odds with himſelf, and ſet upon by various paſſions, he ſometimes ſeemed to ſerve the King out of meer zeal: but moſt commonly, notwithſtanding, he appeared inclined to ſecond, as formerly, the unquiet humours. His brother *Lodovick* ſhewed himſelf more ſeditiouſly arrogant than any other. He had ſtill the chiefeſt part in all the moſt turbulent actions; and becauſe great confiding appeared to be between the two brothers, it was thought that *Lodovick* did but act *Orange* his true intentions. They held divers correſpondencies in *Germany*, as well for that their family derived from thence, as out of the relation which *Orange* had to the *Elector* of *Saxony*, his Father-in-law. Great was their adherence almoſt throughout all *Flanders*, but eſpecially that which *Orange* had in *Holland* and *Zealand*. He was not therefore any ways pleaſed with the Regents reſolution of levying men. Nothing was heard of any where, but that either the King would come himſelf in perſon into *Flanders* with a great Army, or that he would ſend an Army thither under ſome gallant Commander. It was known that good ſtore of ſhipping was already building in the havens of *Biſcay*, and that the rumour was, that the King would make uſe of them for ſuch a Voyage. And though for what concerned the Kings coming himſelf in perſon, the difficulties were ſo great, as they were almoſt inſu-

perable; yet that a Foreign Army should appear in *Holland*, could not but cause great fear in the *Flemish*, and chiefly in the greatest men amongst them. *Orange* his fear, and the like of the other aboveſaid Lords, was much increased by the interception of a Letter (though it was thought by many to be but an invention of *Orange* himself) which *Francisco Alano*, a *Spanish* Ambassador in the Court of *France*, writ to the Dutchess of *Parma*; it contained almost the same things which were specified in *Montigni*'s Letter, touching what sense the *Spaniards* had of the tumults which had happened in *Flanders*. The Ambassador did therein exhort the Regent above all things to use dissimulation; and that in the mean time the King would prepare either to come himself in person with a great Army, or else would send one. That in fine, he was fully resolved to hazard, if need should be, all his other Kingdoms, rather than not to punish so many, and so inormous offences as were committed in *Flanders*, against the honour of God, and of himself. This Letter being seen, and the imminent danger being considered of the Forces which began already to move in *Flanders*, and of those which were shortly to be expected from *Spain*; *Orange*, together with his brother *Lodovick*, *Egmont*, *Horn* and *Hoſtrat*, resolved to meet together, and treat of the common Interest. They therefore met at *Terramonde*, a Town in *Brabant*, not far from *Antwerp*; where they differed in opinion. *Horn* and *Lodovick* were of one and the same mind out of the similitude of their fierce and rash natures. Both of them were of opinion, that even from that instant they should endeavour to incite the people to Arms within *Flanders*, and to make Foreigners to advance; so as those Forces raised by the Regent, might forthwith be withstood, and that they might prepare to do it much more against those which were to come from *Spain*. *Orange* was not for the taking up of Arms presently, but exhorted that affairs might be put in order by way of anticipation.

'That we should be the first who should begin the war, (said he) is that which neither can, nor ought to be done. It cannot, for that we are not at this time sufficiently prepared of Forces. It ought not, for that as yet we have not pretences fair enough to do it. The Inquisition is already taken away; the Edicts are already almost abolished; and we enjoy such liberty of Religion as may suffice. And for what concerns the Regents having raised some Soldiers, to say truth, the popular Tumults have either been too great, or too immature, which have forced her to such a resolution, and put us into a necessity of tollerating it; but this is a Militia consisting almost wholly of our own Country-men, and therefore not to be by us feared. We must then wait for more just occasions of taking up Arms; and these, in my opinion, we shall unavoidably soon have. Can we ever believe that the *Spaniards* will use moderation? Their pride and Surquedry is not capable thereof. They will have an absolute Empire in *Flanders*, as they have in *Spain*: *Granville*, the Duke of *Alva*, and almost all the rest of that Council do continually infuse such sense as this into the Kings ears; so as we shall soon see Foreign Forces brought into these our Provinces: 'twill then be fitting time for us to move; then will our people at home, and Foreigners from abroad, readily flock unto us. Let us then prepare for this resolution, by all necessary endeavours against that time. Here, by shewing that the *Spaniards* design is, not only to set the Inquisition again on foot by the way of force, and the Edicts; but punctually to introduce the Government of *Spain* in *Flanders*: And abroad, by making it known, that when they shall have enthralled our Provinces, our neighbours may the more justly fear to be dealt withal accordingly. Let us the mean while be sure not to trust them; the malice of Princes is then chiefly preparing when they do most conceal it. And that they do now deeply dissemble with us in *Spain*, who can know it better than a native *Spaniard*, who is an Ambassador, and to whom the Kings most intimate thoughts touching *Flandsrs* are known? doth not this whole Letter denounce fire and sword against the *Flemish*? and chiefly us who are here, and enjoy the greatest Prerogatives; but let us primarily remember what hath been often formerly treated of by us, and which in this our present meeting is again in agitation. They would have all late actions to be Felony; and to have had it but in thought, will suffice to make men guilty thereof.

Hoſtrat did adhere to *Orange* almost in all things; and it was certainly thought that *Egmont* would be of the same mind: but he, contray to the expectation of all men, shewed how much better it would be to endeavour peace and quiet in the Countrey, and to abstain by all means from force.

What a folly would it be (said he) *for us to move? where are our men? where is our money? where can we hope to have any? from the Nobility, who are already totally exhausted? or from those meaner sort of people, who have so unworthily violated the Churches, and rob'd the Altars? These misdeeds must be attributed to the very scum of people; and not to the true popularity. The better sort of Citizens, and who sit most at ease, will not be induced to take up arms, but upon necessary occasions. Moreover, do not we know how great the incon-*

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John Lignius Count Aremberg
Governour of Frisland
Generall at ye Battaile of Hilligel.
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ſtancy of the multitude is? the multitude is apt on the ſudden to waver between contrary paſſions, and is always adviſed either by raſhneſs, or abjection. And for what concerns our hopes in our neighbours, we muſt believe, that conſidering their own Intereſts more than ours, they will be apt rather to fear, than to provoke the enmity of Spain. *How much better will it be then, for us to endeavour to allay the Kings anger, and cancelling all memory of late diſorders, do what in us lies to bring him to his former inclination to theſe Provinces, and to our ſelves in particular? To ſay the truth, the King may with too much reaſon eſteem himſelf offended by theſe late novelties: For though the fault ought rather to be imputed to the times than to us; yet who can deny that the Nobility hath paſt by many actions of great licentiouſneſs? And theſe laſt of the common people againſt the Churches, have been ſuch, as 'tis no wonder if it be generally held in* Spain, *that a will hath rather been wanting in us, the Governours of the Provinces, than a power to impede them. The King may be therefore thought to have juſt cauſe to reſent them: But that he will do it by the means of foreign forces, and that he will by violence introduce the* Spaniſh *Government into* Flanders, *his own concernment, more than ours, makes me not believe it. Princes ought not to commit that to the uncertain ſucceſs of violence, the fruit whereof they may certainly enjoy by moderation. I know how I found the King minded towards the affairs of* Flanders *when I was in* Spain: *and I cannot perſwade my ſelf that he will be diſſwaded from thence by the particular paſſions of our enemies. Such a one I know* Granville *to be; the Duke of* Alva *is ſuch a one: and it may be that* Alva, *as ſuch a one, writes paſſionately from* Paris. *Neither do I much value* Montigni's

Letter:

Letter: For in my opinion, it is grounded rather upon appearing, than upon real threats. My vote goes therefore, that we ought by all means poſſible, endeavour the Countries tranquility: That this doth not only beſit the Kings ſervice, but the like of the Country, and of our ſelves. And that if we do thus, he will neither ſend foreign forces hither, nor uſe any violence to our Government. In fine, the Spaniards *know where* Flanders *is: and thoſe of the Council who are even moſt hoodwink'd in their hatred towards us, know, that in this form of Principality, prayers prevail; and that here we obey, becauſe we will do ſo.*

All the reſt were much amazed and troubled to hear *Egmont* ſpeak thus. They had thought that he would have gone along with them in their deſigns; which were, to involve the Country continually in more evils, and to increaſe their own private fortunes by the publick ruins. But *Egmont*, were it either that he was won over by the Regents perſwaſions, or that he was thereunto moved out of his own natural goodneſs; or (which was of more force with him than all things elſe) that he was the Father of a numerous Family, and that he would not ſeek to advantage himſelf by the downfall of others; was reſolved to ſecond the Kings ſenſe, by executing the like of the *Regents*. To boot, that weighing his ſervices done to the King, together with his defaults, he could not think the latter ſuch, as ſhould make him loſe the reward of the former. *Orange* and the reſt did notwithſtanding endeavour to make him adhere to them in their reſolutions, by many efficacious replies, but all in vain: whereupon, much to the grief, and whereat *Orange* did not a little ſtorm, the meeting at *Terramond* was diſſolved. This diviſion falling out between them, *Egmont* apply'd himſelf ſincerely, and the other feignedly, to endeavour the peace of the Provinces, and to effect it where need ſhould require, by the Forces which the Regent had already gathered together; that they might afterwards expect what time and chance might produce. The Regents reſolution was, that the Forces ſhould move thither firſt, where was greateſt cauſe of puniſhment. They were therefore ſuddenly prepared to go againſt the Town of *Valenciennes*, the Inhabitants whereof were moſt infected with hereſie, and occaſioned moſt fear in the Dutcheſs; as well by reaſon of the apparent ſigns of diſobedience which were already ſeen, as for their being openly fomented from without by the *Hugonots* of *France*. She therefore gave order to Monſieur *Norchermes*, who in the Marqueſs of *Berghens* abſence govern'd the Province of *Hennault*, that he ſhould cauſe ſo many Soldiers to be received into *Valenciennes*, as might ſerve to bridle the peoples boldneſs, and re-order the affairs of that Town. *Norchermes* marched thitherward, and endeavoured to execute the Regents Orders; but becauſe the Townſmen were equally doubtful of being inforced to take in the Gariſon, and *Norchermes*, that he ſhould not be able to conſtrain them ſo to do; therefore it was agreed, before he approached the Town, that no Gariſon ſhould be put in thither, provided that no heretical exerciſe might be permitted there. The rabble-rout now will, and anon will not; *Norchermes* coming near to the walls without any Soldiers, to the end that he might be admitted to come in, and by his being there in perſon, ſee the agreement better eſtabliſhed; a handful of baſe people were ſo bold, as not only to ſhut the gates upon him, but to make him keep aloof by muſquet-ſhot. The Dutcheſs much moved at this exceſs, commanded *Norchermes* howſoever, to bring the intended Gariſon into the Town. But the Townſmen increaſing in their contumacy, refuſed to receive them; whereupon the Dutcheſs declared them preſently Rebels, and made all things be prepared to beſiege the Town. Their confederate hereticks, both within and without *Flanders*, had preſently notice of what paſt. Some few *Hugonots* came immediately thither from the Frontiers of *France*; but from the neighbouring parts of *Flanders*, above 3000 foot, and ſome horſe, were forthwith gathered together, and ſome pieces of Artillery; and all theſe went to put in ſuch numbers of men into *Valenciennes*, as might ſuffice to ſecure the Town in its preſent condition. Theſe people were led on by *John Soreas*, a man of baſe abſtract, who had aſſembled them together between *Lilla* and *Tourney*. *Norchermes* being hereof advertiſed, he ſuddenly drew up ſome Companies of foot, together with ſome horſe, and with him *Roſſeghen* the Governor of *Lilla* did joyn: Then falling at unawares upon theſe ſuddenly aſſembled tag-rags rather than Soldiers, they eaſily routed them: *Soreas* was wounded, and many others ſlain, though they had ſeated themſelves ſtrongly in a wood between ditches and mariſh grounds, which made the getting thereinto very difficult. The Artillery was likewiſe taken; the reſt of the rout ſought to get into *Tourney*; but *Norchermes*, and eſpecially the Country people reduced them to ſuch ſtraits, as they could never make head again; and making uſe of this occaſion, he went himſelf in perſon to *Tourney*, entred by the Cittadel, and reduced things to obedience there, where they were not much leſs likely to have been wavering than in *Valenciennes*; he puniſht divers in that City, and put ſome heretick preachers to death, who had been the chief inciters of the people to this contumacy. And making amends by preſent rigor for paſt impunity, he went from thence, and turn'd to *Valenciennes* to lay formal ſiege unto it, and to reduce them by force, which he could not do

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by Treaty: yet before the ſiege was made, the Dutcheſs was content that Count *Egmont* and Duke *Areſcot* ſhould go to *Valenciennes*, to ſee whether by their Authority and Offices they could bring the people therein to their wits: But all was to no purpoſe. *Norchermes* delayed then no longer. Such preparations as were needful being made, and particularly of great pieces of Artillery, he began the ſiege in the beginning of *March*, a great Battery was made ready, and yet they within ſeemed reſolute to defend themſelves, fed with ſeveral hopes of ſuccour; but their raſhneſs turn'd ſuddenly to weakneſs: being in an inſtant caſt down, ſeeing no ſuccour from without; and wanting wherewithal to defend themſelves, they hardly expected the firſt Battery; they yielded upon diſcretion to *Norchermes*. He entred the Town, and gave Laws thereunto, ſuch as ſatisfied the Regent, as well in what concern'd Religion, as their obedience to the King. He left a ſufficient Gariſon there, and put the Government into the hands of a Catholick Magiſtrate; having firſt cleanſed the Town of the moſt ſeditious Hereticks, and of all their Preachers. He, for the examples of others, puniſht ſome of the prime offenders with death, and particularly many of the *French Hugonots*, who bore Arms againſt the King in that ſiege. In the beginning of war, fame hath always a great ſhare; and the bare reputation of one victory ſuffices to the getting of many others. The news of *Valenciennes* was ſuddenly divulged abroad, and the Regents Forces began to be dreaded every where.

Freſh Tumults about this time began to be made in divers places, and eſpecially in the Caſtle of *Cambreſis* upon the Frontiers of *France*; in *Balduke* a chief City in *Brabant*, and in the Town of *Maeſtrick*, a place of important ſcituation, having a ſtone-bridg over the *Mauſe*, which makes the paſſage ſurer and ſafer on that ſide which confines upon *Germany*. Such remedies as were requiſite either by way of Treaty, or by force, were apply'd in all theſe places; and in a few days they were reduced to quiet obedience. And as the Kings cauſe did improve, ſo did the cauſe of Religion by reaſon of this ſucceſs of the Regents Forces: the Nobles of the Confederacy began to ſtagger; the chief Head whereof was *Henry de Brederode*, as hath been ſaid. Some grew cooler, others fell off, and many laid aſide all unquiet thoughts; thus they endeavoured by ſeveral ways to be reſtored to the Regents favour: nor did ſhe forbear to uſe the fitteſt means for this purpoſe. Yet *Brederode* growing every day more vain, and being drawn by the ſpirit of Hereſie to the like of Rebellion, he uſed all means, not only to re-unite the beſt ſort of Petitioners, but alſo to excite new diſorders in thoſe of meaner condition. He gave out, that nothing was performed which was promiſed in matter of Religion; but that the liberty thereof was daily more and more loſt, and they ſeverely puniſhed who would enjoy it. What was there then wanting, but to ſee the Inquiſition and the Edicts on foot again? and that they were ſhortly to ſee their necks not only under the yoke of the *Flemiſh* Forces, but under the intollerable yoke of thoſe which were preparing in *Spain*. He formed ſome new Petitions, full of ſuch complaints as theſe, and made them be preſented to the Dutcheſs. The firſt was preſented in name of the People, with new preſſures for liberty in matters belonging to Religion: and to facilitate the work, they offered three millions of guilders: The Regent ſuddenly refuſed it, as altogether raſh, vain, and diſloyal; and 'twas known that this proceeded only from *Brederode* and ſome few of his followers. He made another be afterwards preſented under the name of many of the Nobility; and renewed the former deſire of being permitted to come to *Bruſſels*, and being heard by the Regent; but this ſecond prevailed no more than did the firſt. *Brederode*, failing of all hopes this way, precipitated himſelf into a more raſh counſel, which was to try ſome Novelty by force of Arms. He went to *Holland*, and there endeavoured to incite the people to new tumults, eſpecially in *Amſterdam*, which next to *Antwerp*, was at that time the Town of greateſt Traffick in all *Flanders*. The Dutcheſs doubted ſome ſedition of concernment; eſpecially ſince it was generally known that *Brederode* ſeconded *Orange* in all things; and therefore, though by his preſence he cauſed ſome alteration there, yet the Dutcheſs took ſuch good order, as that all diſorders were there ſoon quieted. *Brederode* being rather driven than gone out of *Amſterdam*, he ſtaid at *Vianem*, a little Town of his own not far from *Amſterdam*: he began to fortifie it, and to bring Soldiers thither. The Counts of *Aremberg* and of *Mega*, went ſuddenly, by order from the Regent, towards that Town, who had the Government of the Provinces neareſt thereunto: *Norchermes* was alſo ſent thither, ſo as they quickly drove *Brederode* from thence; who of a chief Commander being become a ſingle man, and of a mutineer an exile, was forced to flie to the neareſt parts of *Germany*; and tarrying at *Embden*, a Sea-Town, he not long after died there. The Regent encouraged by this good ſucceſs, betook her ſelf ſuddenly to re-order the affairs of *Antwerp*. To this purpoſe ſhe ſhewed at one and the ſame time both lenity and force. *Orange* and *Hoſtrat* laboured to compoſe the affairs of that City the beſt they could, though to place a Gariſon there (which was the Regents chief drift) ſtood not with their particular Intereſts. Divers tumults had happend there ſince the firſt great one, wherein

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the Hereticks had violated the Churches, trampled the ſacred things, and inſulted in all unworthy manner over the Catholicks. One ſedition being allayed, another was preſently ready to be ſet on foot, which made ſtill more for the advantage of the Hereticks. They grumbled that they had not ſo many Churches as they deſired: There were almoſt as many ſects as ſectaries: with the Inhabitants Foreigners did combine; and plots from abroad accompanied thoſe within: They ſtrove to provide themſelves of Arms, to better their cauſe thereby. One *Toloſe* appeared more ſeditious than all the reſt, a bold man, and of a good retinue: This man betaking himſelf to raiſe men, had gathered a conſiderable number together, not above a league from *Antwerp*, in a certain Village called *Oſtervel*, on the other ſide the Scheld. The Dutcheſs had notices of this, and making thoſe men be ſet upon on the ſudden by a good many of hers, they were ſoon ſcattered: *Toloſe* endeavoured to ſave himſelf in a houſe, but was therein burnt; the reſt either fled or were ſlain, or drowned in the River. This ſucceſs cauſed a great revolt in *Antwerp*, and they were ready to fall together by the ears in the City; the Hereticks growing mad hereat on the one ſide, and the Catholicks taking advantage and courage on the other ſide. But *Orange*, *Hoſtrat*, and others of Authority with the people, did ſo handle the buſineſs, as apparent danger was provided for by a new agreement which was there made in matter of Religion: This agreement had much reference to the others which had preceded; but in this, ſome things were added touching the Government of the City, the better to prevent future tumults: To which purpoſe the City it ſelf raiſed certain foot-Companies, and armed ſome boats to guard the Scheld where it was moſt needful; yet let them do what they could to keep peace in that City, none took effect, or at leaſt they laſted not. In fine, where Religion is not united, there can be no union in obedience. This new agreement was ſoon obſerved to be kept as ill as were the former. The Regent, whoſe Forces ſtill increaſed, taking occaſion from hence, reſolved to put a good Gariſon into *Antwerp*; which ſhe could not very well do before. All neceſſary preparation being had to this end, and the Catholick party in *Antwerp* being much advantaged, the Cities deliberations were ſuitable to her deſires. She firſt ſent for ſome to *Bruſſels*, who were choſen by the City to this purpoſe, and treated with them touching the form of re-ordering the Government, wherein the Catholick Religion, and obedience to the King, were above all things to be conſidered. The agreement being made, wherein ſhe now no longer received, but gave conditions, the City ſeemed willing to execute them. All heretical exerciſes were thereby forbidden, and all new erection of Temples for ſectariſts: their preachers were driven out, and order taken for the repairing of the Churches by them violated. A Magiſtrate was choſen who was zealous for the affairs of Religion, and of the King. And the Soldiers which the City had taken into Gariſon, took an oath to be faithful to the King, and to execute, if need ſhould require, all things which were agreed upon. The Regent immediately ſent *Charles* Count *Mansfield* into *Antwerp* with his Regiment of *Walloons*, to eſtabliſh all things better by Arms, and that it might be ſeen ſhe would no longer uſe only intreaties. The Gariſon was received by the City, whereinto *Mansfield* entred in good order, ſo as the Hereticks could neither endeavour any novelty, or the Soldiers on the other ſide uſe any licentiouſneſs. The Gariſon being placed in *Antwerp*, the Regent thought ſhe her ſelf might now ſafely and with honour go thither: ſo as leaving *Bruſſels* ſhe went thither, waited on by many of the Nobility and chief Lords. She entred as it were in triumph; ſo great a concourſe of people met her, and with ſuch acclamations was ſhe received: though the Heretick party forbore not to murmur, ſeeing themſelves reduced to ſo mean terms. The Regent ſtaid a while in *Antwerp*, till ſhe thought ſhe had reduced the affairs of the Church and the King into convenient order: ſhe uſed ſeverity tempered with clemency. She returned from thence to *Bruſſels*. It cannot be ſaid what good conſequences this example of *Antwerp* wrought in amendment of the preceding evils: The tottering condition of the Provinces was on a ſudden reduced to tranquility almoſt in all parts; the Churches were repaired, Altars reſtored, Images worſhipped, and wonted obedience given to Magiſtrates. The chief Lords ſtrove who ſhould be forwardeſt in their ſervice to the Church, and to the King, in their obſequiouſneſs to the Regent, and in waiting perſonally upon her: inſomuch as it was generally hoped that the peace of thoſe Provinces ſhould for ever be perpetuated; and that Hereſie being either totally extinguiſht in them, or at leaſt mightily quel'd, the ancient Worſhip of God, and their former devotion and loyalty to their Prince was to flouriſh again.

Whilſt affairs went thus in *Flandere*, great conſultations were had in *Spain*, to reſolve how the diſorders which had happened in thoſe Provinces might beſt be remedi'd. One of the chiefeſt debates was, whether the King ſhould go thither himſelf in perſon or no; or whether he ſhould ſend a Commander of known valour and authority. It was not doubted but that his going in perſon would be the moſt efficacious remedy which could

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be apply'd to the neceſſities of thoſe Countries. Many examples were hereupon alledged, to ſhew of what power the very preſence of the Prince was with the people. And amongſt the reſt, that which the King might take from his Father the Emperour; who with the very ſole majeſty of his aſpect, had as ſoon quel'd as ſeen thoſe of *Gaunt*. The Dutcheſs urged this as the only remedy; and ſhewed how that as ſoon as the King ſhould be arrived, *Flanders* would ſuddenly be quieted; and that his preſence would in all other reſpects be very acceptable to thoſe people. The Marqueſs of *Berghen* and *Montigni* gave out the ſame opinions in *Madrid*; were it either that they did really deſire the King ſhould go into the Low-Countryes, or that thinking it very hard to be effected, they believed it would be yet much more difficult to ſend a Commander in chief thither with a foreign army. They ſaid that the King would find greateſt obedience; they ſought to honeſt as much as they could the Covenant, and the Petition: and though they deteſted the popular inſolencies againſt the Church, yet they would make it be believed, that it was done out of ignorance, or levity, but not out of infidelity: That therefore the King ſhould come himſelf in perſon; and that imitating his father, and his fore-fathers in his benignity, he might expect anſwerable effects in their obſequiouſneſs, from the *Flemiſh*. The King himſelf had long nouriſht this opinion of his going into *Flanders*, and ſuch a ſpeech was ſpread abroad in *Spain*; and ſuch was the preparation of ſhips which were built in *Biſcay*, to make that voyage, as it was given out, as all *Europe* did firmly believe it: and to ſay truth, the aforeſaid reaſons being well conſidered, it could not be judged but that the King had ſome ſuch thought; but oft-times thoſe counſels which are adviſedly taken, are out of neceſſity paſt by. The conſequences which made againſt it being therefore put into the contrary ſcale, it appear'd almoſt impoſſible for the King to reſolve upon ſuch an action. And firſt to keep a long time aloof off from the heart of his Monarchy, bore with it thoſe important conſiderations which were toucht upon in the beginning, when it was ſhewed for what reaſons the King reſolved to make his reſidency in *Spain*. And a double fear did ſtill continue, as well of the *Moors*, who were ſpread throughout all thoſe Kingdoms, as alſo of ſome dangerous infectious hereſie which might be brought amongſt thoſe people. But ſuppoſe the King had been free of thoſe ſuſpitions; how ſhould he have gone into *Flanders?* by ſea or by land? with or without forces? by ſea he muſt depend upon ſtorms and wind, and upon the meer will of fortune, which uſeth to make her greateſt ſports of the moſt eminent amongſt mortals. And the King himſelf, not many years before, had experienced the danger of ſea-voyages, in his return from *Flanders*: and had not his own example been ſufficient, that of his Grandfather *Philip* was yet very freſh, who by the violence of the winds was thrown upon *England*, and detained by force many days in that Kingdom: Upon which occaſion he notwithſtanding received all fair entertainment, and Courtly hoſpitality from *Henry* the ſeventh, which the King could not expect from Queen *Elizabeth*, who did rather conſpire with his enemies to his prejudice. On the other ſide, the journey by land ſeemed very difficult; for the King was of neceſſity to paſs through the Countries of ſeveral Princes, and would depend with too much danger upon their wills. The King of *France* would peradventure conſent that he ſhould paſs through his Kingdom, and would perhaps have received him with no leſs friendly demonſtrations than King *Francis* had done the Emperour *Charles* the fifth: but the hereticks wherewith all the parts of that Kingdom were then almoſt infected, would have oppoſed his journey, and would doubtleſly have made the event prove dangerous. It remained then that he muſt land in *Italy*, and afterwards take his way either through *Savoy*, or by the *Switzers*, ſo to enter into the Country of *Burgundy* and *Lorain*, and from thence into *Flanders*. On both which parts he was likewiſe to paſs through the Countries of ſtrangers, and to coaſt ſo near upon *France* and *Germany*, as he muſt needs be ſubject to many ſiniſter accidents, which eaſily might have befaln him. Theſe were the difficulties which were taken into conſideration, if the King were to paſs into *Flanders* either by ſea or by land, with only his Court-attendance: But how much greater were to be feared if he ſhould paſs with an Army? ſince carrying with him ſo great a one as the occaſions would doubtleſly require, all States would be jealous of ſo great Forces, and peradventure would have raiſed Forces likewiſe, and inſtead of friends have become enemies; leſt that which was termed a paſſage, might turn to an oppreſſion.

Then the Council of *Spain*, not thinking it fit that the King ſhould go himſelf in perſon into *Flanders* for the aforeſaid reaſon, it remained to ſee whether it were better to ſend ſome warlike Commander thither with an Army; or laying aſide all aſperity, endeavour to compoſe the affairs by fair means. The King was much at variance within himſelf upon this point: He was naturally given to love quiet; he loved the *Flemiſh*, and would rather have been beloved than feared by them; knowing very well how much ſecurer the Gariſon is which Princes have in their Subjects hearts, than thoſe of Citadels or Cities:

moreover, that he might be very uncertain of what the event of his Forces would be, againſt a people by nature ſo fierce, ſo far remote from all the reſt of his Dominions, and who were invironed on all ſides by the Crown of *Spains* greateſt enemies and enviers: But on the contrary he ſaw how little good fair means had done as yet, ſince the Authors of the begun diſorders had rather been incouraged thereunto, than otherwiſe, by too much tolleration, and might likely, if unpuniſhed, grow worſe and worſe. Nor were the Kings Council leſs at a ſtand than the King. The Council of *Spain* was then full of many eminent perſonages. Amongſt the reſt, *Ferdinand de Tolledo*, Duke of *Alva*, and *Gomes de Figheroa*, Duke of *Feria*, were in great eſteem both with the King and Council. *Feria* chiefly for Civil affairs, and *Alva* for Military actions; who was ſo excellent therein, as the firſt place in the profeſſion of Militia, was unqueſtionably given to him by all *Spain*. Theſe two were of differing opinions. *Feria* thought it better to reduce the *Flemiſh* to their duties by fair means, and *Alva* by force. Upon a certain day then, when the King himſelf was in Council to reſolve what was to be done in this ſo important buſineſs, the Duke of *Feria* ſpake thus.

'The cure of an evil (moſt glorious Prince) lies chiefly without all queſtion in knowing what it is. Cities and Monarchies are born and die, grow ſick and are cured, as human bodies are; ſo as if diligence be uſed in the private indiſpoſitions of one only man, how much more neceſſary is it to be uſed in the publick maladies of whole Kingdoms? to provide then for the evils wherewith *Flanders* is afflicted, 'tis very neceſſary firſt to know their cauſes. And this without all doubt ought chiefly to be attributed to the terror which the Inquiſition and the Edicts have infuſed into that Country. The *Flemiſh* have apprehended, and do apprehend now more than ever, to have their conſciences violated by ſuch ways, and to undergo all other greater affliction and miſery: and this it is which hath made them fall at laſt into ſo many and ſo hainous outrages: that under which *Flanders* doth at this preſent labour, is, (if I may ſo call it) a Frenzy of fear, which is fomented by ſuch as are ambitious and turbulent, that they may have matter for innovations to their advantage. What reaſon is there then that more fuel ſhould be added to the fire of thoſe tumults, when they ought rather to be quenched and deaded? If the bare name of Inquiſition (as it may be termed) not almoſt any ways put in uſe, or at leaſt but as a ſhadow, and which it was thought neceſſary wholly to ſuppreſs, hath put *Flanders* into ſuch commotions; what will that Nation do when they ſhall ſee themſelves threatned with the Forces of a Foreign Army? what fear, what horror will they thereat conceive? the leaſt they can apprehend, will doubtleſly be the Inquiſition. They will believe that the Government of *Spain* will be by force brought into *Flanders*: that their Priviledges will be violated, their Inſtitutions overthrown, their faults ſeverely puniſhed, their Liberties oppreſt by Gariſons; and finally, be buried in Citadels. But ſuppoſe an Army be ſent into *Flanders*; who will ſecure their paſſage? who will ſecure their entrance? Peoples fear doth oft-times degenerate into deſperation. So the *Flemings* growing deſperate, and the Nobility cloaking themſelves no longer under Covenants and Petitions, nor the common people falling into ſlight tumults, but the whole Country going into a general rebellion; all may with one accord oppoſe our Forces, and not ſuffer them to enter. And ſay the *Flemiſh* were not apt enough of themſelves to make this oppoſition, will they peradventure want Neighbours who will uſe all means to incite them thereunto? do not we know what apprehenſions the being of the *Spaniſh* Forces in *Flanders* will cauſe in *Germany*, in *England*, and in *France*? But let it be granted that they be ſuffered to enter, and that as then they cannot from thence receive any impediment for ſo doing: are we any whit the more ſecure that the Country may not alter afterwards, and be troubled? Great puniſhments muſt certainly be undergone, and force muſt divers ways be ſecured by greater force. The people there will then begin to deſpair more than ever: they will call puniſhment oppreſſion, and ſeverity tyranny; Citadels yokes; and Gariſons chains and fetters: and thus at laſt they will break out into Rebellion and Arms: thus will the War be kindled. Nor do I know whether it will be afterwards as eaſily ended, as it would have been eaſie at firſt not to have begun it. Nature, by the ſtrong ſituation of Sea and Rivers, will fight for them; they themſelves will fight deſperately, in defence (as they will ſay) of themſelves, wives, children, and liberty. The opulency of their own Country will furniſh them with gallant Forces, and much more the opportunity of their Neighbours. On the contrary, how heavy a burthen of War will your Majeſty be to ſuſtain? Succours at ſo great a diſtance will prove very ſlow, and very coſtly both by Sea and Land. Paſſage muſt either be beg'd or bought: and we ſhall ſee our men fail before they come into *Flanders*. The event of War is always uncertain: And Fortune, which in other human accidents is content with a part, will here have the whole Dominion. If the ſucceſs prove favourable to your Majeſty, the victory will be bought with blood, and againſt the blood of your Subjects. But if

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Ferdinand of Toledo Duke of Alva
Governour of the Low-countreys. 45
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'the contrary ſhould fall out, (which God forbid) not only men, but States would be 'loſt; nor they alone, but Religion: and ſo at laſt by too deplorable event, we ſhall be 'taught how much fair means would have been better than bitter proceedings, for the 'accommodation of the affairs of thoſe Provinces. It is to thoſe fair means that I exhort 'you, and that by all means you give over any thought of the other. Every Province, 'every Kingdom hath its particular nature, like unto human bodies. And who knows this 'better than you, Sir? to whoſe Scepter worlds are born, and whoſe Monarchy embra-'ceth ſo much, as the circuit thereof is only to be meaſured by the Sun. One Govern-'ment is proper for *Spain*, another for the *Indies*, another for your States in *Italy*; and 'ſo likewiſe others in *Flanders*, and in the reſt, of ſo many members of which the bulk 'of your Empire is compoſed. Only the ſame Religion ought to be in them all; but in 'this alſo the zeal ought to be well regulated, ſo as the too violent remedies which may 'be uſed to that purpoſe, do not produce diviſion inſtead of unity; and that together with 'the loſs of obedience to the Church, that fail not likewiſe which is due by the people 'to their Prince. What did not *Don Piedro di Tolledo* Viceroy of *Naples* do? what did 'he not try to bring the Inquiſition into that Kingdom', in the Emperor your Fathers 'time? *Naples* roſe, and ſo would the whole Kingdom have done; ſo as it was neceſſa-'ry to remove the occaſion of the tumults of that City. Let the *Flemiſh* then be per-'mitted to enjoy the Government of *Flanders*: Free them from all ſuſpition either of In-'quiſition, Foreign Forces, or any other more dreaded violence. Let one contrary cure

'another: So the peoples fear ceaſing, the Country commotions will ceaſe. Nor is it to 'be doubted but that Hereſie is rather ſuppreſt by Peace than War. It is too well ſeen 'how much it hath increaſed Hereſie in *Germany* and in *France*: and ſince ſo many have 'done amiſs in *Flanders*, and that the faults ought not to be left altogether unpuniſht, let the 'puniſhment of a few ſerve for the example of all; and let it be laid there where the 'Country may be leaſt exaſperated thereby. In fine, clemency becomes a Prince; other peo-'ple are capable of other virtues.

But the Duke of *Alva* ſpake thus to the contrary.

To begin (moſt puiſſant Prince) where the Duke of Feria *ended, I ſhall both truly and freely deny, that it is now in your Majeſties power to uſe clemency. Which vertue ill uſed, degenerates into abject ſervility. And as in ſome caſes it preſerves Kingdoms, in other ſome it ruines them. How long will you indure to receive Laws in* Flanders, *inſtead of giving them? What remains now, but that the* Flemiſh *who upon all occaſion boaſt themſelves to be as well free, as ſubjects, having denyed all obedience to the Church, may alſo altogether deny it to you? ſo as a ſecond* Switzers *Commonwealth ſhall be ſeen to ariſe againſt you in* Flanders, *as the former did againſt the other* Auſtrians *in* Germany; *or rather inſtead of a popular tyranny,* Orange *and* Egmont, *and the other Authors of ſo many baſe Novelties, oppreſſing the liberty of thoſe people, inſtead of defending it, ſhall boldly divide thoſe Provinces amongſt themſelves. The affairs of* Flanders *do at the preſent lean this way; and ſhall we talk of pardon? and ſhall it be in your power to make the Church loſe the Patrimony of ſo many of the faithful, and your Crown the like of ſo many opulent Countries? Hereſie triumphs there now with a thouſand horrid impieties: and is not your Authority oppugned on all ſides by Covenants, Petitions, and a thouſand other perfidious practiſes? you have erred then ſufficiently already, in uſing only fair means. And to ſay truth, to what end hath ſo long patience and diſſimulation ſerved, unleſs to make the diſorders ſtill the greater, and the Authors thereof more audacious? O that it were Gods will that you might go your ſelf in perſon into* Flanders! *That would certainly be a prevalent remedy. We have the example thereof in your Father againſt thoſe of* Gaunt: *But that great Prince, born in* Flanders, *yea, even in the City of* Gaunt, *and who puniſh that City only, having all the reſt of the Country in full obedience, would not go from thence till he had placed a ſtrong and well Gariſoned Caſtle in* Gaunt. *They then likewiſe broke forth into complaints; they called upon their Priviledges as upon ſo many Tutelary Angels, and termed the Caſtle a chain and yoke. But all was in vain; they muſt at laſt ſubmit their rebellious necks to ſo juſt force. If the Emperor thought that his ſole preſence was not ſufficient upon that occaſion, how much leſs ſhould you think yours ſhould ſuffice, who inſtead of one City, have the whole Country in rebellion? to boot with Hereſie, which infects it at home, and threatens it from all parts abroad. If then it ſtood with your Majeſties conveniency to go now into the Low Countries, you ought appear in a poſture to command, not to intreat: which is as much as to ſay, powerfully armed, that you might leave your Authority when you ſhall depart, armed with Caſtles and Gariſons. So did the Emperor your Father; and ſo doubtleſly would you do. And how much more appliable is the cauſe whereof we now treat, to this example of* Gaunt, *than to that other of* Naples? *where the ſo many ſtrong holds which are every where in that City, and throughout the whole Kingdom, and which are ſo well Gariſoned, may ſuffice no leſs for the ſafety of Religion, than of your ſelf. I wiſh (I ſay again) it were Gods pleaſure that you your ſelf in perſon might provide by ſuch remedies as your great wiſdom would apply, to remedy thoſe diſorders which now afflict* Flanders. *But ſince for other more urgent occaſions, your Majeſties preſence cannot at this time be diſpenſt withall from out this Center of your Empire, my opinion is, That without more delay you ſend an Army into thoſe Provinces, appointing ſuch a Commander over it as you think fit. Which if it be reſolved on, for what remains, either in its paſſage to* Flanders, *or its being admitted entrance when it ſhall be there, I do not at all ſcruple it. Who knows not how much you may rely upon the Duke of* Savoy, *ſo near ally'd in blood to your Crown, and more unto your Intereſt? your Army ſhall then at its going out of* Italy, *paſs through* Savoy *as through your own Country. If it were better to march through* Swiſſerland, *the Catholick Cantons which are your Confederates will eaſily accommodate you: hence it enters into your* Burgundy, *and* Lorain *neither can nor will reſiſt you. When the Army ſhall be come to the confines of* Lucemberg, *which is the Gate of* Flanders *towards* Italy, *on what ſide ſhall any one ſo much as dare to oppoſe the paſſage of your forces? will the* Flemiſh *peradventure do it? as if it were as eaſie to raiſe an Army, as to frame a Conſpiracy; and that the rabble-rout will be as ready to fight againſt armed ſquadrons, as they have been to wage war ſo wickedly againſt the ſacred Images and Altars. Will the Confining Princes perhaps deny their paſſage?* France *is wholly on fire with Civil War. A Woman ſits at the Helm of Government in* England; *and what can be feared from* Germany, *divided amongſt ſo many Princes, and ſo at variance within themſelves? moreover your caſe will be theirs. All Princes are equally concerned in the peoples diſobedience. The damage*

inſues

inſues peradventure but to one at once; but the example reaches alwayes to all. On the contrary; when was ever your Empire in greater power and tranquility? your Empire, which imbraceth ſeveral worlds; and wherein God hath placed you, more for the amplifying of his glory, than of your own. Your forces will then without any manner of difficulty be received in Flanders: *and the ſtrife will be, who ſhall firſt give them entrance, and moſt fear them when they are entred. When they ſhall once be ſetled there, 'twill doubtleſly be conſonant to reaſon, that that be rendred to God which is his, and what is yours to you. Puniſhment muſt be inflicted in proportion to the faults demerit. And if that frenzy (as it is termed) of fear, but which is indeed of perfidiouſneſs, made the* Flemiſh *fall blindfold into open rebellion, why ought not your forces hope for all good ſucceſs againſt them? Yours, which will be ſo juſt, and ſo potent, againſt theirs which are tumultuary, managed by abject men, rebels to God, and to their Prince. Nor if need ſhould require, will yours want ſuccour by the ſame ways, either of* Savoy *or of* Swiſſerland; *and ſuccour may alſo eaſilier be conveyed by ſea than by land. But there will be no occaſion, in my judgment, that your forces ſhould either move or be ſuccour'd. We ſhall ſee the Rebellion ſuppreſt almoſt as ſoon as born, by thoſe which ſhall now enter* Flanders. *And what fairer occaſion than this can you deſire to bring an Army into* Flanders, *and make thoſe Provinces the* Piazza d' Armi *of your Empire? to make by that ſituation which may be ſaid to be in the very bowels of* Europe, *the Churches Authority be ſo much the more reverenced, and your Name the more reſpected. Doubtleſly there are variety of Governments; but there can be no variance in the bond of obedience which is due by the people unto their Prince. Subjects are born with this Law, and when they go about to breake it, 'tis they that uſe violence, they receive it not. Juſt thus it falls out now in* Flanders, *where all Laws both humane and divine are trodden under foot. Your Majeſty ſhall not then uſe force, ſave only to ſuppreſs force; nor ſharp remedies, till after having ſo long in vain uſed moderate ones. The wound is degenerated into a Gangreen; it requires fire and ſword.*

By ſo many and ſo efficacious reaſons on the one, and on the other ſide, the King was rather confuſed than confirmed; Cardinal *Granville* adhered to the Duke of *Alva*; and though he appeared to be a bitter enemy to the *Flemiſh*; yet his long experience in the affairs of that Country, gave authority to his very paſſions. On the other ſide Prince *Ruygomez*, who was greatly in the Kings favour, joyned with the Duke of *Feria*. And almoſt the whole Council was divided between theſe two opinions. The King did then again waver a little before he put on any reſolution: But the news of the novelties in *Flanders* ſtill encreaſing, and particularly thoſe of the violence uſed to the Churches, and of the exceſs of liberty which the hereticks took in all things elſe, the King thought it was now no longer an act of will, but of neceſſity to ſend an Army into the Low-Countries, and to uſe force againſt the *Flemiſh*. Princes uſually when they can, commit the execution of affairs to thoſe who have had the greateſt ſhare thereof in Council; therefore the King choſe the Duke of *Alva* to go chief Commander over his Forces which went for *Flanders*. To boot, that if there ſhould be any occaſion to uſe them, none in *Spain* was thought to be more able (as hath been ſaid) in that profeſſion: A man rigid both in nature and aſpect: haughty in peace, and much more haughty in war; long bred up in arms; and who thought it always advantageous for him and the King, to have them, and to make uſe of them. The delay was not long: requiſite orders were ſuddenly given for the raiſing of good ſtore of new Soldiers in *Spain*, that they might be placed in the wonted Gariſons in *Italy*, and that thoſe who were ancient Companies might be ſent into *Flanders*. The chief ſtrength of foot were to be *Spaniards*; the horſe were to be compoſed of *Italians*, *Burgundians* and *High-Dutch*: and ſome Regiments of foot were to come to *Flanders* from *Germany*, which by their vicinity might the ſpeedilier be raiſed. Whilſt theſe preparations were a making in *Spain*, *Italy* and other parts, the Regents affairs proſpered in *Flanders*, as hath been ſaid. Obedience was reſtored to the King, and the Church had almoſt wholly recovered hers; and the Country was on all ſides reduced to quiet: ſo it was expected that the King would change his mind, and that no Army ſhould be ſent into *Flanders*. But were it that he did think that the tumults riſen in thoſe Provinces were rather huſht than quite extinct; or that deſirous to eſtabliſh his Authority the better there for ever after, he would not loſe the preſent occaſion of doing it; or that he thought he could not without a great body of forces, perfectly enjoy the ſecure poſſeſſion thereof, they being placed amidſt neighbours, which made him daily more jealous of them; he continued his firſt reſolution. The Duke of *Alva* being departed from *Spain*, and come by ſea to *Genoa*: he muſtered the men ſpoken of before, in the State of *Millan*, which came to near 8000 *Spaniſh* foot, under four Camp-Maſters. *Allonſo Ulloa* commanded the *Neapolitan* Brigado; *Guellielmo Romero* that of *Cicily*; *Sancio di Londonio* that of *Lombardy*, and the *Sardinian* Brigado was commanded by *Gonſalo di Bracamonte*. All experienced ſoldiers, and under valiant Commanders. He gave the command of the horſe which were raiſed in *Italy*, which might be about

about 1500, the greateſt part whereof were *Italians*, the reſt *Spaniards*, to his natural Son *Ferdinando di Tolledo*, 300 were afterwards added to theſe in *Burgundy*; and of the *Dutch* there was but only one Regiment of 4000 Foot, raiſed at the preſent under Count *Alberico di Lodrone*. The Duke would have alſo divers other *Spaniards* to be near him, who were fit for Command; and amongſt others, *Sancho d' Avela* who was Governor of the Caſtle of *Pavia*, and who by his Valour came afterwards to the chief Commands in *Flanders*. Of the *Italian* Commanders, the chief was Marquels *Chiapino Vitelli*, and *Gabrio Serbelloni*, Prior of the Order of Saint *Johns* of *Jeruſalem*, in *Hungary*: Both of them long experienced in the Wars of *Italy*, and who had therein won much renown. He made *Vitelli* Camp-Maſter-General, and gave the charge of the Artillery to *Serbelloni*. The Muſter being made, and the Army marching in very good Diſcipline, not meeting with any difficulty either from *France* or *Germany*, he led it finally into the Province of *Lucemberg*. He made ſome Brigades of foot advance from thence, and quartered them where he thought them moſt convenient, the better to ſecure his entry into the Country, and then he himſelf went to the Regent. The *Flemiſh* who were much aſtoniſht to hear of thoſe Forces, were much more aſtoniſht when they ſaw them. Many of them reſolved to quit the Country before the Duke ſhould bring them in: and the Prince of *Orange* had already led them an example. He being aſſertained of ſo great a preparation of Forces, and that the Duke of *Alva* was Commander in chief, reſolved to withdraw into *Germany*. He knew how ſuſpected his actions were in *Spain*.

That the Duke of Alva *formerly a Rival, was now become a Superior: and inſtead of thundring out contrary opinions in the Council of* Madrid, *he was to lead a powerful Army into* Flanders. *That the ſore orders were to be put into ſorer execution; if Count* Egmont *and the reſt would periſh through confiding, he would ſecure himſelf by doing the contrary; 'twas therefore no longer time to ſtand lingring; 'twas better to get into* Germany, *and to be a ſpectator of the Tragedies in* Flanders *afar off. And how could he with honour be under the Duke of* Alva, *who was but a bare Grandee of* Spain? *whereas he himſelf enjoyed the Prerogative of Free-States, and many other greater in his Family in* Germany. *Let others endure to ſee the Provinces of* Flanders *always accuſtomed to be governed by ſome of the blood-royal, or at leaſt nearly ally'd thereunto, fall with ſcorn into ſuch hands.*

Together with him went his Brother *Lodovick*; and at the ſame time the Count of *Hoſtrat* went from *Flanders*. Before *Orange* departed, he oft-times incited Count *Egmont* to do the like; and not able to prevail with him, he told him, *You will repent, but too late*. And in other ſpeeches did prognoſticate unto him thoſe misfortunes whereinto afterwards he fell.

The Duke taking a houſe in *Bruſſels*, not with the Regent, but in a houſe near the Palace-Royal; the firſt thing he did, was to make the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horne* priſoners, which he did thus: They were both of them of the Council of State, and therefore the Duke ſeeming as if he would know their opinions touching ſome intended Citadels, and eſpecially concerning one which he meant to erect preſently in *Antwerp*; he made them come to his lodgings, with divers others of the Council. Some diſcourſe being here had upon the buſineſs, the Council being ended, as they paſt through divers lodgings, they were by feigned pretences parted one from another, and after made priſoners. At the ſame time, but not in *Bruſſels*, was *Antonio Strales* taken, who had been oft-times Burgomaſter of *Antwerp*, a man of great employment in that City, and eſteemed one of the chiefeſt Authors of the Tumults which had happened there; and *John Caſembrot* Lord of *Bacharſel*, who was *Egmonts* Secretary, and who managed all his affairs. By means of theſe two, more than by any others, the Duke hoped to come by the knowledg of many important buſineſſes, not only touching the perſonages of *Egmont* and *Horne*, but concerning the paſſages and events of all the late revolts. Upon the news hereof in *Spain*, *Montigni* was likewiſe ſuddenly impriſoned; the Marqueſs of *Berghen* being dead ſome months before in *Spain*, not without ſuſpition of being poyſoned, as the *Flemiſh* did believe. The Regent knew nothing of what had belaln *Egmont* and *Horne*, till it was done. From the Kings firſt ſending the Duke of *Alva* with an Army into *Flanders*, he had declared that the Duke ſhould have the ſole Government of the Militia, and that for all things elſe the Regent ſhould continue in her former adminiſtration. The Duke at his firſt arrival had ſhewed his Commiſſion to be ſuch; but the Regent had already diſcerned, that he had private Orders for further Authority than he would as yet make known. Yet ſhe did not think the Duke would have proceeded ſo far as he had done in the Impriſonment of *Egmont* and *Horne*, without making her firſt acquainted with his reſolution therein; ſo as ſhe eſteemed this either a diffidence, or an undervaluation of her by the King; and almoſt an approbation of thoſe accuſations which were laid to her charge in *Spain*: as if ſhe had uſed too much tolleration in the diſorders which had happened, and had rather occaſioned than ſuppreſt the Novelties. Judging then that ſhe could not with her honour

continue



Sancho Avila Governour of the Fort at Antwerp General at y^e Battaile of Mooch. 46

continue longer in ſuch a form of Government, and deſirous alſo to be rid of it, as one who had always been contrary to the Duke of *Alva's* ſence touching the affairs of thoſe Countries; ſhe intreated the King that he would ſuffer her to return to *Italy*: and after ſome reiterated requeſts therein, ſhe at laſt got leave ſo to do. The King notwithſtanding ſeemed very well ſatisfied with her Government, and gave large demonſtrations thereof. He honoured her ſeveral ways, and in particular teſtimony of his gratitude, he gave her a good increaſe of revenue for her and her heirs; to boot with that which formerly ſhe enjoyed as her Dowry, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. She went from *Bruſſels* about the beginning of the year 1568, nor can it be ſaid how much love ſhe left behind her amongſt the *Flemiſh*. She was born amongſt them, and her demeanors were conformable to her birth. She was gracious, affable and moderate: but therewithal a Princeſs of a manly ſpirit, and conſtancy; ſince involved ſo long in ſo many ſtorms and tempeſts wherewith her Government was agitated, ſhe knew how to come out of them with ſo much honour, and at laſt did turn the tempeſts into a calm.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK IV.

Divers of the Duke of Alva's *cruel proceedings. A great many of the* Flemiſh *fly to the neighbouring parts. The diſpoſition of the confining Princes to foment the revolt of the Low-Countries.* Orange *his particular indeavours in* Germany *to this purpoſe. He calls a Diet of ſome Princes, and Hans-Town. His Speech to the Diet. The Germans reſolve to aſſiſt the* Flemiſh. *Their firſt motion, and their defeat.* Lodovick *brother to* Orange, *enters* Frieſland *with an Army. Count* Aremberg *is ſent againſt him by the Duke of* Alva. *They fight:* Aremberg *is routed and ſlain. The Duke reſolves to go himſelf in perſon againſt* Lodovick. *To this purpoſe he gives order for the increaſing of his Army. Before his departure he cauſeth* Egmont *and* Horn *to be beheaded in* Bruſſels. *Other ſeverities of his. He comes to the Army in* Frieſland; *makes an Oration to the ſoldiers.* Lodovick *retreats; but the Duke overtakes him, fights him, and utterly defeats him.*

THE Reyns of Government being wholly left in the Duke of *Alva's* hand, he apply'd himſelf with all attention to execute his begun rigor upon the *Flemiſh*. Soon after that *Egmont* and *Horne* were made priſoners in *Bruſſels*, he ſent them both well guarded to the Caſtle at *Gaunt*; and put in an *High-Dutch* Gariſon into it, inſtead of the *Flemiſh* Gariſon which was there before. He formed a new Tribunal of Juſtice, by the name of a Council to ſit upon Tumults, for the better cogniſance of buſineſs of that weight, and all others of that nature, and compoſed it of ſuch as he thought he might moſt confide in: Amongſt others he placed a *Spaniſh* Lawyer in it, and a *Burgundian* of the ſame profeſſion; and he himſelf would be the Preſident thereof. Then publiſhed his Authority in Print to make it the more formidable by being divulged: and Proclaimed all thoſe to be guilty of High-Treaſon, both againſt God and the King, who had any thing to do in the late actions of the Covenant, Petition, and of the violences uſed againſt the Churches, and the Catholick Religion. He forthwith accompanied the terror of his Threats with the ſeverity of Puniſhment. He cauſed the Prince of *Orange*, his Brother *Lodovick*, Count *Hoſtrate*, *Brederode* and *Colemburgh*, and the reſt of the prime men who were gone out of *Flanders*, to be publickly cited to appear before him within a certain prefixt time, upon pain of Rebellion, and loſs of their Goods in caſe they did not appear. He cauſed a great many other of all ſorts to be impriſoned in ſundry parts of the Provinces, who were fallen into the aforeſaid faults, and they were in ſo great numbers, that all the priſons throughout the whole Country were on a ſudden full of them. To Impriſonment he added Death, and made the Market-places the places of Execution, to the end that the publickneſs thereof might infuſe the greater terror. At the ſame time he deſigned divers Citadels, and began to lay their Foundations where he thought either the ſituation of the Towns, or the condition of the Inhabitants did moſt require it. The firſt was placed

ced in *Antwerp*, with five royal Bulwarks upon the *Scheld*, upon which River the City is ſeated; to haſten the which he went in perſon to *Antwerp*, and made the City contribute towards the expence thereof, giving them aſſured hopes that as ſoon as the Citadel ſhould be put into a poſture of defence, *Lodroneas* Regiment of *High-Dutch* which were there in Gariſon, ſhould be removed. He began to build a Fort in *Fluſhing*, the chief Haven of *Zealand*, and which opens and ſhuts the entrance into the *Scheld*. He deſigned another in *Groninghen*, upon the confines of *Germany*; and another in *Valenciennes*, which lies towards *France*: But unleſs it were that of *Antwerp*, the reſt were not built; for ſo many troubles aroſe from ſo many parts, as the Duke had not fitting opportunity to do it. He notwithſtanding ſecured the Frontiers on all ſides by good Gariſons, againſt all Innovations which might be endeavoured from abroad; and within he diſarmed many of the ſuſpected Cities, and diſtributed Forces in divers parts, where he thought it moſt needful to curb the *Flemiſh* more ſtraitly.

This ſo rigorous a beginning of Government, put the Country every where into ſuch fear, as it was on a ſudden abandoned by a great number of people of all ſorts; they were reported to be above thirty thouſand. Thoſe who were no ways concerned, were affrighted to ſee the faults of others ſo ſeverely puniſhed; and they groaned to ſee that *Flanders* which was wont to enjoy one of the eaſieſt Governments of all *Europe*, ſhould now have no other object to behold but the terror of Arms, Flight, Exiles, Impriſonments, Blood, Death, and Confiſcations. The people fled to the Neighbouring parts of *Germany*, to *France*, and *England*: But thoſe of beſt quality retired to *Germany*, drawn thither by *Orange*, who encouraged them more than all the reſt to follow his Example, and run his fortune: And who from thence did anſwer the Dukes citation in writing, refuſing to ſubmit himſelf to his Tribunal, as to that of a Judg too much ſuſpected, and of too inferior a condition to take cogniſance of ſuch a cauſe; ſaying, that he was a free Prince of *Germany*, and therefore in the firſt place a Subject to the Emperor; and that being a Knight of the Golden Fleece, he was only to be judged by the King himſelf, who was the ſupream Head of that Order. *Hoſtrate* anſwered almoſt in the ſame ſort, ſave only that he left out the reaſon of being Feudatory to the Emperor, for he had no Eſtate in *Germany*. *Horne* had ſome eſtate of that nature; and therefore his Mother, when he was impriſoned, had ſuddenly recourſe to *Ceſars* Authority, and had from thence procured favourable offices in her Sons behalf, to the King and Duke of *Alva*. The like is done by divers Princes of *Germany* in *Orange* his behalf, and thoſe that were joyned with him in the ſame cauſe; for indeed the Catholick Princes were no leſs diſpleaſed, than were the Hereticks of thoſe parts with the Dukes ſeverity; and that ſuch an alteration ſhould be made in the Government of *Flanders*, with which Country they had ſuch Conformity both in Language, Cuſtoms, and Laws. The King promiſed all fair intreatments, ſo as the Citation might be obeyed. But none of thoſe that were cited daring to truſt, and the time of Citation being already elapſed, the Duke proceeded to puniſhment; and amongſt other things, he made *Colemburghs* houſe in *Bruſſels* be pull'd down to the ground, in memory of the deteſtation of the ſeditious practices which were there chiefly woven and concluded. *Orange* was Maſter of divers fair Towns in ſundry Provinces of *Flanders*, (the Principality of *Orange* is in *France*, though not ſubject to that Crown) and of a great many likewiſe in the County of *Burgundy*; in *Brabant*, amongſt others he had *Breda*, a noble place, having a ſtately Caſtle in it, and of ſuch conſequence, as the Duke of *Alva* would ſuddenly ſecure himſelf the better thereof by putting a Gariſon into it. To the Confiſcation of his goods, the Duke added the retenſion of the Count *di Buren*, a youth of twelve years of Age, who was the Prince of *Orange* his eldeſt Son, and who was then at the Univerſity of *Lovain*, following his ſtudies; and under pretence that the King would have him follow the ſame ſtudies and exerciſes in the Univerſity of *Alcana d' Enares*, he ſent him well guarded into *Spain*. *Orange* and his companions, together with other Nobles who were fled from *Flanders*, exaſperating at theſe proceedings, did what they could to ſhew their reſentment. Their chief end was to raiſe Forces, and lead them into *Flanders*; hoping aſſuredly that when any Forces ſhould appear from without, they that were within the Country would ſuddenly riſe. This was therefore hotly endeavoured, and it was managed by their Adherents in almoſt all the Provinces of *Flanders*. The Duke of *Alva*'s Government infuſed horror into them, and by all dreadful exagerations they endeavoured to make the people abhor it. From without they themſelves endeavoured by all poſſible means to draw other Princes to favour their cauſe. From *England*, 'twas known the Queen had a great inclination to foment whatſoever Novelties which might happen in the *Low Countries*. She conſidered, that if the King of *Spain* ſhould poſſeſs them peacefully, his Forces would be too formidable both by Sea and Land throughout all *Europe*: That ſhe in particular was greatly to apprehend his Forces by Sea, ſince *England* and *Ireland* would be as it were invironed by the Fleets which might be maintained on the one ſide,

in *Spain*, and on the other in *Flanders*: That the King would not be backward in moleſting her, having opportunity to do it; as he who knew ſhe ſought to indamage him as much as ſhe might, as he had already had ſeveral experiences. Theſe outward dangers appeared unto the Queen to be the greater, when ſhe conſidered alſo thoſe within. She ſaw the Heretick government which ſhe had introduced within her Kingdom, began to totter; that a great many Catholicks were ſtill in *England*; that *Ireland* was almoſt wholly Catholick; and that to cauſe innovations in thoſe parts, particularly in matters of Religion, no Prince would be more forward therein than the King of *Spain*: She therefore deſired to ſee her neighbour Countries involved in Hereſie, hoping that people withdrawing themſelves from the obedience of the Church, would the eaſilier be perſwaded to do the like from that of their Prince; and that one rebellion added to another, affairs ſhould be ſo imbroiled in thoſe parts, as there ſhould be no deſign of troubling her. To this purpoſe the *Hugonot* Faction in *France* was at firſt favoured by her, and now more than ever; who joyed to ſee the progreſs thereof ſo great in that Kingdom. But her deſign in this point, was chiefly upon *Flanders*; for from thence, by reaſon of the vicinity of thoſe Countries unto hers, both before, and much more after the Duke of *Alva* was entred there with his Forces, grew the greateſt ſuſpitions which ſhe had of the King of *Spains* power. Wherefore ſhe graciouſly received all thoſe who fled from *Flanders* to *England*, and nouriſht the complaints which they made againſt the *Spaniard*, and much more the hatred and ill will which they bore them. Nor content to favour them in her own Dominions, ſhe did the like with the Hereticks of *France* and *Germany*, with whom ſhe held continual correſpondency, and bore great ſway. But though theſe offices did help, yet were they more than needed either for the one or the other faction. That of the *Hugonots* was already ſo increaſed in *France*, as they deſigned to ground a popular Commonwealth upon the ruines of the Monarchy. The government in Religion which they had imbraced, was of this form: And deſirous that their Politick intereſts ſhould be guided by the like, they pretended that the King ſhould permit them to meet in the general, and in the particular Aſſembles, and to treat of what concerned their body apart, which was to make a total ſeparation from the State, within the State. King *Charles* was then got out of his minority, and ſhewed himſelf to be both generouſly and piouſly given: But by reaſon of his youth, the government was ſtill managed by the Queen his mother; who ſet upon by the ambition of the Hereticks, and almoſt no leſs by the like of the Catholicks, did temporiſe amongſt ſo many and ſo fierce ſtorms, and ſought to ſhun danger, ſince ſhe knew not how to oppoſe it. Arms had already been ſeveral times both taken up, and laid down; and the King had endeavoured to allay the fire of Civil wars by divers Edicts of Pacification, (as they termed them) ſince the times would not ſuffer him totally to extinguiſh it. But the Edicts ſerved but to little purpoſe to reſtore quiet to that Kingdom, ſince the factions were more inflamed than ever: Nor were Arms laid down, but that they might be taken up again with more advantage. To this end the *Hugonots* held cloſe intelligence with the Queen of *England*, and with the Hereticks of *Germany*. And becauſe the King of *Spain* aſſiſted King *Charles*, and did integrally favour the Catholick cauſe, and eſpecially by the *Flanders* Forces, therefore did not the *Hugonots* omit to foment the *Flemiſh* in their bad inclinations. Secret intelligence had ever paſt (as we have already ſaid) between the Prince of *Orange* and *Coligni* the Admiral of *France*: But after *Orange* his retreat to *Germany*, their practiſes grew hotter: The one of them plotted the ruine of *France*, which was already begun; the other the ruine of *Flanders*, which was ſhortly to begin. Nor is it to be ſaid how much the *Hugonots* deſired to ſee the like troubles enſue in *Flanders*, as *France* did already ſuffer under, that they might have companions abroad, and to make but one cauſe of two, to the end that it might be ſo much the better defended by common forces, and honeſted by reciprocal examples. So that *Coligni*, and the other Chieftains of the Heretick faction, uſed all poſſible diligence to make the *Flemiſh* who were fled into *France*, ſuddenly endeavour the like novelty, which they greatly deſired to raiſe up of themſelves in their Country. From *Germany* likewiſe, the Heretick Princes, and the *Hans* Towns of the ſame Faction, ſeemed for the ſame reaſons to have the ſame ends in the affairs of *Flanders*. Yea before the riſe of *Luthers* Hereſie, all the Princes and the *Hans*-Towns of *Germany*, which together with the Emperor their head, do compoſe the body of the Empire, were not well pleaſed to ſee that the Houſe of *Auſtria*, firſt by the addition of *Flanders*, and then by that of *Spain*, ſhould be ſo much exalted. Till then they had looked upon the fortune of that Houſe with an envious eye. When *Charles* the Fifth was come to the Imperial Crown, they turned their envy into open fear, leſt from being Head of the *German* government, he might become abſolute Prince of that Empire. They ſaw that how great ſoever his deſign might be, his Forces were equivalent in greatneſs thereunto. And their fear in this point was rather encreaſed than diminiſhed by the entry of Hereſie into

Germany:

Germany: For they apprehended, leſt under the colour of reordering the affairs concerning Religion, he might intend to advantage his own Authority the more eaſily in thoſe which regarded the State. Hence in a great part were occaſioned the troubles of thoſe Countries; hence their ſo many Dyets, and particularly the accords which inſued in point of Religion. And though when *Charles* died, the Houſe of *Auſtria* was divided, and that the greateſt power thereof remained in that Branch which was tranſplanted into *Spain*; and that on the other ſide the Hereticks had great Forces in *Germany*, yet feared they much the Neighbourhood of *Flanders*: They ſuſpected that the Forces of that Houſe might upon all occaſions be on that ſide united againſt them; to boot, that by the opportunity of that ſituation, they ſaw too great advantages aroſe to the *Auſtrians* in *Germany*, to continue the enjoyment of the Empire; and that inſtead of being elective, it might become hereditary in that Family; and that the poſſeſſion might remain in the Catholick part, with the excluſion of the Heretical. They therefore fauthor'd, by all the means they might, the Novelties which had inſued in *Flanders* in the Government of the Dutcheſs of *Parma*: They favoured Hereſie, fomented Sedition, counſell'd their chief Leaders, and endeavoured by all other means to cauſe ſuch Troubles in thoſe Provinces, as that the King of *Spain* might either wholly loſe them, or not quietly enjoy them. They termed *Flanders* the *Lower Germany*, and reputed it as joyned to the body of their own *Upper-Germany*, by reaſon of the connexion of Countries, the conformity of ſpeech and manner of living, and by the community of Traffick and Rivers; of which, 'tis arguable whether the *Rhine* be more commodious to higher *Germany* by the longer courſe thereof, or to the lower by her breadth. In theſe reſpects their friendſhips, adherents, allyance were very great in thoſe parts. Moreover, divers of the beſt Families of *Flanders* derived from *Germany*; and amongſt others, that of the Prince of *Orange*, who afterwards married with the houſe of *Saxony*, as hath been ſaid. The Heretick Princes held therefore their ſtreighteſt correſpondencies with him, and to him did diſcover their moſt intimate ſenſe of the affairs of *Flanders*, becauſe it was moſt conformable with his own. *Orange* being afterwards gone to them by reaſon of the Duke of *Alva*'s being come into *Flanders*, he ſtill endeavoured to increaſe in them reſolution, not to tollerate that oppreſſion which he in the moſt horrid manner he could invent, affirmed to be already introduced by the *Spaniards* amongſt the *Flemiſh*. Affirming that this cauſe was common to both the *Germanies*; he mingled the Intereſt of Religion together with that State; and by the ſtrength and vivacity of wit, made dangers a far off ſeem very near at hand. He chiefly propounded a meeting between thoſe Princes who were moſt to dread the *Spaniſh* Forces in *Flanders*; the Queen of *England* aſſiſted him herein by her authority, and the *Hugonots* of *France* by their practices. So as the reſolution was ſoon put on; and divers Hans-Towns joyned therein likewiſe, by ſending their Deputies thither; particularly, thoſe which are ſituated upon the *Rhine*; in which, by reaſon of their Neighbourhood with *Flanders*, the aforeſaid power of the *Spaniſh* Forces was moſt dreaded: Of the Princes, the Count Palatine of *Rhine* was moſt remarkable, his State lay neareſt to *Flanders*; he had the beſt forces: and being paſt on from *Luthers* Hereſie to that of *Calvin*, he held greater correſpondency with the Hereticks of *France*, and with the Queen of *England*. The reſt were the Duke of *Wittemberg*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, the Marquis of *Bada*, the Marquis of *Durlack*, and ſome Neighbouring Counts, beſides thoſe of *Naſſaw*. The King of *Denmark*, and the houſe of *Saxony* ſent likewiſe their particular Deputies to the Diet. Buſineſs doth ſtill proceed ſlowly, which is to be agitated by many: either they differ in their ends, or agree not in the means, or for the moſt part are loſt through confuſion. But their progreſs is more ſlow than ordinarily in *Germany*, where Negotiations are not had without much prolixity, more by writing than by word of mouth, and where more time is ſpent in banqueting than in buſineſs. The Diet proceeded on then but ſlowly, and by reaſon of the variety of opinions, many difficulties were met with in the things propoſed. Whereupon the Prince of *Orange*, being all on fire himſelf, and that he might ſet others on fire likewiſe, ſpake one day thus:

It is not aſſuredly any ways to be doubted, (moſt Noble Princes, and worthy Deputies) but that we now treat upon a common cauſe. The one and the other Germany *are ſufficiently united in ſcituation, tongue, name, traffick, life, and in all things elſe. And who knows not that in former times they both made but one body? their people do chiefly affect liberty. And though in* Flanders *the Prince be Hereditary, whereas in* Germany *he is Elective, yet almoſt the ſame preeminence is due by them to their States, as is here attributed to your Dyets. But how oft, and with how much labour and danger hath it behoved the one and the other Nation, to oppoſe themſelves to the avaritiouſneſs of their Princes? I will leave the purſuit of ancient affairs, that I may come to the more modern; and thoſe of* Germany, *that I may deſcend to the preſent affairs of* Flanders. *When the Emperor* Charles *the fifth was dead, every one knows the Kings Son's chiefeſt deſire was, to leave thoſe parts, and ſettle himſelf in* Spain. *Being there wholly transformed into the ſenſe and Cuſtoms of that people, he grew deſirous to govern* Flanders *after the ſame manner and Empire as* Spain *was governed. And what more imperious Miniſter of State could he leave behind him with the Dutcheſs of* Parma, *than the Cardinal* Granville? *Did I ſay Miniſter of State? nay, rather ſupream Governor; ſince whilſt he*

he was there, the Dutcheſs bore only the name of Regent: the whole power lay in him, baſe Burgundian! *The firſt Author of* Flanders's *miſchief; and who deſerves chiefly to be puniſhed, ſince the fault was chiefly his. The Government of the Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal affairs was ſuddenly altered in divers ſorts by abſolute Authority; but chiefly by new Edicts, ſtill more grievous to the conſcience, and by introducing the Inquiſition. The ſecreteſt Oracles are come from the Council of* Spain, *and are executed by ſecret conſultations in* Flanders. *If the Nobility have complained, their complaints have proved vain; to Petition, is counted treachery: to ſeem troubled, rebellion; and the caſual heavy giddineſs of the common people, a premeditated inſurrection of the whole Country. In fine, nothing but to have a pretence to uſe force againſt* Flanders, *was expected in* Spain. *And what more light pretence could be taken, than to go about to ſuppreſs thoſe tumults, which were ſeen to ceaſe almoſt as ſoon as begun? When ſo ſuddenly hereupon the* Flemiſh *are inſolently declared in* Spain *to be Rebels to God, and to the King: and a foreign Army marches to cauſe* Flanders *to be treated hereafter, not as a ſucceſſive Nation, but as a conquered Country. And who could be better choſen to execute ſuch violences than the Duke of* Alva? *the moſt haughty minded man of all* Spain; Flanders *greateſt enemy: and who knows better than any other how to extinguiſh all remainders of Religion, and in lieu thereof to uſe all Tyranny. And juſt ſo it fell out. He hath begun to raiſe Citadels in the chiefeſt Cities: he hath placed Gariſons every where; the places of execution run down with blood in all Towns: no more home Laws are heard of, but foreign ones. The Country is almoſt unpeopled by exilement, impriſonment, and running away. And nothing but ghaſtly looks, complaints, miſery, deſparation, and calamity is ſeen every where. In this deplorable eſtate is* Flanders *at the preſent. How much more happy then is* Germany, *which enjoys her former liberty, and which abhorring all foreign Force, knows no other Empire than her own? I partake of this felicity, for from hence I derive my blood, and my firſt ſtem remains ſtill here. Nay, I am more hated in* Spain *than any other of the* Flemiſh, *by reaſon of my* German *Spirit. I am held to be the contriver of Conſpiracies, the head of ſedition, the peſtilence of thoſe Countries. Their greateſt anger thunders againſt me, and the ſevereſt puniſhments are already fallen upon me. Thus they ſeek to turn my glory to infamy: And what greater glory can there be, than to maintain the liberty of a mans Country, and to die rather than be inſlaved? I then (moſt high Princes, and noble Deputies) who am both a* German *and a* Fleming, *after having laid before you the miſeries of the Lower-*Germany, *whoſe tears and ſupplications I bring hither with me, do in her name implore the help and protection of the Upper-*Germany. *But ſuch recourſe for refuge will not avail, unleſs you your ſelves repute the cauſe which is now in hand, to be common as well to* Germany *as to* Flanders, *as I at firſt took for granted. And who can doubt it? who is not aware of the* Spaniards *vaſt deſigns? doubtleſly a deſire of Domination doth naturally reign in all men. One will draws on another; nor doth what is poſſeſt give ſatisfaction. But how immenſe, how immoderate doth this thirſt appear particularly in the* Spaniards? *they think not their unknown worlds ſufficient to quench it; and will therefore extend their Empire ſtill further in thoſe which are known. They fix their eyes, and their machinations much more upon* Europe *in particular. When they ſhall have oppreſt* Flanders, *and have gotten ſo opportune a ſeat for their Arms, what Province will they next fall upon? that certainly which they ſhall have moſt reaſon to fear. He who will lay the foundations of ſervitude well, firſt ſeeks to beat down the Bulwarks of Liberty. Wherefore knowing that they ſhall be moſt withſtood by the power and undaunnted Spirits of this Nation, which in all things is ſo united to* Flanders, *they will forthwith bend all their Forces hitherward. It may then be concluded, that the* Spaniſh *Forces being in* Flanders, *will be always ready to enter* Germany: *and then what will your miſeries be? when their Colonies ſhall likewiſe be ſeen here; new faces, new Cuſtoms, ſevere Laws more ſeverely executed, heavy yokes upon mens perſons, and more heavy upon their conſciences? This point being then granted, that the danger will be common amongſt us, the other will be clear, that the cauſe ſhould likewiſe be reputed common: the reſt follows on in conſequence. One neighbour runs to quench the fire that is kindled in another neighbours houſe. When a River threatens to break in, who runs not from all ſides to mend the banks? the ſame courſe ought now to be held; all you muſt haſte to help the* Flemiſh, *ſince you are the firſt that are likely to feel the flames of their fire, and they who ſhall firſt partake of the inundation of ſo many miſeries which they ſuffer. But do not believe that they will linger in expectation of your aids. They will move as ſoon as they ſhall ſee you move: and their worth and virtue, which by ſo unexpected and cruel a violence, is rather ſtupified than oppreſt, will return with greater vigor than before. What cannot armed deſparation do? what dares it not? the entrance will be always eaſie from theſe parts into* Frieſland, *and into the Provinces of* Flanders *which are on this ſide the* Rhine; *that River will with like eaſineſs be at all times paſt over: all the chief Cities will throw open their Gates. The Nobility, and all the whole Country will joyn in the ſame opinion. But I came ſhort when I ſaid that only* Germany *and* Flanders *would joyn in this cauſe:* France *and* England, *and the other Northern Countries, will undoubtedly joyn with us, ſince they ſtand in like fear of the* Spaniſh *Forces. He that commits violence, doth*

not

not always boaſt thereof. And how oft do we ſee oppreſſion prove the ruin of the oppreſſor? It may ſo fall out, as whilſt the Spaniards *do ſo greedily gape after other mens eſtates, they may chance to loſe their own. The* Flemiſh *expect only your aſſiſtance, to eſcape ſo hard a ſlavery. And I in their names do once again earneſtly implore it. The cauſe cannot be more juſt, nor more eaſily helped: and it is yours no leſs than ours. All neighbours will take it for their own concernment; and the whole North will favour it. But as the defence will in the firſt place fall to your ſhare, ſo the firſt place of victory will be given to your Forces. And ſo by the title of our being oppreſſed, you ſhall for ever be accounted our deliverers.*

The Crown of *Spain* never had, nor never ſhall have a fiercer enemy than the Prince of *Orange*. To this his diſcourſe made in publick, he added many others in private. He exagerated all the evils which are wont to be ſaid in deteſtation of great Empires and their Governors; and ſought by all means poſſible to imprint thoſe paſſions in the minds of others, which burnt ſo fiercely in his own. He prevailed ſo far with the Diet, as even the backwardeſt amongſt them, wiſht they had helped the *Flemiſh*. Whereupon it was concluded that ſuch men as were neceſſary for that purpoſe ſhould ſpeedily be raiſed. This reſolution was ſuddenly communicated by *Orange* to his Confederates of *Flanders*, and to thoſe alſo with whom he held intelligence in *France* and in *England*. They deſigned to enter *Flanders* at one and the ſame time in divers parts. The eaſieſt way ſeemed to be by *Friezland*, as being the moſt open Country, and the moſt commodious to receive *German*-aids. The other ſide whereon they would endeavour to get entrance, was *Brabant* and *Gelderland*, confining upon the States of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and *Liege*. On the behalf of *France*, the *Hugonots* intimated hopes that they would cauſe ſome Novelties in the *Walloon* Frontiers; and the like was promiſed from *England*, in *Holland* and *Zealand* by Sea. They made no delay: much Soldiery did juſt then return to *Germany*, which *John Caſimere*, one of the Count Palatines of *Rhine*, had not long before led into *France* in favour of the *Hugonots*. Arms were for that time laid down in that Kingdom by ſome agreement between the parties intereſſed; and therefore the aforeſaid *Germans* returning to their own homes, *Orange*, and the reſt of his adherents, thought it very opportune upon this occaſion to make uſe of them for the accompliſhment of their deſigns. Such as were needful being then tane into pay by the Princes, and Cities that did intervene in the Diet, as many of them as were requiſite, to boot with the men which they raiſed in their own Countries, began to march under Count *Lodovick*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, with intention to enter the *Low-Countries* on the ſide of *Friezland*: but before he began to move, another was heard of towards *Gelderland*. *Lumay* and *Villiers*, were two of thoſe Nobles who had ſhared moſt in the Covenant, Petitions and revolts which had happened in the Dutcheſs of *Parma*'s time, they feared to be puniſhed by the Duke of *Alva*, proportionably to their demerits. Having therefore through this apprehenſion quitted their Country, they would now return again with Forces. They reſolved to put it to a tryal, by endeavouring to ſurpriſe ſome important place in *Gelderland*. They thought *Ruremond* a fitting place, a City ſtanding on the *Mauſe*, and which might ſerve them for a paſſage into *Brabant*. *Orange* inſtigated them hereunto; for he deſigned to enter with very powerful Forces on that ſide, and then to ſettle in the midſt of the Country. Having gathered tumultuouſly together about 2000 foot, and ſome few horſe, a rabble of people, all of them almoſt of the Neighbouring Countries, they moved to execute the ſaid deſign: and they hoped for better ſucceſs, for that they had ſome intelligence in the City. This was ſoon foreſeen, and ſpeedily prevented by the Duke of *Alva*. He diſpatcht away the Camp-Maſter *Londonio* forthwith thitherward with ſome *Spaniſh*, ſome *German*, and ſome *Walloon* Colours, and ſent *Sancio d' Avola* likewiſe thither with 300 horſe; and in the firſt place ſecured *Maeſtrick*, that being the chief paſs towards *Germany*. That City is cut through, not in the midſt, but on one ſide by the *Mauſe*, the leſſer part thereof makes as it were an angle, which is called by the name of *Vich*. This part belongs to the Principality of *Liege*; but the chief body of the Town is under the *Low-Countries*. The City is united by a ſtone-bridg: and the *Ligeois* contented with the Civil Government of what belongs to them, leave both the leſſer and greater diviſion under the Military cuſtody of the King of *Spain*. The revolters drew near *Ruremond*, and endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of one gate; but they failed in their deſign: for they reaped no good by the Intelligence they had within; but found things in a better poſture of defence than they expected. They therefore preſently withdrew into the State of *Liege*, fearing to have the *Spaniards* on their back, if they ſhould tarry in the Kings Territories. This mean while *Londonio* and *Avola* were on their march; and underſtanding that they were retreated, *Londonio* was not minded to follow them into *Liege*, ſaying,

Will not this be to offend and irritate our Neighbours? our own Country is too full of jealouſie. Let us make a bridg to them that fly; to ſee the enemy run away, is to have ſufficiently overcome.

But *Alva* was for purſuing them: replying,

Our Neighbours will be ſo far from being hereat offended, as they ought rather to thank us for it. Do not we know that theſe wicked ones have entred the Country of Liege *by force? the* Ligeois *will then repute our Forces for their own, and muſt confeſs that we have done this to free them, not to invade their Country.*

This

This opinion prevailed; and the *Spaniards* advancing, heard that *Lumay* and *Villiers* were retired with their men towards *Dalem*, a little Town, bordering upon the Country of *Liege*, environed with a wall and a ditch, but otherwise not strong. They did not think that the *Spaniard* would have touched upon that State: but when they knew they marched towards them, they got underneath the walls of *Dalem*, and assisted by a ravelin on one side, and by the carriage-carts on the other, they prepared to defend themselves. When the *Spaniards* were come up, they sent some of their men forthwith to the other side of the Town, and with the rest gave so strong an assault to the enemy on the front, as they wholly routed them. They slew many of them, took many of them, and amongst the rest *Villiers* was taken prisoner. So the design of the *Flemish* who had quit their Country, proved vain on that side. Not long after they endeavoured to possess themselves of the Town of *Graves*, which was first possest by the Prince of *Orange*; and which being seated upon the *Mause*, on the utmost confines of *Brabant*, would have been very fit for their purpose. But they were not well got in, by means of some intelligence which they had, when they resolved to be gon again, hearing that the Dukes men marched towards them. Nor had they better success in a conspiracy of theirs, which (as was commonly divulged) was not long before discovered against the Dukes person. He oft-times used to pass by the Forrest *Soigny*, near *Brussels*, upon occasion of frequenting a Monastery which was thereabouts, called *Groendal*. Some of the Nobility had resolved to set upon him with some men in that Wood, and to kill him, and so suddenly to run to *Brussels*, and to raise the people there. But were it either that the report was false, (for the conspiracy was not much believed) or that the design could not be executed, the business soon vanisht, no certainty of it being ever known. Count *Lodovick* was mean while fallen into *Friezland* with an entire Army, consisting, as 'twas said, of 10000 foot, and 3000 horse; and *Orange* did prepare at the same time to pass into the *Low-Countries* on another side with a much greater strength. *Lodovick* being entred *Friezland*, he began to fortifie the Town of *Delfeziel*, scituated towards the mouth of the River *Embs*. This River divides East-*Friezland*, which belongs to the Upper-*Germany*, from West *Friezland*, which appertains to the Lower. As it grows nearer the Sea, so it inlargeth it self, as by the mouth thereof it makes a gulf. Here is the City of *Embden* seated, one of the most considerable Towns of all the Maretine part, by reason of the frequency of people, and opportunity of Commerce, which is much helped by the Haven thereof, being held one of the most commodious of all the North. The *Flemish Friezland* (if I may so call it) makes two Provinces; that which joyns upon *Germany*, is called *Groninghen*, from the City of the same name: a City very well populated, and suspitiously seated, being the chiefest Key of those Confines. 'Tis seated very low, as is its sister Province, which retains the name of *Friezland*. In Winter the fields stand full of Water; and there is no coming to their habitations but upon the banks: in Summer the Land lies dry, and yields great store of pasturage. You would say that in those parts the Sea is interchangeably turned into Land, and the Land to Sea. By reason of the low scituation, and great humidity, there is no Woods in the Country, nor almost any sort of Trees which may serve for firing. But where nature is therein wanting, the Inhabitants make it good by their industry; they make use of Turfs cut out of the Earth, and dried in the Sun, instead of Wood. These are the Woods of *Friezland*, and the Inhabitants usual fire. In divers other parts of *Flanders* they suffer likewise the same wants, and with the same industry provide against it. *Lodovick* intended to make himself Master of the City of *Groninghen*, and there were some within the Town who fed him with hopes of so doing. He therefore encamped thereabouts, and fortified himself where he thought best; especially where he might receive new supplies from *Germany*. But the Duke of *Alva* had not been wanting this mean while in taking such order as was needful to withstand this Army. Count *Aremberg* was Governour of that *Friezland* which belong'd to the King of *Spain*; he was one of the chiefest Lords of *Flanders*; of great esteem in the Militia: and who a little before was sent by the Duke into *France* with a good strength of Horse, to the aid of King *Charles*, against the Hereticks of that Kingdom. The affairs of *France* being afterwards setled, and *Aremberg* being returned to *Flanders*, the Duke sent him suddenly into *Friezland*. He had under him a Regiment of High-*Dutch*: and Count *Mega*, Governor of the Provinces of *Gelderland* and *Zutfen*, had another. The Duke then ordered, that as many of the High-*Dutch* as could be had, should fall down into those parts. He dispatched away thither also the Camp-Master *Bracamonte*, with almost his whole *Spanish* Brigado, and some Horse, and six Field-Pieces. *Lodovick* had begun to fortifie the Town of *Dam*, from whence there runs a Channel to *Delfeziel*; but hindred by the coming of the *Spaniards*, he resolved to quit those Quarters, and to go to a certain Priory not far from thence, which was more commodious and safe: the ground was higher here than in other parts, and there were some trees which served for the use of the Priory. Here the Count took up his Quarters, not knowing whether the *Spaniards* would assault him, or indeavour by reducing him to straits, to make him return to *Germany*. If they should assault him, it would make for his advantage, by reason of his scituation, and because the *Spaniards* were of necessity to pass through the hollow places where they had cut out Turfs, which stood full of water and mire, as did likewise all the fields

fields thereabouts. He feared rather to be ſtraitned in victuals, and conſequently inforced to retreat: but he was not left long in this doubt. The *Spaniards* as ſoon as they deſcri'd the enemy, began to murmur, for that *Aremberg* would not ſuffer them to fall on and aſſault them; which he was againſt, conſidering wiſely that *Mega* was not yet come, and that he expected ſome further reinforcement of Horſe and Foot, his preſent Forces being fewer in number than were the enemy. But his counſel was but liſtned unto, nor his Authority reſpected. For the *Spaniards*, impatient of all delay, deſpiſing his Command, would forbear no longer. Nay, ſome of them uſing injurious and offenſive words towards him, termed him a Coward for matter of War, and diſloyal in the Cauſe of the Church and King. Whence much incenſt, he ſaid, *Let us then go, not to overcome, but to be overcome; and not by the Arms of our Enemies, but thoſe which Nature adoperates for them. Shall not we be buried in water, dirt, and ditches, before we can come to aſſault them? How ſtrong in all other reſpects is their ſituation? and how much greater are their numbers than ours? I notwithſtanding will be one of the firſt that will fight and dye: Thus will I ſhew whether I degenerate from my blood or no, whether I be a Coward, and whether I be faulty in my loyalty to my Religion and to my King.*

This being ſaid, he with the reſt fell headlong into the battel. The *Spainiards* were on the front, the *High-Dutch* followed; and the Horſe were placed more where the quality of the ground would permit them to be, than in any good order; the Artillery guarded one flank of the Enemy, where they lay moſt open. *Lodovick* on the contrary, ſeeing himſelf at ſuch advantage, full of joy, put his Army in order, and encouraged them thus unto the battel.

What Victory (my fellow-ſouldiers) was ever more certain, than that which we ſhall this day win upon the Spaniards? *Do you ſee how raſhly, and with how much arrogancy they come to aſſault us? as if this Quarter of ſo valiant Souldiers were the proud* Alva's *Palace, and that they were by their baſe treacheries to impriſon here ſome other* Egmont *and* Horn, *to make them afterwards laughing ſtocks, and to deſtroy them in their new Forts, wherewith they have inthralled* Flanders *every where. But this day undoubtedly will make them repent their ſo many tyrannical proceedings; and make the Country conceive a certain hope, that all bondage being ſhaken off, it ſhall ſoon recover its former liberty. If we conſider Forces, ours are twice as many as theirs: If the Cauſe, Violence diſplayes the Colours on their ſide, and Juſtice on ours: If the condition of Souldiers, many of theirs are to be accounted ours; and how can their* Germans *differ in opinion from you? But ſay they were all* Spaniards, *that they were more in number than we, and that they had the better cauſe; were not our ſo many other advantages ſufficient to win us the victory? The water, dirt, and holes, will rob us of the honour of overcoming them. This will not be like the encounter at* Dalem, *where thoſe few of our men thinking to be ſafe in the Country of* Liege, *were ſet on at unawares, and routed without almoſt any fighting. Deceits will not avail here: We will here ſoon repay our ſelves for that loſs, with good uſe to boot. In wars, the beginning uſeth to preſage the end: And therefore we by this preſent Victory, will aſcertain the future. But lo the Enemy already comes on; receive him couragiouſly: For as Juſtice leads them on to puniſhment, ſo doth it you to prey, revenge, and glory.*

He had ordered his men thus: The Horſe on the right wing, under his brother *Adolphus*, who had the command of them, on which ſide the ground was more tractable; the Foot on the left, where they were ſheltred by a little hill, whereon he placed ſome Files of Muſquetiers; he left the ground on which were trees on his back, and on his front that which was moſt myery. At the firſt the *Spaniſh* Artillery did ſomewhat prejudice his men; and ſome of them did ſo couragiouſly charge *Lodovicks* Muſquetiers who were placed to defend the little hill, as they hoped to win it: whereupon the *Spaniards* gave on upon the Enemy with more obſtinate reſolution than before. But they ſoon were aware of their errors: For bemyred in the water and mud, the more they endeavoured to get out, the faſter they ſtuck; and the reſt who came to help them, had need of help themſelves. They were then wounded and ſlain by the Enemies Foot, who ran no danger thereby: And *Lodovick* making his Horſe wheel about, inviroued *Arembergs* men, and without any trouble routed and defeated them. In the Battel about 600 *Spaniards* were ſlain, and almoſt none of the *Germans*; for they ſuddenly yielded upon diſcretion to the Enemy, who eaſily gave them their lives, upon obligation that they ſhould never bear arms more for the *Spaniard*. *Aremberg*, playing the part rather of a common Souldier than of a Commander, whilſt he fought couragiouſly, was ſlain at the firſt encounter. There were but few loſt on *Lodovicks* ſide: their greateſt loſs was in his brother *Adolphus*; Some will have it that he was ſlain by *Arembergs* own hand, and that *Adolphus* ſlew *Aremberg*. The *Spaniards* loſt their Artillery and their Baggage, and ſome monies which was brought to their Camp to pay the Souldiers, The Battel was not well ended, when a Troop of horſe appeared, led on by Count *Curtio Martinengo*, and by *Andrea Salatſar*, which Count *Mega* had ſent before to reinforce the Horſe of the Kings army. Their arrival helped at leaſt to hinder the Enemy from ſlaughtering any more of the disbanded men, who ran away from the *Spaniſh* Camp. Nor was *Mega* himſelf long after in coming up; who conſidering the danger of *Groninghen*, entred thereinto ſuddenly, and did there aſſemble all the men he could

could get together, leſt they might fall into *Lodovicks* hands.

The ſucceſs of this Battel was ſundry times related to me in the time of my being Nuntio in the *Low-Countries*, by Count *Aremberg*, Son to him that was ſlain: who was Knight of the Golden Fleece; a gentleman of very much merit likewiſe, and no whit inferior to his Father in the managing as well of Military as Civil affairs in *Flanders*.

Upon the news of this Rout, the Duke of *Alva* was much troubled: He ſaw how that *Lodovick*, when he was hardly entred *Friezland*, had won ſo important a Victory; that *Orange* prepared likewiſe to enter the Country with very potent Forces; and that now the Neighbours would be much encouraged to aſſiſt them, and the *Flemiſh* ready to receive them. Moved by theſe conſiderations, he would have gone himſelf in perſon preſently into *Friezland*, the better to ſecure that Frontier, to drive *Lodovick* from thence, and to hinder *Orange* from entring into *Flanders* by any other part. But he conſidered on the contrary, that he had not at preſent men enough to confront the Enemy, and to ſecure the Country. But he chiefly queſtioned whether he were to go ſo far or no from the impriſoned *Egmont* and *Horne*, ſince a ſlight guard would not be ſufficient to keep them, and his Army would be too much leſſened by leaving a great Gariſon. Amidſt theſe difficulties, he judged it was not fit to afford the Enemy time: whereupon he reſolved to haſten as faſt as might be divers Levies, which he forthwith gave order for, of *German*, *Burgonian*, and *Walloon* Foot and Horſe, and to go with all ſpeed to drive *Lodovick* out of *Friezland*. This reſolution being put on, he determined to have the cauſe of the aforeſaid Counts, and of other Priſoners of quality ſpeedily heard and determined; touching which he had received divers expreſs Commiſſions from *Spain*: The Kings Council thinking it fit that the hainouſneſs of ſo many faults committed by ſuch Chieftains againſt the Church and King ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. The two Counts being forthwith brought with a good guard from *Gaunt* to *Bruſſels*, after ſeven months impriſonment, they received their ſentence, whereby they were adjudged to be publickly beheaded, and their goods confiſcated, as guilty of the aforeſaid faults againſt divine and human Majeſty. Before they came to their execution, eighteen of a meaner condition were publickly put to death in the ſame City, for being Rebels. Soon after, for the ſame faults, Monſieur *de Villiers*, and Monſieur *de Duy* had their heads cut off in ſight of all the people. And laſtly, two days after the ſentence was executed upon *Egmont* and *Horne*; the place of Execution being firſt well guarded by a great many *Spaniards*, to hinder any tumult which might ariſe amongſt the people, by ſeeing two Perſonages of ſuch condition led to death, one of them being eſpecially ſo generally beloved by the *Flemiſh*. The ſorrow which they ſhewed for his death, was anſwerable to the love they bore *Egmont*. He was bewailed by all; many vowed his revenge; and they were not a few who gathered up the blood which ran from his body. So great was the ſenſe which was then had of his ſuffering, and ſo fatal accidents did afterwards inſue, as if the neck of whole *Flanders* had depended upon his. *Egmont* died with demonſtration of great piety and courage. *Horne* did likewiſe undauntedly wait the blow; and being to loſe his life, he ſtood not much upon his conſcience. *Strales* formerly Burgomaſter of *Antwerp*, who had ſo much fomented the ſeditions of that City, as hath been ſaid in its proper place, was executed in *Vilvorde*, within two leagues of *Bruſſels*, where he was impriſoned. And *Caſſenbrot*, formerly Secretary to *Egmont*, was, whilſt alive, torn in pieces by four horſes in *Bruſſels*. Other four obſtinate Hereticks, who had had the greateſt hand in the violation and depredation of the Churches, were publickly burnt; and divers others were at the ſame time executed in ſeveral places, to the ſo great fear and horror of the people, as nothing was any where ſeen or heard but ſighs, groans, and lamentations. To all this was added a horrible Proclamation againſt all thoſe that were fled, who were ſummoned to return, upon pain of loſing their goods, if they did not; and a ſtrict ſearch was ordered to find out all their wealth. At the ſame time *Montigni*, brother to Count *Horne*, was put to death in *Spain*; the Marqueſs of *Berghen* being dead there likewiſe ſome months before, as hath been ſaid. The Duke being thus free from the fear of his Priſoners, he gave himſelf wholly to the thought of Arms. He diſpatcht away the Marqueſs *Chiapino Vitelli* immediately with many men, to ſecure *Groninghen*: And this mean while 1500 *German* Horſe were raiſed by *Henry*, one of the Dukes of *Brunſwick*; 400 *German* Dragoons by *Hans Bernia*, and 1000 in *Burgundy*, by Seignior *Norchernes*; and the *German* Regiments which were under *Mega*, *Ladrone*, and *Schamburg* were recruited. To theſe foot, were added three new *Walloon* Brigades under the Command of Count *de Rules* of *Egidius Barlemonte*, Lord of *Hierges*, and *Gaſpero de Robles*, Lord of *Bigly*; and all theſe people were ordered to meet at *Deventer*, a City ſtanding upon the River *Iſel*, in the Province of *Overiſſel*, joyning upon *Friezland*: in which City the Duke was to be with all the *Spaniſh* Brigades, except it were ſome few Companies which were left in the moſt important Gariſons. Theſe expeditions being made, *Vitelli* ſoon arrived at *Groninghen*; and there were with him *Brunſwicks* Horſe, *Mega's* Foot, and part of *Schamburg's* Foot. *Lodovick* durſt not all this time lay a formal ſiege to *Groninghen*, partly becauſe he had not men enough for that purpoſe, partly becauſe he hoped to be brought in by Intelligence, and finally, becauſe he would not ingage himſelf in a buſineſs, of which he could not diſingage



Chiapino Vitelli Marqueſs of Cetona
Campe-maſter-generall

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diſingage himſelf, but either by danger or diſhonour. *Vitelli* being afterwards come to *Groningben*, *Lodovick* ſtaid ſtill near thereabouts, in a place ſtrengthened by a River on one ſide, and by the building of a Priory, called *Salveret*, on the other, where he had fortified himſelf very well. *Vitelli*, to encourage his men, and to try the Enemies valour, made many skirmiſhes, and reſolved at laſt to poſſeſs himſelf of a place ſomewhat higher near to *Lodovicks* quarters, and where the Enemy had fortified themſelves: The place was ſomewhat diſputed, but at laſt he won it with the ſlaughter of about an hundred of their men. This mean while the Duke himſelf was on his march; and having thrown Bridges over the *Mauſe*, *Rhine*, and *Iſel*, and readily paſt over all thoſe Rivers, he about the midſt of *July* arrived at *Deventer*: Then raiſing his whole Camp from thence, he in three days march came to *Rolde*, a large Village neareſt to *Groninghen*, and not far diſtant from the Enemy. He was not well got thither, when a Great Alarm was given, occaſioned by a ſpeech, that the Enemy did aſſault that place which *Vitelli* had taken from them. The Duke went himſelf in perſon to ſee what was doing, and he found the rumor falſe: whereupon, calling to mind the bad ſucceſs of *Friezland*, occaſioned through the ſelf-default of the Kings Soldiers, and incenſed at this new inconvenience which had hapned in his own ſight at *Rolde*; as ſoon as he was return'd unto the Camp, he call'd his Soldiers unto him, and ſpake thus:

What my Military Government hath been in the ſo many occaſions wherein I have had the honour to Command the Spaniſh *Forces, may be ſufficiently known to all men. And what old Soldier is there in this Army, eſpecially of my Nation, who either hath not fought under the*

ſame Enſigns with me, or hath not been diſciplined under me? The form of my Command being not then unknown to you, nor your wonted obedience unknown to me, I may juſtly wonder to ſee your actions ſo altered, as it may almoſt be queſtioned whether you be the accuſtomed Soldiers, or whether you think me your accuſtomed Commander? I am now again ſtrangely moved in thinking upon the diſorders lately happened in Friezland: *One or two days patience might have made the victory aſſuredly ours: Count* Mega *was already on his march with great Forces: the* Flemiſh *Rebels were but few in number;* Lodovick *their Commander had neither meat nor money to maintain the* Germans; *his people were for the moſt part tumultuary and full of confuſion within themſelves. In this caſe what was to be done, but to have fought the Enemy by diſcommoding them, and thus to have defeated them? That was my opinion then, and ſo was Count* Aremberg *ordered by me to do. And notwithſtanding, not his Command, but mine being contemned; and not courage, but raſhneſs being uſed, that Victory was brought home, as it may be ſaid, to the Enemies doors, which they could not otherwiſe ever have hoped for. Who could have expected ſuch errors as theſe? eſpecially from* Spaniards, *who are wont to be a preſident of diſcipline and obedience: and who knew better than all others when to fight. The injury was done to me in particular, which was offered by ſome of them to that ſo worthy Commander, as if I had been indiſcreet in making choice of him upon ſo great an occurence; and yet it was my opinion, that I could not oppoſe any one more faithful to the Church and King, and more valiant in arms, than was Count* Aremberg, *againſt ſo perfidious and rebellious a Leader as is* Lodovick, *From which ſucceſs, what advantage have the rebels made unto themſelves, who are now entred* Friezland? *How much are others thereby incouraged, who prepare likewiſe to enter theſe Provinces by other parts? What doth not the Prince of* Orange *do? what doth he not now endeavour amongſt the hereticks of* Germany *after ſo joyful news?* Orange *I ſay, the plotter of all the paſt revolts; the occaſioner of all theſe preſent troubles? We are here then to drive* Lodovick *out of* Friezland, *and to hinder* Orange *from entring into theſe Provinces by any other way. Now whilſt I expect that thoſe errors be amended under my command, which were committed under* Arembergs, *what diſorders, what new tumults do both my ears and eyes meet withal? What doth this Alarm, and this running to take up arms without any occaſion, mean? Doth not this Army believe that they have the Duke of* Alva *ſtill for their Commander? or doth it no longer fear the ſeverity of his orders, and the rigour of his diſcipline? Peradventure you will ſay the fault lies in the new men: perhaps ſo; but their Governours are not new men. And therefore as a great part of the fault hath been theirs, theirs ſhould likewiſe be a great part of the puniſhment. But let indulgency at this time prevail over rigour; and let it never be ſaid, that my men were puniſhed before the enemies were ſo. But if I ſhall be hereafter provoked to reſentment, I do from this time declare it ſhall be ſuch, as every one ſhall at laſt know how inſeparable an union there is between my Command and Diſcipline, and between Diſcipline and my Command. Raſhneſs is always blind, and almoſt always unfortunate in all humane actions; but how much more in Military, than in Civil Government? For in theſe, time is allowed to amend evil counſels by good ones; whereas in the other, at the very inſtant that the error is committed, the loſs is irremediably received. And this may ſuffice to have been ſaid for what is paſt, together with caution for what is to come. For what remains, I am reſolved now to uſe theſe very means to break and defeat* Lodovick, *which* Aremberg *ought to have obſerved by my Command. I hope to ſee him ſoon return to* Germany *with ſhame and ſcorn enough, only by the advantages of Incamping, and by the ſole force of ſufferings; or elſe to drive him out by lively force. Buckle your ſelves, my ſoldiers, then to this buſineſs; either I ſhall have forgot the myſtery of War, or I will make good my words.*

That age had not a more compleat Commander than was the Duke of *Alva*; nor who did leſs hazard the event of Arms to the uncertainty of Fortune. To encamp always with great advantage; to keep his men in great diſcipline; to weary the enemy, to reduce him into ſtraits, to overcome oftest without fighting; or to fight with little loſs of his own mens bloud and great effuſion of the enemies: theſe were the arts he uſed in his Military Government. It would be truly ſaid, that he was the *Spaniſh Fabius* of his time: ſo did he imitate him in his form of waging War. The Duke parted from *Rolde*, and marched in very good order, leſt *Lodovick* might meet with him between *Rolde* and *Groninghen*, and force him to fight before thoſe of the City could joyn with him. But *Lodovick* forbore ſo doing, fearing likewiſe leſt if he ſhould aſſault the *Spaniſh* Camp, he might at the ſame time be taken in the midſt between the Dukes men and thoſe of the City. He therefore kept in his former quarters, and had fortified himſelf very well there: he had the River, which winding about, fenced him almoſt on two ſides, the reſt was ſtrengthened by good Trenches, and by the ſeat of the aforeſaid Priory; a great Trench was likewiſe thruſt out on this ſide the River, which lay upon the front of the *Spaniſh* Camp, and which *Lodovick* had made the better to defend two wooden bridges which lay over the ſame River. He thought to keep himſelf ſtill in ſo commodious a quarter, intending to keep the Kings Army imployed in *Friezland*, and the mean while afford the Prince his brother the better commodity to enter into thoſe Provinces alſo; or that if the Duke ſhould turn upon *Orange*, *Groninghen* and all that Frontier might remain in the former

mer danger. But theſe deſigns which *Lodovick* propounded unto himſelf, were very well foreſeen by the Duke, who was therefore reſolved not to ſuffer him to tarry long in *Friezland*.

When he had certain information that the enemy did not ſtir, he entred into *Groninghen*, and having refreſht his men, he led them out of the City, and drew near the enemies Camp. The Duke gueſſed juſt as it fell out; to wit, that *Lodovick* when he ſhould be faced with ſo powerful an Army, when he ſhould ſee himſelf in danger to want victuals, and that he ſhould not be able to retreat when he would, better weighing his deſigns, he would prevent theſe difficulties, and without more ado reſolve upon retreat. *Lodovick* at laſt reſolved to do ſo: and that he might do it without loſs of men or reputation, he effected it thus: that very day towards the evening he ſent away his baggage before, after it his foot, and left the horſe for the laſt, having taken order for breaking down the bridges which were over the river, to the end that the *Spaniards* might not follow him. The Duke had foreſeen this; and to be the more ſure, he gave order that *Robles* the Camp-maſter, with 400 *Walloons*, ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of a certain houſe conveniently ſeated to diſcover the enemies goings; the retreat was then apparently ſeen: the Duke made no delay: he forthwith ſent forth 400 *Spaniards* of the *Neopolitan* Brigado to aſſault the great trench which was fomerly ſpoken of; which was ſo well perform'd, as they drove away thoſe that defended it, who ſuddenly firing the bridges, repaſt over the river. The night now drew on, and the enemy was already ſo far advanced, and in ſo good order, as the Dukes men could do them no great harm. Yet ſome *Spaniards* and *Walloons* waded over the river where it was ſhalloweſt; but they met with ſuch hindrances by the ſquadrons of the enemies horſe, and by the narrowneſs and badneſs of the ways, as they could make no further progreſs. But few of the enemies were ſlain in this action; yet were they much diſcouraged and confuſed therewith, ſeeing themſelves ſo boldly ſet upon. After this, rather flight than retreat, *Lodovick* continued his march backward towards East *Frieſland*: intending, for as much as was conceiv'd, to ſtay notwithſtanding on this ſide the river of *Embs*, in ſome good ſcituation, and as near *Embden* as poſſibly he could, that by the nearneſs of the river and the City, he might come the better by victuals, and come what would come, ſecure his laſt retreat. By which means he ſtill thought he might compaſs his intention, either of keeping the Duke of *Alva* buſied, or to keep with his former hopes in *Friezland*, if the Duke ſhould in ſome other parts oppoſe his brother. He thought he might likewiſe believe that the Duke would not touch upon *Germany*, nor hazard the want of victuals, or ſuffering of other incommodities in a Country which appeared openly averſe unto him. And howſoever, he thought he ſhould be able ſo well to fortifie himſelf, as the Duke ſhould not ſo eaſily diſlodg him the ſecond time, as he had done the firſt. To boot with the river which fenced him on the one ſide, the Country was almoſt altogether impaſſable, ſince it hardly allowed conveniency to be marcht upon, and that upon the banks, and much leſs to fight. And moreover the river ſwelling much more than ordinarily at a high-tide, the Country might eaſily be overflown by means of certain ſluces, which cutting the banks of the ſame river in divers places, are uſually op ened or ſhut by the Inhabitants, according as the ſea ſwells or leſſens. This was *Lodovicks* deſign. So he purſued to march after his firſt retreat, and did advance ſo far, that very night, and ſome days after, as at laſt he quarter'd in a great village on this ſide the *Embs*, call'd *Geminghen*. He might firſt have ſtaid in another call'd *Rheeden*, and have had the paſſage over the *Embs*, more commodiouſly there alſo, by reaſon of a bridg which was nigh at hand: but it was known that he would ſtay on this ſide the river, and yet as near as he could to the City of *Embden*, for the reaſons which have been already ſpoken of.

On the other ſide the Duke continued his purpoſes, which were to follow *Lodovick* to the *Embs*, and to endeavour by all means poſſible to ſend him back routed and defeated into *Germany*, that ſo he might be the freer afterwards to turn back upon *Orange*. He therefore made his Army march, leaving almoſt all the new raiſed Horſe in *Groninghen*, becauſe they could not be ſerviceable in thoſe parts. He lodged the firſt night in a Village called *Sclotenem*: and not hearing any news of the Enemy, nor of good conveniency for Victuals, (for all that Country was againſt him) he was inforced to ſtay two days in that place. He doubted that *Lodovick* might be tarried in *Rheeden*, that he might enjoy the opportunity of that near bridg which ſecured unto the paſſage over the River. Knowing afterwards that he was paſt further on, the Duke liked the buſineſs much better, and ſtaid his Camp in *Rheeden*, ſecuring that paſs for himſelf. Here he at laſt had certain advertiſements, that the Enemy were lodged in *Geminghen*. From *Rheeden* to *Geminghen*, at ſome eight miles diſtance, there runs a continual bank, which ſerves as a curb to the River, whereby the better to tame the ſwelling thereof, occaſioned by the Sea. The Duke was to make his men march upon this Bank, if he would defeat the Enemy. Divers Channels ran into the River, which had houſes and Bridges upon them for the uſe and ſervice of the Country people, who in the Summer-time (which now it was) had ſome abidings not ſo low, nor not ſo muddy as in the Country. *Lodovicks* Quarters were thus fortified: he had the Town of *Geminghen* upon his back, on his left ſide the River, and on his right the open fields fortified with Trenches, where the ſcituation would allow it: On the Front, the Bank

it ſelf, ſomewhat diſtant from the River, gave the entrance, which without was cut in two by two Ravelins, and better guarded within by two pieces of Artillery. In this ſo ſtrong place, he either did not expect, or did not fear the Duke: Who deſirous to try all ways to fight and defeat him, reſolved to go to him. He ſent ſome Horſe before, under his natural Son *Fernando*, who had the Charge of the Horſe, and made the Houſes and Bridges ſtill as he marched be taken, to ſecure his retreat upon all occaſions. From hence he advanced *Sancio d' Avola*, with 50 Horſe, and 500 Harquebuſiers, all of them *Spaniards*; and ſent the two Camp-maſters, *Romero* and *Londonio* after him, with each of them 000 *Spaniſh* Foot, part Harquebuſiers, part Muſquetiers, and with two Companies of Lances, Commanded by *Ceſar d' Avalos*, and *Curtio Martinengo*. The reſt of the Army marcht in this order: The *Spaniards* were the Van; the *High-Dutch* followed next; and the *Walloons* brought up the Reer, incloſed by ſome Troops of Horſe: the Files were very ſtrait, for they could not march well but upon the Bank. At *Avala* his firſt advancement, he found ſome of the Enemy, who had opened the Sluces to overflow the Country, and ſaw that the water entred already in abundance: But putting them to flight ſuddenly, he made the Sluces be ſhut, and kept as they ought to be. The Duke himſelf advanced this mean while, together with *Vitelli*, *Norchernes*, and ſome few others, who came in ſight of the Enemies Quarters. He underſtood by the Spies that they were in ſome diſorder, as well for that they ſaw his Army ſo near, as that *Lodovicks* men were almoſt all of them tumultuous, and ſo ill paid, as ſome uproar was already feared in the Camp. The firſt *Spaniards* had this mean while drawn the Enemy forth to skirmiſh; who not thinking that the body of the Army was ſo near, thought they might eaſily break the Forerunners. There was no long delay made: The two great Squadrons of Foot (for as much as the narrowneſs of the place could permit) vigorouſly aſſaulted the *Spaniards*, by whom they were no leſs vigorouſly withſtood. The Dukes Van this mean while advanced; and look how much courage this added to the Catholicks, ſo much did it leſſen in the Hereticks. They then would have retreated; but being hotly purſued by the *Spaniards*, they began baſely to run away; and the *Spaniards* followed them ſo cloſe at the heels, as they fell in with them at the ſame inſtant into their quarters: where the Dukes men ſhewed no leſs valour, nor the Enemy any more reſiſtance; who being ſtill more imbaſed, and thinking only how to ſave themſelves, fell every where into diſorder and confuſion. The reſt was not to be termed fighting, but execution: The *Spaniards* more greedy of blood than booty, by reaſon of the ſlaughter which the others had committed the preceeding Battel, put as many of the Enemy as they could unto the ſword; but there was almoſt as many drowned as ſlain: for ſeeing they could not eſcape the fury of the Sword, they blindly threw themſelves into the River, which was very large and deep in that place. It was ſaid that *Lodovick* ſwom it over with much ado, and that 7000 of his men periſht; the reſt ran away, ſome here, ſome there, in ſo great terror, as there hardly was left any remainder of that Army. Few of the Dukes men were ſlain: And the Battel was ſuch, as certainly few will be the like, wherein the vanquiſhed were more indamaged, and the vanquiſhers leſs.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK V.

Orange *enters* Flanders *with great Forces raiſed in* Germany. *The Duke of* Alva *goes to meet him. They lye many days in the face of one another.* Orange *at laſt gives way, and muſt quit the Country. The Duke returns triumphant to* Bruſſels. *His neceſſity in matter of moneys, occaſioned by a great repriſal made thereof in* England. *He therefore reſolves to impoſe unuſual grievances. Commotions which inſue thereupon. A general Pardon proclaimed by him. The Arch-Dutcheſs* Ann *of* Auſtria *paſſeth through* Flanders, *to marry with the Catholick King. The* Flemiſh *are ſcandalized at a Statue of the Dukes, which was ſet up in the Citadel at* Antwerp. *The Caſtle of* Loveſtein *is ſurprized by* Orange *his followers, but is ſuddenly recovered by the* Spaniard. Lumay *more luckily takes the* Brill. *A particular Deſcription of* Holland *and* Zealand. *The troubles of* Zealand. Sancio d' Avola *goes to the ſuccour of* Middleburgh. Valenciennes *falls into the* Hugonots *hands, who not long after are made to quit it. By their aſſiſtance* Lodovick *ſteals into the City of* Mons, *and prepares to maintain the ſiege.*

THE Duke of *Alva*, after having obtained ſo notable a Victory, (Anno 1568.) return'd to *Groninghen*, and ſtaid there ſome days, the better to ſecure it from any new danger. He therefore munited it according as was requiſite: And becauſe he feared danger more from within, than from without, he left a Citadel begun to be built there, according as he intended at firſt, the better to bridle the Inhabitants. From thence he paſt to *Utrecht*, whoſe Province is as it were incorporated in *Holland*. He thought to have ſtayed there ſome time, the better to ſecure the affairs of *Holland*: But the news which he heard from divers parts of *Orange* his approach, or preparation ſo to do, made him go from thence much ſooner than he had intended. From thence he went to *Balduke*, giving at the ſame time ſuch order as was requiſite for the gathering together of the Army, and the reinforcing it with Foot and Horſe. To this end he fill'd up the *German* and *Walloon* Regiments, and added another Regiment of *Walloons* under *Chriſtophero Mandragone*, a *Spaniard*; and commanded that the Train-Bands of *Flanders*, which came to about 2000 Horſe, ſhould be in a readineſs. This ſort of *Militia*, diſtinguiſhed into Companies of Curaſiers and Harquebuſiers, under the chief Lords of the Country, was of great eſteem in time paſt; but afterward it leſſened much in reputation. When there is need to make uſe thereof, the charge is given apart to ſome one chief Lord of the Country, who knows no other Superior than the Generaliſſimo of the Army. Whilſt the Duke was preparing in this manner, the Prince of *Orange* uſed no leſs diligence in gathering together great Forces to enter *Flanders* with them, where it might be more for his advantage. He had received very conſiderable helps, but more in men than money from the aforeſaid Princes and Free Towns of *Germany*: To boot with the *German* Soldiers, he and his adherents had

had aſſembled together a good number of thoſe *Flemiſh* and *Walloons* who had left the Country, and ſome *French*. He was upon the Banks of the *Rhine* with all theſe people, part whereof were taken into pay, and part were a taking in, intending to paſs the River, and then to thruſt into *Gelderland* or *Brabant*, as it hath been ſaid, and fix himſelf in the beſt parts of the Country. He was not to expect any obſtacle in his paſſing over the *Rhine*, not wanting means to do ſo in many of his friends Territories in *Germany*. His greateſt difficulty lay in paſſing over the *Mauſe*, which did wholly appertain unto the King of *Spain*; except the State of *Liege*, which was alſo wholly a Catholick Country, and almoſt incorporated into the Kings Dominions. But he hoped to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome important place upon that ſhore, which might ſecure his paſſage, both for his entrance, if he ſhould advance, and for a ſafe retreat, if he were neceſſitated to turn back. *Orange* having thus muſtered his whole Army together, he paſt freely over the *Rhine* above *Colen*, about the end of *Auguſt*; and then over the *Moſel* at *Trevers*: And winding to the right hand, he advanced to the Country of *Juliers*, confining upon the Kings Provinces of *Gelderland* and *Limburg*, and upon the State of *Liege*. The common report was, that his Camp conſiſted of 20000 Foot, and 9000 Horſe, all of them *Germans*, except the aforeſaid *Flemiſh*, *Walloons*, and *French*. With *Orange* was his Brother *Lodovick*, Count *Hoſtrat*, and Monſieur *de Lumay*, and ſome other *Flemiſh* of good quality, together with many *German* Commanders of great conſideration. The Army was well enough furniſht with Artillery and Ammunition for War, but had not ſo much Money nor Victuals as was needful. This being underſtood, the Duke of *Alva* reſolved to make his Rendezvouz at *Maeſtrick*, the moſt commodious place upon the *Mauſe*, that he might oppoſe *Orange* where it ſhould be moſt convenient. There were come unto the Duke from *Spain* at this time 400000 Crowns, and 2000 *Spaniſh* Foot, which (being all of them new Soldiers) he placed in the Gariſons, and drew out from thence the old ones. His eldeſt Son *Frederick* came likewiſe then to *Flanders*, to whom he gave the command of all the Foot. The Rendezvouz being appointed, the Kings Army was found to conſiſt of 16000 choice Foot, to wit, 6000 *Spaniards*, the reſt all *Germans* and *Walloons*; and of 6000 Horſe, ſome whereof were *Spaniſh*, ſome *Italians*, ſome *Germans*, ſome *Burgonians*, and ſome *Walloons*, and thoſe Train-Bands of *Flanders*, which were Commanded by *Carlo Philippo de Croy*, Marqueſs of *Haure*. The Duke removed the Camp afterwards from *Maeſtrick* to *Haren*, a great Village not far from thence, and ſeated likewiſe upon the *Mauſe*. And here he made a Bridg of Boats, that he might have free paſſage over it at all hours, and receive Victuals the better from all thoſe parts. This place was almoſt in the midſt between *Liege* and *Ruremonde*, upon which two Cities *Orange* his deſign was likelieſt to be. *Ruremonde* is in *Gelderland*, as hath been ſaid: It ſtands upon a little River called *Ruer*, juſt where it falls into the *Mauſe*. 'Tis rather a place of great circuit, than much people; but the ſcituation thereof is of importance, by reaſon of both thoſe Rivers. *Liege* lies upon the ſame River a little higher. The *Mauſe* hath not a City upon it of larger circuit, nor better peopled: 'Tis divided by the River, but joyned together again by divers Bridges. The Biſhop governs the Inhabitants there as well in temporal as in ſpiritual affairs, being alſo Prince thereof; though the City enjoy ſuch ample priviledges, as the form of Government therein partakes more of a Commonwealth, than of a Principality. 'Tis one of the moſt Catholick Cities of all the North, fulleſt of Eccleſiaſtical goods; and moſt devoted to the Apoſtolical See. *Orange* deſired to try *Liege* firſt, he wrote to the Magiſtracy, omitting to write to *Gerardo Gosbrech*, who was the Biſhop of the City, and a perſonage of great worth; thinking that he adhered too much to the Kings and the Catholicks cauſe. But the ſame mind and zeal appeared to be in the Magiſtracy: for they determinately anſwered, That the City would not receive in any Foreign Souldiers, and that they had men enough of their own to defend themſelves againſt any violence that ſhould be offered them.

This practiſing of *Orange* with the *Ligeois*, and his marching with his Army towards that City, made the Duke reſolve likewiſe to draw near it with his. But *Orange* his deſign upon *Liege* proving vain, he without trying *Ruremond*, turned ſuddenly elſewhere, with intention to paſs the *Mauſe* where he might beſt foard over it. The River happened to be very low that year; for the Climate of *Flanders*, which even in Summer is very rainy and moyſt, was of ſome late months more dry than uſual. Having found the moſt commodious Foard, aud making uſe of the night ſeaſon, *Orange* in great ſilence paſt his Army over the River, juſt againſt *Stocchem*, in the State of *Liege*. Which when the Duke heard, he forthwith went thither alſo, and drew near *Orange* with his Army. Their deſigns were notwithſtanding very different. *Orange* would have fought at the very firſt; for finding himſelf much ſtraitned in Money and Victuals, and with men who he was rather to obey than command, he thought he could not long maintain his Army. And nothing being done as yet in *Flanders* in favour to him, he knew that if he ſhould not have

have ſome favourable ſucceſs by way of Battel, the Country would hardly riſe, having ſo powerful an Army, as was that of the Duke of *Alva*'s, within its Bowels. The Duke out of the very ſame reaſons ſhun'd giving of battel. He ſaw that *Orange* in loſing a battel, could loſe nothing but his Army; whereas he together with the loſs of his Army, ſhould hazard the loſs of all *Flanders*. Reſolving therefore rather to coaſt along by his Enemy, than to fight him; and to vex him ſo with ſufferings, as at laſt he ſhould disband of himſelf, he only kept near him.

And becauſe it was already evidently ſeen, that *Orange* his intention was to enter into *Brabant*, the Duke provided the places of greateſt danger with all things needful; which were *Tilemon*, *Lovayne*, and *Bruſſels*; and had an eye alſo to all other parts where there was any cauſe of ſuſpition. The two Camps being thus quartered, *Orange* moved towards *Tongueren*, a great Town in the State of *Liege*, intending to poſſeſs himſelf of it, and there to get Victuals for his Men. But the Duke did ſo ſecure it, as *Orange* durſt never aſſault it. *Getringberg*, a very good Town in the ſame Country, was more eaſily perſwaded to let him have Victuals, and to receive his Soldiers into the Town. Which it ſoon repented, by reaſon of the inſolencies which they committed, particularly againſt the Churches and Sacred things. Departing ſuddenly from thence, for that it was not tenable, he quattered upon the confines of *Brabant*: hoping that when his Colours ſhould be ſeen ſo nigh at hand, the malecontents within the Country would likewiſe diſplay theirs. But the Duke flanking ſtill upon him, and ſtraitning him now on one ſide, now on another, did not afford him one minutes reſt. *Chiapino Vitelli* had the particulur care of the Quarters; which he was very diligent in taking and muniting. To which purpoſe he had a great many Pyoneers in the Army, and upon occaſion he would make the very Soldiers work within the Trenches. In theſe the Camps approaching one unto the other, in their quartering and diſquartering, and particularly upon occaſion of forage, there happened almoſt continually ſome skirmiſhes between the Soldiers of the two Armies. Nor was there any conſiderable advantage got on either ſide for many days. But at laſt one action proved very bloody. *Brabant* is watered by many ſmall rivolets which fall almoſt all of them into the Demer, which inlarged by their acceſſions, doth at laſt diſgorge it ſelf into the Scheld: Amongſt other, the Geet runs into it. *Orange* being advanced into *Brabant*, he could not paſs this River ſo ſpeedily, and with ſuch caution, before that a good part of his Reer, ere it could re-joyn with the reſt, was in danger to be aſſailed upon great advantage, by the Dukes Soldiers, who did not loſe ſuch an opportunity: The Camp-Maſters, *Romero*, *Bracamonte*, and *Begli*, advancing with their *Spaniards* and *Walloons*, gave violently upon the Enemy (who ſeeing the danger, had tumultuouſly fortified themſelves in a Village upon the River ſide) and without much gainſaying, quickly put them to the rout. Many of them were drowned in the River, many ſlain, and many taken priſoners: Amongſt others, *Hoſtrat* was wounded, and ſoon after died of his wounds. This action put a period to all *Orange* his hopes of ſeeing the Country riſe, and to the like of the *Flemiſh* malecontents of ever exciting any. He was the more troubled at this ſucceſs, becauſe his hopes were much increaſed at this time by advertiſements that he had received ſo great ſuccours ſent from the *French Hugonots*, which were at hand. They were led on by Monſieur *Genlis*, and ſent by the Prince of *Conde*, out of the aboveſaid ends which the *Hugonots* had to foment the neigbouring revolutions of *Flanders*, that they might the better eſtabliſh their own in *France*. *Orange* thinking now on nothing elſe but how to put himſelf into ſome ſafe condition, left *Brabant*, and went into the Contiguous Provinces of *Namures* and *Hennault*, to meet the *French* ſuccour (which he did), and ſo make his retreat the ſurer. *Genlis* had about ſome 4000 Foot with him, and 1500 Horſe. *Orange* was ſomewhat inheartned by the coming of theſe men, for many of his men were miſſing, and many ran away every day: and the reſt being ill diſciplined, and worſe paid, and threatning continually to mutiny, he thought to return back the ſame way to *Germany*: But finding the *Mauſe* at that time very high, and greater oppoſition than before in the *Legeiois*, he turned again into the Province of *Hennault*. From thence he continued his retreat towards *France*; and having in vain tryed the Caſtle of *Cambray* before he quitted *Flanders*, being ſtill cloſe purſued by the Duke of *Alva*, he at laſt went out of *Flanders*, and ſtaid near Saint *Quintains*, at the entrance into *Picardy*. Here, according to the diverſity of deſigns, he divided his men, and thoſe of *France* into ſeveral parts. The *High-Dutch*, quite ſpent by hunger and hardſhips, returned to *Germany*. *Orange* ſtaid a while in *France*, to renew the former practiſes with the chief *Hugonots*; and his Brother *Lodovick* tarryed there afterwards for the ſame end, till their ſecond coming from *Germany* and *France* againſt the Duke of *Alva*, as ſhall be ſaid in its due place.

The Duke having gotten ſo important a Victory without the loſs of almoſt any one of his Army, or riſing of any place: he diſtributed his Soldiers into their ſeveral Quarters, and about the end of the year returned as in Triumph into *Bruſſels*. And for that

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it appeared he had merited no leſs for his ſervice done to Religion, than to the King, Pope *Pius Quintus* ſent him ſoon after the Helmet and Truncheon, which are preſented only to great Princes, and particularly to ſuch who by famous action have deſerved well of the Church. This mean while theſe proſperous proceedings of the *Spaniſh* Forces in *Flanders*, were looked upon with a clean contrary eye by the Queen of *England*. She had hitherto aſſiſted the troubles in thoſe parts rather in ſecret than bare-faced; but when ſhe ſaw that thoſe of *Naſſaw* were driven out, and that the King of *Spains* Forces were now more potent there than ever, ſhe returning to her former fear of having them ſo near at hand, reſolved to let ſlip no occaſion whereby ſhe might more openly prejudice the Kings affairs in thoſe parts. There were two of her Privy-Council who then bore great ſway with her. The one was *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leſter*, a Gentleman of Noble deſcent and great imployment. And the other, *William Cecil* her Secretary of State, who being but of mean blood, though of great wiſdom, paſſing through divers Court-Offices, to the managing of State-affairs, had drawn almoſt the whole Government of the Kingdom upon him. Both theſe had chiefly perſwaded the Queen ſtill to eſtabliſh the Hereſie of *England*, and conſequently to endamage the Catholick Church, and the King of *Spain* as much as ſhe could, for thoſe reſpects which have been formerly ſpoken of. She perſecuted the Church cruelly in her Kingdom. And watching for an opportunity whereby ſhe might ſtill more incommode the Kings affairs in *Flanders*, it was not long ere ſhe met with one of very great conſequence, which was this: The King by means of divers *Genoa* Merchants had raiſed a great ſum of money for the affairs of *Flanders*; whereof 400 thouſand crowns were ſent by Sea to *Antwerp*; the Ships which brought this money, met with ſome Pyrates, ſo as to ſave themſelves they were forced to fall in upon *England*. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador who was then with the Queen, hearing of this, apply'd himſelf preſently to the Queen, that the money might be freely carried to *Antwerp*; and received anſwer from her ſuitable to his deſire. But ſhe being reſolved within her ſelf, and counſelled thereunto by *Leſter* and *Cecil*, to detain the money, ſo as at one and the ſame time ſhe might accommodate her ſelf, and diſaccommodate the King of *Spain*, let the Ambaſſador know, that being informed that thoſe monies were not really the King of *Spains*, but that they belonged to ſome *Italian* Merchants, ſhe had reſolved to make uſe thereof her ſelf, allowing them juſt conſideration. The Ambaſſador laboured to make it appear that the money belonged unto the King, and ſent by his direction to *Flanders:* and to ſtrengthen this the more, he made the Duke of *Alva* write to her about it. But ſhe feigning one difficulty after another, gave ſuch dilatory anſwers, as it was plainly ſeen ſhe had no mind the money ſhould go into *Flanders*. The Duke ſtormed mightily hereat, and preſently diſpatched away *Aſſonville* to *London* about it, who with much earneſtneſs renewed what the Ambaſſador had formerly preſt for. But look how much the Duke made his need of the monies appear the greater by his ſo earneſt deſiring them, ſo much the more did the Queen by the interpoſal of new and ſubtil Impediments on her behalf, deny them.

He being thus deluded in his Negotiation, and being by nature inclined rather to overcome, than to ſweeten difficulties, reſolved at laſt to ſee if he could bring the *Engliſh* over to his will, or no, by repriſals. He therefore firſt made the goods and the perſons of ſuch Merchants of that Nation be detained, who did in great numbers traffick in the *Low-Countries*; and made it be known unto the Queen, that the like ſhould be done in all the King of *Spain's* other Dominions, unleſs the monies of *Spain* were ſet at liberty, which were ſo unjuſtly detained in *England*. The Queen was not inwardly diſpleaſed hereat: but growing the bolder by ſuch a pretence to make good the mony-buſineſs, ſhe began to pretend ſatisfaction, inſtead of giving it; and complained bitterly of the Duke of *Alva* to the King himſelf. To her complaints ſhe added reſentment on her behalf; ſhe commanded that the ſame repriſals ſhould be made in *England* againſt the King of *Spains* ſubjects: And appearing much incenſt againſt the Duke of *Alva's* perſon, ſhe publickly threatned to indamage him as much as ſhe could in his affairs of *Flanders*. Both ſides being thus incenſed, divers means of mitigation were uſed. But this made nothing at all for the Duke of *Alva's* preſent neceſſity: who finding himſelf much in arrears to the Army, and at great charges with the Citadels which he had begun to build, particularly with that of *Antwerp*, which he would ſuddenly ſee finiſhed; could not bear with the malicious delays made by the *Engliſh*. Moved therefore by ſo urgent neceſſity, and conſidering what new troubles might befall him by *Orange* his plots and machinations which he was framing both within *Flanders* and without it, he reſolved to have recourſe for aid to the *Flemiſh* themſelves, by laying new Impoſitions upon the Country: his deſign was to raiſe ſo much money as might ſuffice for the preſent neceſſity, and to eſtabliſh a ſetled Treaſury for the future, ſo as the grievances ſhould not be every day to be renewed, and therewithall the danger of incenſing the Provinces with odious demands, as doubtleſly thoſe would be which ſhould be made in ſo abhorr'd a buſineſs. The

Duke



Robert L.d Dudley Earle of Leicester
Baron of Denbigh K.t of y.e Order of S.t George
& S.t Michal & Governour of y.e United Provinces.
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Duke thought therefore to lay on ſo great impoſitions at once, as might ſuffice to carry through his whole buſineſs. And the way was this: That a true value being made of all movable and immovable Goods, for once only but one of a hundred ſhould be paid; but upon every contract, the twentieth part of the immovables ſhould be paid, and the tenth of the movables; and that theſe two laſt payments ſhould laſt as long as the publick neceſſities ſhould require. This being reſolved upon, the Duke call'd together the States-General of all the Provinces to meet at *Bruſſels*, to acquaint them with the Kings mind in this buſineſs, and to get their conſent. He firſt repreſented unto the Deputies what great neceſſity the King had of moneys at that time. He ſaid,

That to boot with the great expences of the Armies late march, the Queen of England *out of malicious pretences, and which argued more malicious machinations in her, had detained* 400000 *Crowns which were ſent from* Spain *to* Flanders. *That howſoever, the Soldiers muſt be ſatisfied, which had long wanted their due pay. That from the vigilancy of the Kings Enemies, in procuring by all means how to beat down his authority, and to raiſe tumults amongſt his people, the neceſſity of thoſe remedies might appear, which were to be oppoſed to ſo many perverſe intelligences and conſpiracies. That without doubt the beſt lay in building of Citadels, and in maintaining of Gariſons in fitting places, upon which the peace and ſafety of the Country did depend; and that all whatſoever moneys ought to be held well laid out to that purpoſe. He wiſht them to remember what the obligation of every good Subject was towards their Prince; how great the Kings affection was towards thoſe Provinces; and how behoveful*

it was, that in such and so urgent need the Kings desires should be by them willingly received, and readily executed.

He afterwards propounded the demand in manner abovesaid. It would be hard to say how much troubled, and how full of confusion the Deputies of the Provinces were at the hearing of it: *Flanders* had never formerly been wont to suffer the grievances of Taxes and Impositions, as is used in *Spain, Italy*, and other places. The ancient custom was, for the Prince to desire such assistance from the people, in his necessities, as was thought needful; and the often denying thereof shewed that the granting it lay in the peoples free-will: When they were resolved to grant any, every Province imposed upon it self such a proportion as was fit for that purpose: These Contributions were demanded by the Prince, and granted by the people but for a certain prefixt time; and as oft as the one was necessitated to make new desires, as oft was the other to renew again their consents. So as this unaccustomed fashion propounded by the Duke, of taxing the Country so integrally, for an unlimited time, and in a manner not prescribed by the Provinces, but by himself, did strangely move mens minds; especially at this time, when humours were stirred every where. The Deputies took time to give their answer, and in the mean while acquainted their several Provinces with the whole affair. Who when they heard thereof, the people strove who should most storm: Nothing but complaints, lamenting, and execrations were heard against those who had counselled it, and against the Governour who had made it.

That the miseries of Flanders *did infinitely increase. Was it not sufficient to introduce Foreign Armies by violence; to violate her liberties by Garisons and strong Holds; and to unpeople Cities by banishments, imprisonment and death; but that the people whose contributions were formerly voluntary and moderate, must now be compell'd to submit themselves to immense and everlasting tributes? That the* Flemish *did not only not desire, but did wholly detest the bringing in of these Forces, and these unaccustomed yokes. And yet how faithful had the Country appeared, when the House of* Nassaw *was in arms? and how ready was it by its own proper Forces to strengthen the Kings Army? That the Enemies Forces being driven out, the Kings were now become the greater Enemies. And as if the War had been begun by the* Flemish, *'tis they that must now bear the burthen thereof. That* Flanders *was astonished at the very name of Tribute. How much more would she be so to feel the effects thereof? Hence it was that the concourse of Foreigners grew less, and therewithal the Traffick of the Provinces. That Merchandizing ceasing, by which the people did chiefly sustain themselves, what was to be expected but to see them fall into the greatest misery and calamity that might be? Where was the former moderate Government of their preceding rather Fathers than Princes? where the Emperors resent goodness? that in lieu thereof, the King deriving his blood from* Spain, *and his opinions yet more, and imitating the* Spaniards *yet more particularly in his afflicting* Flanders, *seemed as if his only end were to take from her all shews of Liberty, and reduce her to the miserablest condition of slavery. That to this purpose he had made choice of the most Imperious and cruel Duke* Alva, *for his Agent: who was come to ruin, not to govern the* Low-Countries. *But the* Flemish *had already tolerated too much: 'twas now time to turn their patience into generosity; and retaining as well the worth of the ancient* Belgiques, *as their descent from them, they ought for the future to be as forward in withstanding violence, as they had been formerly in tolerating it.*

The Dukes ears were fill'd with these complaints from all parts; much agitated therefore between his desire of promoting what he had propounded, and the difficulties he found of so doing, he treated very fervently thereof with the Council of State, to find out some means whereby he might overcome the difficulties which therein were met withal. The Council differed likewise in their opinions: there were not wanting some who incouraged the Duke to proceed, and who fed him with hopes of good success. They proposed to begin with that which was likeliest to succeed, to wit, with that of the hundredth penny. That this more easie entrance being made, the Provinces would be the easilier induced afterwards to give way to the harder Impositions of the tenth and twentieth penny. That some of the Provinces should be first dealt withal herein, as were thought most inclinable to the Proposition. That the example of one, would conduce much to the rest. And where example would not serve, let Authority at last supply the place. But the greater part of the Council were of a contrary opinion; and the president *Vighlio* appeared more openly against it than all the rest: a State-Minister who was esteemed of incorrupted Loyalty to the King, and of experienced wisdom in the affairs of *Flanders*. He shewed how that too great difficulties would be met with even in the exaction of the hundredth penny, alledging the example of what had insued some years before upon the desire of the like subsidy. He shewed how much the times were since then impaired: how averse the Country did now appear to ordinary Contributions: and how the minds of all men were agitated for what had happened. That howsoever, he did not think this kind of Imposition altogether

altogether infeiſable, ſince it would not be very grievous, and but for once. But as for the other upon goods movable and unmovable, he thought that Impoſition altogether uneffectable; thoſe oppoſitions not being to be overcome, which would aſſuredly be made by whole *Flanders*; as well for being grievances never before experienced, and laid on for an unlimited time, and that alſo without all peradventure, the overthrow of all Traffick and Commerce would thereupon inſue.

For (ſaid he) will not all the concourſe of Foreign Merchants ceaſe, when they ſee they cannot freely buy and ſell Merchandize according as they had wont? What is it that doth not often turn from one to another ſpecies, when it hath left its former homely and ſimple nature? who will not abhor ſo oft a repeated grievance? the price of other Merchandize increaſing, the like will certainly inſue in what concerns victuals. How will the poorer ſort of the people be therewithal grieved? and how much will the very ableſt be diſpleaſed? there will be no remedy found for ſo great an evil, but for no Foreigners to Traffick in theſe Provinces, and immediately to take away thoſe of our own, who are of the ſame profeſſion. Thus the Country will be impoveriſht both in men and monies. By which, how much will the King himſelf ſuffer? ſo as inſtead of receiving unwonted Impoſitions, ſuch as are uſual will peradventure not be had hereafter. Nor can it be doubted but that the contradictory example which will be ſeen in almoſt all the whole Country, will be of greater prevalence than the aſſent; and that uncertain, which may perchance be found in ſome one Province. Our Neighbour Nations will likewiſe much complain of this Novelty, with which ours hath expreſs Covenants of free Trade. But the miſchief will at laſt fall wholly upon us; and in the firſt place upon the King. For in fine, Princes are rich according as their ſubjects are ſo. And look what of commodity is got from them in time of peace, much more is reaped in time of War. In my opinion, then that advantage ought to be paſt by, which brings with it a greater evil. And all means ought rather to be indeavoured, whereby to appeaſe mens minds, than to afford them new occaſions of exaſperation. Otherwiſe I foreſee (and I wiſh I may prove a falſe Prophet) that the loſſes which we ſhall receive at home, will prove much greater than the victories which we have lately obtained abroad, advantageous.

Theſe reaſons alledged by *Viglio*, were undoubtedly of great weight. But they did not (though) divert the Duke of *Alva* from his endeavours; who being accuſtomed to overcome Military difficulties, thought he might much more eaſily do the like in Civil affairs. So as continuing in his former fervency; he ceaſed not to interpoſe ſometimes prayers, ſometime power, and very oft threats, to arrive at the end which he had propoſed unto himſelf. He particularly endeavoured to compaſs thoſe means in every Province, which might the eaſilier diſpoſe them to allow of the aforeſaid Impoſitions. The *Walloon* Provinces were the moſt Catholick, and of leaſt Traffick. It was ſo handled, as theſe aſſented preſenly to the hundred penny; and by their example, though not without much difficulty, the reſt were induced to do the like. The Duke, to make himſelf appear the more gracious at the ſame time to the people, cauſed ſevere juſtice to be executed upon one *John Speel*, a *Fleming*, who had a great ſhare in all the moſt odious criminal affairs. This man was therefore very much abhor'd by all the Country, not only for what he had done, but for the manner of doing it with all ſort of cruelty and corruption. When he was condemned to die, the Duke would have him hung up in the publick market-place at *Bruſſels*. And two others whom he had uſed moſt in his negotiations, were baniſhed. To this Act of Juſtice, the Duke added a much greater of Clemency. He had lying by him a general pardon from the Pope, and another from the King, which bore with them abolition for the miſdeeds committed in *Flanders* againſt the Eccleſiaſtical and Regal Authority; of both which he had liberty to make uſe accordingly as he (being upon the place) ſhould think fit. The Popes diſpenſation was to this purpoſe obtained in *Spain*, and the King had likewiſe ſent his: but in each of them ſuch high defaults were excepted, wherein Divine and Humane Majeſty were moſt offended: and the King reſerved unto himſelf the free power to make good or abrogate thoſe priviledges which had ſerved for a pretence to the late riſings. The Duke going to *Antwerp*, which by reaſon of Traffick was a City then very much frequented by Foreigners, he made a ſtately Throne be erected in the chief *Piazza*, upon the top of which was placed a Chair of State, whereon he himſelf being ſate, and invironed round about with great pomp, he made both theſe pardons be proclaimed. All the people ran to hear this, and the news thereof was ſuddenly divulged throughout all the Provinces. And the Duke at the ſame time endeavoured to reconcile himſelf unto them, by reducing the Soldiers to a leſſer number, by ordering their Quarters better, and by putting divers things in better order, for the better ſatisfaction of the people: But in fine, it proved too true, that let a man do well or ill, all actions are abhor'd which proceed from a hateful Government. And juſt ſo it fell out then: The *Flemiſh* ſeemed little ſatisfied with all that the Duke had done; nay, many of them gave a ſiniſter interpretation to both the Indulgences, as

if there were too much ſcope left by the ſo many exceptions, both to puniſh paſt faults, and cauſe new ones to be committed. And that clauſe did in particular diſpleaſe very much, wherein the Kings intention of aſſuming unto himſelf a power of annulling all priviledges, for the late riſings, was ſo clearly ſeen. There wanted not thoſe in *Flanders*, and elſewhere, who fomented theſe evil ſuggeſtions. And becauſe the gathering of the hundredth penny was already begun, and that great difficulties were met withal therein, many of the ill-affected *Flemiſh*, and the Kings back-friends in the neighbouring parts, endeavoured ſtill to alienate the people more and more. This alienation, by reaſon of the aboveſaid grievance, appeared particularly in *Holland* and *Zealand* to be greateſt, as alſo in all that Maritine Coaſt. And as for the other of the tenth and twentieth penny, 'twas plainly ſeen that none of the other Provinces would ever be brought unto it: But becauſe Traffick was much greateſt in the Maritine parts by reaſon of the commodity of Navigation, which made them be more frequented by foreigners, and chiefly by Engliſh Merchants, and by thoſe of the neighbouring *Hans*-Towns, Cities of *Germany*, all of them infected with hereſie: Therefore a grearer backwardneſs was ſeen for the preſent in the aforeſaid Provinces, and a greater preparation for the like in the future. This mean while the Dukes neceſſity of money increaſed. Much pay was due to the ſoldier. The new Citadels proved to be a very great expence; and nothing near ſo much money could be come by from *Spain*, as was requiſite. *Lodrone's* Regiment of *High-Dutch* did juſt at this time mutiny for want of pay. And though the ring-leaders of the mutiny were ſeverely puniſhed, and that the contagion brake no farther forth in the Army, yet the danger was great, as was alſo the Dukes fear. Whilſt things paſt thus in *Flanders*, the Archdutcheſs *Anne*, daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, was gone from *Germany* towards *Spain* to marry with the Catholick King. She came by *Flanders*, that ſo ſhe might imbarque in *Zealand*, and go the ſooner to *Spain*. The Duke of *Alva* went therefore to receive her upon the confines, and waited upon her till he ſaw her under ſail; who ſoon after arrived happily in *Spain*. With her were the two Archdukes her brothers, *Albertus*, and *Vincelaus*. The latter whereof dyed afterwards in *Spain*, and the other tarried long there. This is that *Albertus* who devoting himſelf firſt to Eccleſiaſtical life, was made Cardinal, and was afterwards ſent to govern the Kingdom of *Portugal*; and laſtly the *Low-Countries*: wherein returning to a ſecular profeſſion, and having married the Infanta *Iſabella*, eldeſt daughter to the King, and had thoſe Countries in portion with her; of Governour, became afterwards Prince of them, and joyntly with his wife governed them many years. Princes both of them, of ſuch religion and piety, and indow'd with all other ſuch eminent virtues, as this our Hiſtory will have room enough to illuſtrate it ſelf in their times, if it ſhall pleaſe God that it ſhall arrive thereat, and that their memory may thereby be rendred as famous to poſterity, as the knowledg of them hath been in this our age.

The Duke of *Alva* made uſe of the new Bridges going into *Spain*, to obtain leave of the King that he might quit the Government of *Flanders*. To the which the King giving way, the Duke of *Medina Celi*, was deſtin'd to ſucceed him, who at that time was Viceroy of *Sicily*. But whatever the occaſion was, it was not for the preſent ſo done; the King thought, it may be, that the danger of new troubles in *Flanders* was not ſo far ceaſed, as that it was fit to remove the Duke of *Alva* from thence; who peradventure foreſeeing them, deſired that the tempeſt might fall upon a new ſucceſſor. Being then returned to *Bruſſels*, after he had attended the new Queen to the ſea-ſide, he betook himſelf wholly to the buſineſs of the new Impoſitions. And becauſe greater difficulties and obſtacles were every day found in that of the tenth and twentieth penny, he endeavoured that in lieu thereof the Provinces ſhould pay at one intire payment, 6 millions of Crowns, which he afterwards reduced to four. But this appearing ſtill to be too exceſſive a ſum, no favourable reſolution could be had therein. The Provinces were rather inclined to build the intended Citadels at their own coſt; and this was propounded; but the Duke would in no ways liſten thereunto; holding that it neither ſtood with dignity nor ſafety, to ſuffer that the *Flemiſh* in ſo important a buſineſs ſhould chuſe, rather than obey. 'Twas ſaid, that to ſweeten the Duke, both in his interceſſions to the King, and in his own rigour towards the Country, the Provinces offered to give him a donative of a hundred thouſand crowns in Gold: and that he with no leſs wiſdom than generoſity, refuſed it; as well not to render his Authority undervalued in *Flanders*, as not to afford colour for ſuch calumnies, as his enemies might plot againſt him in *Spain*. He at this time did one thing which did exceedingly exaſperate the *Flemiſh*, and increaſed their hatred more againſt him. The Citadel of *Antwerp* was already made defenſable, and the Duke cauſed all poſſible haſte that could be made, to perfect it. He gloried to leave ſuch a memory of him behind him in the *Low Countries*; thinking that by ſuch a curb he had mainly ſecured their obedience to the King. But deſirous that together with this image of his mind, another of his body might likewiſe remain there, he made his Effigies

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be ſet up in the Citadel in a Statue of Braſs. The Statue was all in Armour, ſave the head, and 'twas made by *Jongeling*, a *German*, one of the famouſeſt workmen that was then in all *Europe*. At the feet thereof was a monſtrous Figure of braſs alſo, which had two heads, and ſix arms, and other myſterious ſigns in other parts, which did clearly denote the paſt ſucceſſes of the Covenant, Petitions and Revolts. This great piece of workmanſhip was ſuſtained by a great Pillar of Marble with four faces. In that which looked towards the City, were ingraven ſome ſingle Letters, with a full point to each of them, without any other expreſſion of words therein contained: but the ſenſe thereof, as it was commonly interpreted, was in praiſe of the Duke of *Alva*, for having preſerved obedience to the Church and King in the *Low Countries*, and reſtored Juſtice and quiet unto the Provinces. In the two ſide-faces, ſome myſterious ſignifications were expreſt in Sculpture, in praiſe likewiſe of his Government: and in that behind was the Sculptures name. The *Flemiſh* ſeemed deeply concern'd in this action, and great complaints were made thereof every where, as if the Duke would be publickly ſeen in this his Statue upon their necks; and as if not content to have reduced them already to this ſlavery, he would boaſt of his Trophies, in this (to them) ſo ignominious a faſhion. Innovations were not long in inſuing. In the late endeavours which thoſe of *Naſſaw* had made to enter with their Forces into *Flanders*, they had experienced how hard a matter it was to get any footing there, having no place upon the Confines which would receive them, and more particularly upon the River; and becauſe the greateſt hopes of new commotions lay yet in *Germany*, therefore *Orange* his adherents, ſpying out the conjuncture of time, reſolved to endeavour the taking of ſome opportune place, upon the *Mauſe* on that ſide. In this River, after it hath changed its name to *Wabell*, in one of its branches is contained the Iſland of *Bomele*, of large circuit. The ſcituation of this Iſland could not be of more importance, in reſpect alſo of its nearneſs to the *Rhine*. And not far from thence was *Balduke*, upon the utmoſt confines of *Brabant*, which is one of the moſt populous Cities of that Province, and one of the beſt fortified both by Nature and Art, of all *Flanders*. One Captain *Hermanno Reiter* was a native of this City, who depended upon the Prince of *Orange*, and deſired to ſignalize himſelf by doing him ſervice. Upon the lower point of the aboveſaid Iſland ſtands a little Caſtle called *Loveſteyn*, more conſiderable for its ſcituation than ſtrength. *Reiter* with ſome of his companions got in hither by fraud, and brought in ſome fifty with him. *Rodergio de Tolledo* lay in *Balduke* with ſome *Spaniſh* Companies, who by reaſon of his being ſo near, was advertiſed hereof. He therefore preſently diſpatcht away 200 Foot, under Captain *Lorenſo Perea*, of the ſame Nation, that he might endeavour by all means to recover the Caſtle. The Invaders did not think to be ſo ſoon ſet upon: ſo as not being able to defend themſelves by their own Forces, nor having time to expect any from elſewhere, they preſently ſurrendred it to *Perea*, not without ſome little diſpute, wherein *Reiter* was ſlain. Thus was *Loveſteyn* recovered almoſt before it was loſt. But the Duke was notwithſtanding much moved hereat, weighing more the occaſion, than the effect of ſuch a deſign: for he might fear that other more dangerous and more conſiderable deſigns were hatching, as the event ſoon after ſhewed. He being ſtill more neceſſitated in expences, and in moneys to defray them; and much incenſt to ſee how hardly the hundredth penny was payed, and more particularly upon the Maritine coaſt, where no exaction thereof could ever be made; and being yet more angred at the attempt of *Loveſteyn*: he reſolved by all means to recover, not only the hundredth penny, but the tenth and twentieth too; he made the Kings mind in that affair be publiſht, having notwithſtanding moderated the Impoſition ſo, as thoſe of the Country were taxed leſs, and Foreigners more, and thus he would have it executed. But the people were no leſs reſolved to the contrary, notwithſtanding any moderation which was added. And this repugnancy grew ſo great, as in ſome places no more meat was brought to the Markets, nor did the Merchants expoſe to ſale their wonted Merchandize.

Thus did affairs ſtand in the end of the year 1570. The other of 71 follows; which will bring with it deplorable memorials for ever to *Flanders*. For then the War broke forth almoſt every where in her; and ſo great a fire was afterwards kindled, as could never be extinguiſht but by the truce of twelve years, wherewith it was not quencht, but ſmothered up, Arms being ſuddenly afterwards re-aſſumed, and the War continued with more obſtinacy on both ſides.

We told you before how the Prince of *Orange* and his brother *Lodovick* were got into *Picardy* in *France*, after the Duke of *Alva* had driven them out of *Flanders*; and that *Orange* retiring from thence into *Germany*, had left his Brother in *France*. Their Forces were almoſt quite disbanded, for they wanted neceſſary conveniences to maintain them. But the whole ſtrength which *Genlis* brought with him in aſſiſtance of thoſe of *Naſſaw*, as hath been ſaid, was ſtill intire: Nor were the chief of the *Hugonots* in *France* wanting, in nouriſhing in themſelves, and in reviving in the *Flemiſh* Runagates, hopes of new revo-

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lutions which were to ariſe in thoſe Provinces: The *Hugonots* promiſed therefore all aſſiſtance on their ſides, and ſhewed how it would be eaſie to make themſelves Maſters of ſome good Town in the *Walloon* Provinces, (as hath been ſaid) that lye neareſt *France*. They therefore ſtood expecting all fit opportunities for this purpoſe. *Orange* uſed all the means he could with the Princes his friends, and other his adherents in *Germany*, to prepare new Forces, and facilitate his deſign of entring *Flanders* again on that ſide. He excuſed his firſt undertaking, and promiſed better ſucceſs in the next; repreſenting how ill-affected the *Flemiſh* were to the *Spaniards*, and how much their hatred was increaſed, by reaſon of the grievances which the Duke of *Alva* would lay upon the Country. Nor was his endeavours, and thoſe of his aſſociates in *France*, e're a whit leſs fervent with the Queen of *England*, ſo as by the opportunity of the Sea, and for other aforeſaid conſiderations, 'twas hoped that eaſier footing might be got in *Holland* and *Zealand*, and eaſilier maintained. To this end, ſome of the fled-*Flemiſh*, the better to raiſe ſome inſurrection, were got to Sea in men of War: to which they were driven even by deſpair. For their goods being confiſcated, and not knowing how to live but by rapine, they thought they might better do ſo by Sea than by Land. The Lord *Lumay*, Count of *Marcia*, deſcended of Noble Blood, and who neither wanted courage in undertaking, nor induſtry in executing hard enterprizes, was one of the beſt qualified amongſt them. From this Maritine part, where the danger appeared to be the greateſt, the miſchief firſt broke forth, which *Lumay* was in this manner the Author of. Having got together about 25 Veſſels, ſome of them fled-*Flemiſh*, and ſome of them *Engliſh* Pyrats, and fomented in private by the Queen of *England* her ſelf, he ſteered about the end of *March* towards *Holland*; and unexpectedly, by underhand dealing, got into the Town of *Brill*. In the Weſtern part of *Holland* there lies a little Iſland, made by the *Mauſe*, and by the Sea, on the utmoſt part whereof towards the Sea, ſtands this Town; which by the commodiouſneſs of its Haven, is held one of the chiefeſt Keys of thoſe Maritine parts. *Lumay* had with him about a thouſand Soldiers, pickt up from ſeveral parts, which were all Hereticks, of mean condition, moſt of them fugitives, or ſuch as were driven from *Flanders*, and ſuch in fine, as deſired to raiſe tumults there. Now becauſe from this firſt commotion in *Holland* many others ſuddenly inſued, both in that Province and in *Zealand*, ſo as the War was more kindled there than in other places, and many of the moſt memorable accidents happened there: I think it fit firſt to ſet down here briefly their ſcituation and nature, to the end that deliniating (as I may ſo ſay) the portraiture thereof, the Reader may have the events, as it were before his eyes.

Both theſe Provinces lie on the North and Weſt-ſide of *Flanders*. In *Holland*, the *Rhine* and the *Mauſe*, and in *Zealand* the *Scheld*, fall into the Sea, in ſo large Channels, as loſing the condition of Rivers, they ſeem to carry new Seas into the Sea; on the contrary, the Ocean firſt waſhing the ſaid two Provinces for a long tract of ground, and turning then as it were from the Sea into a River, penetrates into each of them by divers Channels, and hides it ſelf there in ſundry Gulfs. From hence joyning with the Rivers, and together with them, cutting *Zealand* through in many places, it makes many Iſlands thereof, and reduceth *Holland* into a *Peninſula*. To boot with theſe three forenamed Rivers, which are the chiefeſt of all *Flanders*, there are in *Holland* divers other leſſer ones; and as if Art would contend with Nature, there are thereunto added an infinite number of Channels cut by hand, which are made for the more commodiouſneſs of the Country. There are within it likewiſe a great number of Lakes and ſtanding-waters: ſo as the ſcituation of both theſe Provinces being well conſidered, 'tis to be queſtioned whether the ſpace of ground be greater which is won from the earth by water, or from water by the earth; nor is it leſs to be diſputed whether their Country do more abound with, or be more failing in thoſe Commodities which men enjoy in other parts. Through the condition of their ſcituation they want both Corn, Wine, Oyl, Wool, Wood, Hemp, Flax, and almoſt all other Commodities and delights which are uſed in more temperate and dry Climates; and yet again, there is no Country, not only in that Northern nook, but not even in any part of *Europe*, which abounds ſo much as *Holland* and *Zealand* doth in almoſt all the aforenamed things, and even of thoſe which are leſs neceſſary for the maintenance of human life. So great is the advantage which theſe two Provinces receive by the Sea and Rivers, whereby their Commerce with all other parts is ſo eaſie. Which ſince they have introduced and made ſo familiar in the *Indies*, it cannot be ſaid how much both Merchandize and Merchants are increaſed in both of them. Hence it is that they abound ſo much in Inhabitants, and that their Cities, Towns and Villages, are ſo well peopled. But the Sea likewiſe is as full of Ships and other bottoms, and all their watry places with other ſorts of Boats, which ſerve all for habitations, eſpecially to Mariners and Fiſhers. Great is the number of people which apply themſelves to theſe two Vocations in *Holland* and in *Zealand*. They make houſes of their Ships; and of their Houſes, Schools:

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Here they are born, here they are bred up, and here they learn their profeſſion. And the Mariners eſpecially practiſing their Calling, in running ſo oft and ſo boldly from the one Pole to the other, and whitherſoever the Sun communicates it ſelf to mortals, they grow ſo expert therein, as though they may be equalled, yet cannot they be out-done in this Seafaring myſtery, by any whatſoever Nation. For what remains, theſe people are generally given to Traffick; and are extraordinary induſtrious in Manual and Mechanical Arts. Their greateſt delights lie in their feaſts, and at their meat: by which they temper the melancholy of their tedious Winters; which are rather long than ſharp, the Country abounding much more in Rain than in Froſt. They are generally well ſhaped in body; as candid in nature as in countenance: pleaſant in their leiſure times, but fierce in their revolts; and much better at fighting by Sea than by Land. They feed moſt upon Fiſh and white meats, wherein their Country doth infinitely abound. They have been always inclin'd to a Free-Government; and have ever tenaciouſly held their ancient Cuſtoms. And ſince Hereſie began to creep in amongſt them, turning their Liberty by degrees into licentiouſneſs, it hath ſince been eaſier for the Authors of the late Novelties to make them riſe, and forego their former obedience to the Church and King. *Holland* is full of great Cities, good Towns, and infinite in Villages: But by reaſon of the frequency of Foreigners, and multitude of ſelf-Inhabitants, *Amſterdam* hath always been the chief City of that Province. Even whilſt Commerce flouriſht in *Antwerp*, great was the concourſe of Foreigners to *Amſterdam*; but Commerce failing in that City, by reaſon of the War, it is ſo mightily increaſed in this other, as *Amſterdam* is at this hour the place of greateſt Merchandizing, not only in *Holland*, but in all the North. In *Zealand*, *Middleburg* is the Town beſt peopled, and of greateſt Traffick: That Province cannot notwithſtanding come any thing near *Holland*, neither in circuit, people, nor plenty. 'Tis almoſt impoſſible to enter either of theſe Provinces by Force: becauſe not only the chief places, but even the commoneſt Towns are Invironed either by the Sea, Rivers or Lakes, or by Earth, than which there can be none more low, nor more myery. So as it is no wonder if theſe people, being thus favoured by Nature, were both ſo fierce in taking up Arms at firſt, and have with like animoſity maintained them ever ſince.

But to return to where I left: As ſoon as *Lumay* was received into *Brill*, he preſently began to fortifie himſelf; judging that without delay the Duke of *Alva* would ſend to drive him from thence. He openly profeſt Hereſie, wherewith that Town was likewiſe much infected, ſo as great violence and impiety was at firſt committed againſt Churchmen and ſacred things. The news of this flew ſuddenly round about; and the Duke of *Alva* was ſoon advertiſed thereof by *Maximilian*, Count *de Boſſu*, Governour of *Holland*. The Duke was mightily troubled hereat. He knew what practiſes there were in *Germany*, *France* and *England*, to cauſe new troubles in *Flanders*; and that the neareſt and greateſt danger lay on the Maritine ſide of the Country: He therefore ordered *Boſſu* to draw out ſo many men out of the Neighbouring Gariſons with all poſſible ſpeed, as would ſuffice not only to recover the *Brill*, but to drive *Lumay* out of that Iſland. To this purpoſe, *Fernando de Tolledo* marched thitherward with part of his men which lay neareſt, and went to *Rotterdam*, one of the greateſt and moſt Merchandizing Towns in all *Holland*: 'tis ſeated upon the *Rotter*, (a little River, from whence it takes its name) and almoſt where it falls into the *Mauſe*, which inlargeth it ſelf there very much. The Kings Forces paſſing from thence, met with *Boſſu* in *Waldargin*, a Town ſcituated likewiſe upon the ſame ſtream of the *Mauſe*, not far from the *Brill*; and hence they were conveyed in Barks into the Iſland. But *Lumay*, being firſt advertiſed of their advancing, *Boſſu* met with ſuch impediments in effecting this enterpriſe, as he was inforced, and that not without great difficulty, to turn back; and all thoſe people were already maniſeſtly inclined to riſe, through an opinion which was every where received, and by the Hereticks cunningly ſpread abroad, that the Kings Soldiers went to gather the impoſed Taxes by Force. When the *Spaniards* were come out of the *Brill*-Iſland, they returned again to *Rotterdam*, where they found difficulty in being received: But being got into the Town, and greater miſlikes ariſing among the Citizens, they came from words to blows; nor did the quarrel end thus, till the Town by military licentiouſneſs was ſackt. This ſucceſs drew after it very bad conſequences: For every Town in *Holland* ſeemed to ſhare in this ſacking of *Rotterdam*; and the example ſhewn therein by one Town to another, extended it ſelf ſuddenly from one Province to another. The affairs were notwithſtanding for that time appeaſed there by Count *Boſſu*. *Lumay* growing bold by this proſperity, and growing ſtronger by new men who came in unto him, went to get further footing thereabouts, eſpecially in ſome other place upon the *Mauſe*: But divers of the Kings Soldiers being aſſembled together, hindred all his further attempts at that time. *Orange* prepared this mean while to march with his Forces from *Germany*. He was to this purpoſe in a Town of his called *Dilimburgh*, near the *Rhine*; and endeavoured again to make all that ſide of

the Country joyn with him. And ſeeing that fortune began already to ſmile on him in *Flanders*, by this ſucceſs of the *Brill*, he thought it good to allure men yet more by writing. He and his Brother *Lodovick* did therefore publiſh a *Manifeſto*, the tenor of which was to this purpoſe:

They ſhewed how much they were obliged by Nature and Honour not to ſuffer their Country to be oppreſt. They ſaid that the King, being abuſed, could not remedy thoſe things which were concealed from him. They added to the paſt miſeries, by greatly exagerating the preſent: calling the Duke of Alva's *introduced grievances Tyrannies, and things till then unheard of in* Flanders. *They endeavoured by ſpecious titles, even of doing ſervice to the King, to make the Country incline to them, and particularly to ſecure the Catholicks in matter of Religion. And in fine, they ſtrove to be ſo zealous of the publick good, as others ſhould not fear that any of their own private ambition were hidden underneath it.*

The Duke of *Alva* ſeeing theſe beginnings, delayed not to take new men into pay: He gave order for the ſpeedy raiſing of 6000 *Walloon* Foot under 3 Camp-Maſters, to wit, the Meſſieurs of *Capres*, *Bevoir*, and *Liques*; and he gave out other Commiſſions to the ſame effect. He was chiefly jealous of *Zealand*, by reaſon of the particular correſpondencies which *Orange* held there, who was formerly Maſter of many places there of importance. The Iſlands of that Province are full of Havens, but *Fluſhing* is the chiefeſt. This Town ſtands further into the Sea than any other on that ſide which looks towards *Spain*, and commands the mouth of the Channel where it is ſeated. The Duke ſought to ſecure himſelf of this Haven which opens and ſhuts the chief ingreſs into that Country, by a Citadel which he cauſed to be built there, but which was not yet made defenſible. Near *Fluſhing* ſtands the *Ramechins*, a little Caſtle, but well fortified. And more inward, *Ramua*, an open Town, but which hath one of the beſt Havens of all the North. Between *Fluſhing* and *Ramua*, a little within land, ſtands *Middleburgh*, the greateſt and chiefeſt City for traffick in all *Zealand*, as hath been ſaid; and which therefore makes its own Iſland (called *Walcheren*) the nobleſt of all thoſe Iſlands. The City holds communication with the Sea by a large Channel cut out by hand, and receives all commodities from thence. The Duke of *Alva* having theſe jealouſies of *Zealand*, he in the firſt place endeavoured to ſecure *Fluſhing*, and ſuddenly diſpatcht thitherward Captain *Oſorio d' Angula* with three Companies of *Spaniſh* Foot. Nor did the Duke conceive amiſs. The marching of theſe people being heard of at *Fluſhing*, the Townſmen reſolved not to receive them into the Town; and boldly did as they reſolved. The Soldiers being come near the Town, the people within took up Arms, ran to the gates, and ſhut them up: Exclaiming that they came to raiſe by force the new Impoſitions; and moreover, to ſack *Fluſhing*, as they had done *Rotterdam*. Nor were they content to keep out the Kings Soldiers; but impriſoning Captain *Pacieco*, a *Spaniard*, who had the care of ordering the new Citadel; and after having treated him abuſively in divers ſorts, they cut off his head, and hung it up for a publick ſpectacle in the market-place. This oppoſition, accompanied with ſuch ſad circumſtances, forced *Oſorio* to quit the Iſland, and to retreat, as he did, to ſome place of ſafety, expecting new Orders from the Duke, who was extreamly troubled at this ſucceſs. But it cannot be ſaid how glad *Orange* was of this, and how much his Fautors rejoyced every where. They all of them applyed themſelves with all diligence to ſend men into *Fluſhing*, and in a few days many *High-Dutch* and *French* came, and were there received, and the Queen ſent ſome Soldiers privately thither from *England*. *Jerolomo* Lord of *Seras*, born at *Breda*, came thither afterwards, who was made Governour of the Town by *Orange*; and he gathering together 3000 Soldiers, did better eſtabliſh the Inſurrection of that Town. The Tumultuaries expecting from hence better progreſs, they without any gainſaying took *Ramua*, and *Vere* a conſiderable place not far from thence, and all other places of leſſer importance. So as of the whole Iſland of *Walcherin*, only *Middleburgh* and the ſmall Caſtle of *Ramechins*, remained to the King. Wherefore the Tumultuaries, deſiring to be maſters of the whole Iſland, and hoping to be ſo, they reſolved to beſiege *Middleburgh*, and ſate down before it with thoſe men which they had, whoſe numbers increaſed daily. The Duke hearing of this ſo great revolt, feared very much that *Middleburgh* would alſo be loſt: He knew that there were but few of the Kings Soldiers within it, and that many of the Citizens were but ill enough inclin'd. Wherefore he ſuddenly ſent the Signeur *de Beavoir* thither with 400 old *Walloon* Foot, for the new Soldiers of his Regiment were not as yet raiſed. *Beavoir* was received into the City: And becauſe to boot with the ſmall number of Soldiers, the City was but ill munited and victuall'd, the Duke gave order to ſend ſpeedily a powerful ſuccour thither; he commanded that many Ships ſhould be made ready in *Antwerp*, and that the greateſt ſtrength of *Spaniards* and *Walloons* that could be had, ſhould be muſtered, and that the Rendezvouz ſhould be at *Berghen ap Zoom*. *Berghen* is but a few Leagues diſtance from *Antwerp*; the River of *Zoom* runs by it, which not far off falls into the *Scheld*. So as it is a place of importance in it ſelf, and was then

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the fitteſt from whence to ſend that ſuccour. To encourage the enterpriſe, the Duke ſent his Son *Frederick* to *Berghen*, and with him Signieur *Norchermes*, and here all things were preparing, which were needful for the abovementioned enterpriſe. But news coming every day of greater danger if *Middleburgh* were not ſuddenly ſecured, therefore it was requiſite to ſend away an indifferent aid, ſince there was no time allowed for a plenary ſuccour. *Sancio d' Avila* was choſen by the Duke to conduct it, who was Governour of the Caſtle of *Antwerp*, and greatly eſteemed of by him. The Tumultuaries hearing of theſe preparations, they likewiſe endeavoured by all the power they could to impede the effect thereof: They fortified thoſe places where they thought the *Spaniards* were likelieſt to land; and with all diligence increaſed their Forces at Sea, intending to incounter and break the Fleet which was to bring the ſuccour. *Avila* began to move about the end of *April*, and had with him 500 choice *Spaniſh* foot under the Captains *Oſorio d' Angulo*, *Gonſalvo d' Ovalla*, *Fernando d' Aguaſco*, *Inico de Mediniglia*, and *Jovanni d' Avola*. To the *Spaniards* were added as many *Walloons*, all of them alſo old Soldiers, under the Signieurs *de Liques* and *de Gilmus*, and Captain *Torres*. And to theſe were afterward added a good many of Reformado-Officers and other people of quality eſpecially of the *Spaniſh* Nation, who deſired rather to ſerve as Voluntiers, than to take pay upon ſo hard ſervice. *Avila* went down the *Scheld* at a low ebb, that he might make uſe of the next flowing water, and drew his men towards the lower part of the channel which waſhes the Iſland of *Walcherin*. He would have landed his men there, becauſe the ſuccour would have been nearer from thence, *Middleburgh* lying on that ſide. But he found the Enemy ſo well fortified in that place, as he reſolved to go to the oppoſite place which looks upon the ſea: A plain ſituation, and of all others furtheſt remote from the City, and where the Enemy by reaſon of theſe difficulties did not expect that they ſhould endeavour to land. In evils which may happen, nothing is worſe than not to fear: Nothing is more uſually ſeen in war, than the inſuing of damage, where danger was leaſt looked for. *Avila* being arrived on that ſhore, found no impediment in landing his men, ſave only that they muſt wade a little way through the water, before they could come to the land. Watching the Enemies proceedings from thence, he was informed that they were in no very good order, eſpecially toward that place where he and his men had landed, as leaſt apprehended. The Kings men were greatly hereby incouraged: And *Avila*, to make them be ſo the more, ſpake thus unto them.

My fellow-ſoldiers! The worſt is over, now that we are landed and off the ſea; where the Enemy might have beaten us by power, and alſo by fortune. On land, all the advantages will make for us. We ſhall not fight here one ſhip-board flying from another; nor will the wind, be it propitious or contrary, have any ſhare here: but the victory or loſs will lye in our arms and military valour. Which of us can then doubt, but that at our firſt appearance the Enemies are likelier to betake themſelves to their heels, than to put themſelves in order? We are for certain fewer than they: but 'tis not only numbers that fight, nor are victories had by unexperienced men. And what more contemptible people can be found, than thoſe whom we are now to aſſail? Mariners, and fiſher-men for the moſt part, who are not acquainted ſo much as with the name of Arms; who have tumultuouſly taken them up, and will in like manner lay them down. Perfidious to the King, and more to God: and who by very divine juſtice are now delivered up into our hands, to the end that without any delay they may receive puniſhment according to their demerit. They have with them ſome Heretick foreign Soldiers, but almoſt all of them vagabonds, abject people, who in war look after nothing but pillage, and underſtand nothing but rapine. On the contrary, who is he in this our ſo ancient Militia, who hath not either ſeen or done ſome egregious action? which of us have not ſeen our late victories abroad againſt thoſe very Chieftains who now foment theſe preſent rebellions here within us? Let us reſolve then to overcome, before we fight: For I preſage as much. The Rebels do not look for us on this ſide, ſo as we ſhall be upon them at unwares. The beſieged will at the ſame time ſally out upon them: we ſhall fill their Camp with blood, ſlaughter, and runaways: And ſo by ſuccouring one only City, we ſhall ſoon ſee the whole Iſland ſet at liberty.

This ſpeech being ended, *Avila* began to march: And advancing himſelf and *Liques* with ſome *Spaniards* and *Walloons*, the better to diſcern what the Enemy was doing, they found that there was no appearance of any oppoſition on that ſide. Then calling up the reſt, they went reſolutely to aſſault the Enemy. Nor did *Avila's* preſage prove falſe: For they forſaking their Trenches, which were either ill made, or ill guarded on that ſide, thought rather how to run away, than how to fight. At the ſame time the Kings ſoldiers ſallied out of the City; ſo as the Enemy being incloſed on both ſides, many of them were ſlain, and the reſt in great confuſion ſcattered here and there abroad. Thus was *Middleburgh* freed, and *Ramua* was ſuddenly regained; and ſome of the Enemies ſhips were there taken, which *Avila* made uſe of the better to ſecure that Haven; and

moreover he fortified the Town where it was moſt needful. Whilſt he was thus victorious, he would have endeavoured the recovery of *Fluſhing:* But the Town being munited, and at all times ſuccourable, and he having but a few men with him, he could not do it. The Duke of *Alva* ſent for him back, to know the better from him by word of mouth, what was beſt to be done to eſtabliſh the affairs of *Holland* and *Zealand*, ſo as might make moſt for the Kings ſervice. But he was no ſooner come, then the Duke heard of another novelty of great conſequence, which had hapned near the Frontiers of *France*. Upon that Confine ſtands the Town of *Valenciennes* which was the firſt Town that did rebel in the Dutcheſs of *Parma's* time, as was then ſhewn. It is one of the beſt peopled, and moſt Merchant-like Town of all thoſe parts: and holds great correſpondency in traffick with the neighbouring Provinces of *France*. Notwithſtanding the puniſhment which was inflicted upon the firſt Tumultuaries, there were yet many Hereticks in it, who ſtill held continual practiſes with the *French Hugonots*. The Duke had already begun to build a Citadel in this Town, as hath been ſaid, it being ſubject to ſuſpition both by its ſituation, and condition of Inhabitants: And the Citadel was by this time in a good forwardneſs, but it was not as yet made wholly tenable, nor yet provided of a ſufficient Garriſon. This conjuncture of time being by the *Hugonots* obſerved, Monſieur *de Fama* entred the Town on the 15 of *May* with 400 men: He preſently ran to the Townhouſe; and poſſeſſing himſelf of the moſt commodious places to annoy the Citadel, he prepared with ſome Artillery, and ſome other proviſions, to beſiege it. The Duke was beyond meaſure moved at this diſorder, both in regard of its ſelf, and for fear leſt others the like, and peradventure greater might inſue upon the ſame Frontier; where he greatly apprehended not only the open practiſes of the *Hugonots*, but even the ſecret ones which by order or connivence of the King of *France* the very Catholicks might nouriſh in thoſe parts. He therefore with all ſpeed ſent ſuch men as were needful, to chaſe the *French* forthwith from out that Town, and to prevent the danger of the coming in of others to aſſiſt the former. *Alonzo de Lumbrales* marched thitherward immediately with 150 *Spaniſh*-horſe, and was followed the next day by *Garzia de Gualdes* with above one hundred more of the ſame Nation. Theſe Horſe were brought without any difficulty into the Citadel; and time was afforded this mean while for *John de Mendoza* General of the Light-horſe, to come with both more Horſe and Foot: he brought with him alſo ſome Companies of *Walloons*, taken newly into pay. So as being entred with all theſe men inio the Citadel, and charging vigorouſly upon the *French*, who could not in ſo ſhort a time be ſuccoured from without, nor ſufficiently fortified within, they were firſt ſoon diſordered, and afterwards put to flight. Many of them were ſlain, and but few of them would have eſcaped, if the Kings men would in that heat have purſued them. But they were no leſs angry with the Townſmen, ſuſpecting that they had favoured the *French:* So as leaving theſe, and falling on the others, they began to ſack many houſes, and ſhed much blood, not much diſtinguiſhing between ſuch as were guilty, and ſuch as were in no fault at all.

The Duke had not well recovered *Valenciennes*, when he heard that upon the ſame Frontier, by means of ſome other *Hugonots*, who had taken *Lodovick* of *Naſſaw* for their Leader, *Mons* was loſt. And the miſchiefs were already grown ſo general on all ſides in *Flanders*, as it was impoſſible to withſtand their courſe any longer: juſt as the waters of an overſwoln Torrent, bearing down firſt the leſſer obſtacles, and afterwards the greater, do at laſt in ſundry places overflow the neighbouring fields, and in ſundry ſorts make ſtrange havock. The *Walloon* Provinces (as hath been often ſaid) lye towards *France: Hennault* is one of the chiefeſt of them, and *Mons* is the chiefeſt Town therein; a noble City for ſituation, Inhabitants, and buildings. And becauſe it ſtood not upon the very edg of the Confines, but lay ſomewhat more inward, therefore was it neither very well fortified, nor yet carefully guarded; though it were of it ſelf ſtrongly ſituated, and well provided with ditches, and ſtrong ancient walls. *Lodovick* drawing ſecretly near to that Frontier, with a few *French Hugonots*, he was let in on the 25 of *May*, and thus ſurpriſed the Town. Some other *French* were firſt entred *Mons* under pretence of merchandiſe, with certain Fats full of Arms; and had private intelligence with divers of the Townſmen. So as the agreement being had, they made themſelves maſters of one of the Gates; and killing him who kept the keyes of it, and driving away the reſt of the *Corps de Gard*, they let in *Lodovick*, who to that end had marched hard all that night with an hundred Horſe. When he was entred the City, he began to run into every place, and endeavoured by ſeditious ſpeeches to make the people adhere to him, hoping for more ſuccour. But no *French* appearing from without, nor the Townſmen riſing any way within, he forewent almoſt as ſoon the hopes of making himſelf maſter of the City, as he had aſſumed them, and reſolved to quit it: Nay he began already to fear, leſt the people, being almoſt all of them Catholicks, ſhould rather turn againſt him, and either drive him

out, or to his greater danger, take him priſoner. But Fortune, which had favoured him the firſt time, did ſo the ſecond: He was not well gone out of the Town, when he met with 200 other *French* horſe with foot *en croupe*, which came to ſuccour him, being led on by Monſieur *Genlis* himſelf, who was the chiefeſt plotter of all the *Hugonots* upon that Frontier: So as reaſſuming courage, and aſſuring himſelf that the gate by which he was newly come out, was yet open, he again entred the City. And having in the firſt place poſſeſt himſelf of all the Market-places, and chiefeſt ſtreets, he ſummoned all the beſt of the Town into the Town-houſe, and endeavoured to juſtifie his action, honeſting it with words full of zeal towards the Country, and of devotion towards the King: but of deteſtation againſt the Duke of *Alva's* Government, and the *Spaniards* actions. He afterwards gave all aſſurance that the City ſhould receive no outrage, nor be in any ſort damnified: and the better to ſecure himſelf and his men, he ſeized upon all the Arms and Warlike Ammunition he could any where find. Then he began with all diligence to take order for ſuch things as were requiſite for the defence of the City, conſidering that the Duke of *Alva* would without any delay bend all the Kings Forces againſt him. *Genlis* went himſelf in perſon to ſolicite the *Hugonots* in *France*, and to be himſelf their Conductor. And *Lodovick* was not wanting in haſtning his brother the Prince of *Orange* to come in unto his ſuccour from the ſide of *Germany*, and by ſo great an acquiſition, the better to confirm thoſe hopes which they conceived he had reaſon to build upon, of making yet greater in a ſhort time.

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK VI.

The Duke of Alva *was mightily incenſt at the loſs of* Mons. *Other Inſurrections in* Holland *follow.* Orange *prepares to enter* Flanders *the ſecond time. The Duke of* Alva *makes a great levy of men to hinder him. Conſultations touching the marching of the Kings Forces. Reſolution is taken to beſiege* Mons. Genlis, *and other* Hugonots *of* France, *endeavour to bring in relief: They are met with by the Kings Forces, fought, and routed.* Orange *enters* Flanders *with a great Army by* Gelderland. *He takes and ſacks* Ruremonde: *He ſecures himſelf of* Malines; *and ſtays his Camp in the Province of* Hennault. *He is ſo oppoſed by the Duke of* Alva, *as he cannot relieve* Mons. *He often endeavours therefore, but in vain, to draw the Duke to Battel. Great confuſion in the Prince of* Orange *his Army; whereupon the Duke takes occaſion to make a Camiſado by night, wherein he ſucceeds well, and makes great ſlaughter.* Orange *retreats, and paſſeth into* Holland. *Sundry troubles in that Province, and in the others beyond the* Rhine. *The Duke of* Alva *enters* Mons. *The Town of* Goes *is beſieged by the Tumultuaries, and with memorable courage is ſuccoured by the Kings men. The Catholick Army in* Brabant. *Sacks* Malines. *Recovers divers places in* Gelderland. *Takes and Sacks* Zutfen; *and doth almoſt wholly deſtroy* Naerden.

THE Duke of *Alva* was the more troubled for the loſs of *Mons*, (Anno 1572.) in that he did no ways ſuſpect the loſing of it. He conſidered it was not only the prime City in all the Province of *Hennault*, but even one of the chiefeſt of all *Flanders*. That from that Line of the Confines which was towards *France*, it lay far enough inward in the Kings Territories; but yet not ſo far, but that it might be eaſily ſuccour'd from without: That it might eaſily be made very ſtrong, being on one ſide in a very low and ſpongy ſcituation, and well provided of Walls and Ditches on all other parts. That being very near the Province of *Flanders*, and that of *Brabant*, it might eaſily further the Tumults both in the one and the other of them, and conſequently make the fire more laſting, which was to be kindled in ſo many parts. He therefore with much fervency apply'd himſelf to the ſudden regaining of it; and hoped well therein, by his having ſo eaſily recovered *Valenciennes*. He ſaw that *Lodovick* of *Naſſaw* might be ſuccoured on two ſides, to wit, by the way of *Germany*, by the Forces which *Orange* prepared; and by the way of *France*, by the Forces raiſed by the *Hugonots*; theſe were doubtleſly the neareſt, and therefore likely to be the ſpeedieſt. The Duke therefore reſolved to make his quickeſt oppoſition on this ſide of *France*, hoping that when he ſhould have interrupted that ſuccour, he might more eaſily impede the other: but ſuch and ſo grievous commotions happened ſuddenly in *Holland*, as they put upon him new and greater neceſſities, and rendred him much perplext touching what he was to reſolve upon. The Town of *Enchuſen* had there

there led the way firſt to open diſobedience; which Town lies very opportunely for ſcituation, as lying upon the point of a great Gulf, which the Sea makes in *Holland* towards the North; and no leſs for the quality thereof, and number of ſhipping which are continually built there, and which makes it one of the beſt and moſt eſteemed Arſenals of all that Province. Nor was it long ere other greater revolts followed: For *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Gouda*, and almoſt all the other Cities and chief Towns, did at once the like, except *Amſterdam*, which continued then, and long after in Allegiance to the King. Great raiſing of Arms was likewiſe heard of in *Germany*; and that *Orange* having paſſed the *Rhine*, grew ſtill ſtronger in men, intending to enter *Flanders* again by the ſame way he did before. To obviate ſo many evils which threatned him in ſo many ſeveral parts, the Duke of *Alva* betook himſelf ſuddenly to raiſe great levies both of Horſe and Foot; and gave order for the taking of five or ſix thouſand Horſe into pay in High *Germany*, the chief care whereof was had by *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, formerly imployed by the King upon like occaſions; by *Salentine*, Count of *Iſemburg*, Archbiſhop of *Cullen*, who ſhewed himſelf very faithful to the Catholick Cauſe, and the Crown of *Spain*; and by *Peter Erneſtus*, Count of *Mansfield*, who came originally from *Germany*, and who had yet many friends and kindred of great eſteem there; he gave order for the raiſing of eighteen thouſand Foot in ſix Regiments: to wit, 3000 in the Upper, and 3000 in the Lower-*Germany*. The firſt were taken into pay by *Ottone*, Count of *Erbeſtein*; by *George Baron* of *Fronsberg*, and by *Nicholas Purvighliere*, all of them natives of the ſame Country. And the latter by *Giles*, Count of *Barlemonte*; by *Maximilian*, Count of *Boſſu*, and by *Lancelot*, Count of *Mega*; all of them the Kings Vaſſals in the Provinces of *Flanders*. Theſe Levies required great ſtore of money, whereof the Duke was very much exhauſted. But he had repreſented unto the King the affairs of *Flanders* to be in ſo dangerous a condition, as he was in ſome ſort preſently furniſht therewithal for his neceſſities, and the King promiſed him to ſee him continually furniſht with what ſhould be requiſite for maintaining the Churches Cauſe and his own (which was now become one and the ſame) in thoſe Provinces. The new Inſurrections which had happened in *Holland*, bore with them very bad conſequences, to boot with the former in *Zealand*. And the Novelties which had ſucceeded, and which ſtill grew greater in the Frontiers towards *Germany* and *France*, required powerful and ſpeedy remedy. The Duke of *Alva* conſulted therefore with the chief Commanders of the Army, to what part it was beſt to bend the Kings Forces; or if by dividing them, they might ſuffice for both occaſions. 'Twas generally thought that there were enough to be divided. And as for the turning to the one or the other place, Marſhal *Vitelli*, Camp-Maſter-General, who was greatly eſteemed in the Army, as well for the prerogative of his Place, as for his Valour, was of opinion, that they were to bend all their Forces immediately towards *Holland* and *Zealand*, ſaying,

That by good reaſon of War, Forces were to be turned thither where their imployment was of greateſt conſequence. And how much did it moſt import firſt to ſecure the Maritime Country? That in thoſe parts which lay more inward in the Country, the people were neither ſo infected with Hereſie, nor ſo inclin'd to Rebellion. And though ſome loſs might be ſuffered by the Forces from Germany *and* France, *it was to be hoped that they might be eaſily regain'd. That the* Hugonots *Forces were of no ſubſiſtence of themſelves; nor was it to be thought that the King of* France *would favour them, if for what might concern the good of* Spain, *at leaſt for what might reſpect the ſervice of his own Kingdom, ſo grievouſly infeſted by them. That the Heretick Forces of* Germany *which were to enter* Flanders, *were to be eſteemed of the ſame nature, being tumultuouſly raiſed, ill provided of men, and worſe of money; more ready to pillage than to fight; and that the prey and pay failing, they would ſoon forego their obedience, and inſtead of carrying their Colours againſt their Enemies, they would turn them againſt their Commanders. That for theſe reaſons it was to be believed, that the noiſe was greater than the blow would be from either of both thoſe parts: and that thoſe Foreign Forces being ſoon ſcattered by the oppoſition made by the Kings Towns (which to that purpoſe were with all diligence ſuddenly to be munited)* Mons *would eaſily be recovered, as alſo whatſoever other damage might inſue in any other part upon thoſe Frontiers. But on the contrary, how firmly was Hereſie radicated both in* Holland *and in* Zealand? *how much were the people alienated from their former devotion to the Church, and to the King? That by reaſon of the Sea and Rivers, Merchandiſe did very much abound there; as alſo Moneys and Victuals: and that every Town there was ſo ſtrong by Nature, that allow but a little time to induſtry, every Paſs would require an Army to overcome it, and every Siege almoſt an Age to finiſh it. That by the opportunity of the Sea, new Forces might continually be ſent unto the Rebels on thoſe ſides from* Germany *and* France, *but eſpecially from* England. *And they being Maſters of the Maritime parts, what advantages might they by other deſigns work unto themſelves in the more inward Countries? What difficulties would the ſuccours then meet withal, which ſhould be ſent by Sea from* Spain *to* Flanders? *Which ſuccours were to be eſteemed the ſpeedieſt and moſt profit-*

able;

able; the others which are to be expected by Land, being ſo far off, and ſo chargeable to convoy, that Orange *had long govern'd both thoſe Provinces, having great ſtore of wealth and adherents in them: that therefore it was to be believed, that out of ſo many conſiderations of his own advantage, he would indeavour to lay the chief ſeat of the Rebellion there. That therefore the Frontiers towards* Germany *and* France, *being ſecured the beſt that might be, they were preſently to turn with all their Forces towards* Holland *and* Zealand. *That from thence the chiefeſt head of this new* Hydra *aroſe. And that it was not to be doubted, but that the hardeſt difficulty being once overcome, the reſt would afterwards prove much more eaſie.*

This opinion of *Vitelli* was grounded upon very ſolid reaſons. But amongſt others, *Norchermes* was rather of a different, than of a repugnant mind. He was held to be the ableſt Soldier of all thoſe Provinces. He was Governour of *Hennault*, and therefore adding his own private ends to the publick conſiderations, he propounded the recovery of *Mons* in the firſt place. He ſaid,

That that City might be recovered by a ſhort Siege, and alſo all the deſigns which Orange *and the* Hugonots *could have upon theſe Frontiers of* Germany *and* France, *be eaſily broken. That turning the Kings Forces ſuddenly from thence, upon* Holland *and* Zealand, *they might be there time enough to allay the Rebellion which was there begun. Nor was this reſolution to be taken ſo much out of conveniency, as out of neceſſity. That the loſs of* Mons *was of too great importance: That by the opportunity of its ſcituation, the Enemy might make it very ſtrong, and make as it were a* Piazza d' Armi, *from whence they might infeſt the whole Country of* Walloon, *and alſo the two neighbouring Provinces of* Brabant *and* Flanders; *which were the two largeſt, and moſt opulent Provinces of all the* Low-Countries. *And how could they be ſure, but that ſo many Forces of the Enemy might make further progreſs in thoſe Frontiers? That it was not poſſible to furniſh all the Kings Towns in thoſe parts with all things neceſſary. And though the chiefeſt ſhould make reſiſtance, doubtleſly the weaker would not be able to do it; which notwithſtanding being quickly fortified by the Enemy, would make way for their further entrance on other ſides into the Kings Provinces. How much would they then moleſt the Country every where? and what other commodities would they there receive, whereby to maintain themſelves? the Towns would then be burnt on all ſides, the fields fill'd with amazement, the Inhabitants with horror, and to boot with the prejudice the Kings affairs ſhould ſuffer, how much ſhould he thereby ſuffer in his honour? In my opinion then, we muſt in the firſt place recover what is loſt, and ſeek to prevent other greater loſſes, which our Enemies may occaſion unto us in our Frontiers upon* Germany *and* France. *This being done, all the Kings Forces may the eaſilier march to the reducing of* Holland *and* Zealand *to their former obedience. One ſucceſs will bring on another, and we ought to expect as good ſucceſs in the ſecond, as we have reaſon to hope for in the firſt.*

The Duke was of this opinion. He thought he ſhould be able to ſettle the Kings affairs ſo ſoon in one place, as he might have time enough to ſecure them on the other. To the which he was the more incited out of a deſire not to permit the *French* to neſtle ſo much as any one minute in *Flanders*. And no leſs out of the bitter hatred which he and the Prince of *Orange* bore each to other, as well for private as publick reſpects, as hath been ſaid. He therefore deſired to oppoſe him as ſoon as might be; and to drive him now again out of the Country more ſhamefully than he had done before. The buſineſs of *Mons* being then reſolved on, he forthwith diſpatcht away ſome Troops of Horſe thitherward, to hinder the coming of any others thither from *France*; and ſent afterwards his Son *Frederick de Tolledo* thither with 4000 Foot, and 800 Horſe, accompanied by *Vitelli* and *Norchermes*. Towards the end of *June* theſe people appeared within ſight of the City: and poſſeſſing themſelves of the fitteſt places round about it, did as it were beſiege it at a large diſtance. The City of *Mons* receives its name from its ſcituation, which in that Language ſignifies a Mountain, or Hill; but the riſe of the earth is there ſo gentle, as it cannot well be ſaid to be mountainous. 'Tis a very noble City, as well for the concourſe of people, as for Commerce: it hath many good houſes in it, and there ſits the Kings Council, which adminiſters Juſtice to the Country; all of which Prerogatives gives it the precedency over all other Towns of that Province. It commands large and ſpacious fields round about it, which may be queſtioned whether they abound more in Paſture or Tillage. Nor is the Territory thereof leſs rich in Woods, nor generally indeed all the reſt of the Province. The City is ſtronger by natural ſcituation, than by manual induſtry. It is cut through on the lower ſide by a little rivolet called *Trulla*, which as ſoon as it goes out of it, falls into another ſomewhat bigger, called *Hayne*; which croſſing through the Province, before it be gotten quite out, falls likewiſe into the *Scheld*. The beſieged this mean while ſought only how to furniſh themſelves with Victuals, which they were not well provided of. The Harveſt was then ripe; wherefore they determined to make a ſtout ſally, thereby to afford leiſure for the cutting down of the neareſt Corn, and for the

the bringing of it into the City. The Kings men were not backwards in oppoſing them, ſo as a very fierce skirmiſh inſued. But freſh ſuccours coming ſtill into the latter, the defendants were forc'd at laſt to retreat, and *Vitelli* as he was purſuing them, was ſhot with a muſquet in the leg. *Genlis* was not this mean while idle on the *French* behalf: he had with very great diligence gathered together a conſiderable ſtrength of Horſe and Foot, wherewith he marched ſpeedily to relieve the beſieged. The Province of *Hennault* looks towards the South on *Champania* and *Picardy* in *France*, ſo as the ſpeedieſt and eaſieſt ſuccour was hoped for from thence. *Genlis* his deſign was to draw ſo near *Mons*, as that he might put thereinto a good number of Soldiers, and then to go himſelf with the reſt of his Forces, and joyn with the Prince of *Orange*. The Admiral *Coligni*, who was their principal Architector of all the plots hatched by the *Hugonots*, as well within *France* as out of it, had exhorted him to go immediately to find out *Orange*. Count *Lodovick* had ſignified the like unto him from *Mons*; both of them being of opinion, that the body of the Army conducted by *Orange*, being rendred ſo much the greater, that City might be the eaſilier ſuccoured. But *Genlis* perſiſting in his own opinion, would needs purſue it; ſo took his way through *Picardy* to the Confines of *Hennault*. *Frederick* being advertiſed hereof, reſolved by *Vitelli*'s advice, to incounter him, and fight him before he ſhould get into the Kings Country. When the Kings men were come to the River *Heyne*, and heard that the Enemy began to appear out of a Wood, near the Town *Hoterage*, they marched towards them, and by a skirmiſh kept them at firſt ſomewhat farther from the Wood, and from the Town. Here the skirmiſh was turn'd into parties, and the parties into a Battel. The *French* ſeeing the neceſſity of fighting, made two Squadrons of their Foot, and but one of their Horſe, placing them all according as beſt fitted the ſcituation of the Wood, and of field room. The Kings Foot were likewiſe divided into two bodies, which were ſeconded to the beſt advantage by the Horſe. *Vitelli*, who by reaſon of his wound, was brought into the field in a chair, not without great pain and danger, ordered the Battel. *Julian Romero*, a *Spaniſh* Camp-Maſter, and one of known valour and experience, had the charge of the Van. Here they fell to it; but the fight continued not long; the circumſtances whereof being well conſidered, it might rather be called an Incounter than a Battel. The *French* did not look to be ſo ſoon faced by the Kings men, and therefore came not ſo well prepared to fight as 'twas needful they ſhould have been, that they might have diſputed the Victory better than they did. Being vigorouſly ſet upon by the Kings men, they made at firſt ſome reſiſtance: but their firſt force ſuddenly failing, they fell ſoon into diſorder: and for the reſt, 'twas nothing but ſlaughter and flight. They ſuffered more by the Country people afterwards, than they did at firſt by the Soldiers. For many Country people of thoſe Frontiers having followed the *Spaniſh* Camp, fell bitterly upon the *French* after their defeat, ſuffering few of them to eſcape, and fully revenging themſelves for the loſſes the Country had ſuffered by this their march. The common opinion was, that *Genlis* had with him about 7000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe; whereof a third part, together with the loſs of almoſt all their Colours, were either ſlain or taken priſoners. *Genlis* himſelf was taken priſoner, and Monſieur *de Geniſack*, who Commanded the Horſe, and another Chieftain of the *Hugonots* of good quality, called the *Ringrave*. The Baron of *Ranti*, and one *Giumella*, both of them foot-Colonels, were ſlain in the Battel. Theſe were the chief of the *Hugonots* Camp: all the reſt of their men, what by being ſlaughtered by the Country people, and what through terror of the diſcomfiture, were reduced to ſo weak a remainder, as they could not be any more ſerviceable to the *Hugonots*, neither within nor without the Kingdom. *Genlis* was carried to the Caſtle of *Antwerp*, where he ſoon after fell ſick and died. Very few were found miſſing of the Kings Camp, and of thoſe, not any one of quality. Thus ended the ſuccour brought by the *French Hugonots*: whoſe unfortunate ſucceſs was a preſage of that no leſs unhappy event which was ſoon after ſeen both in the Army Commanded by *Orange*, and in the Siege ſuſtained by his Brother. The fight was not many miles diſtant from the City: ſo as the Kings party returned ſuddenly to the Siege. And *Pulvighlier* being come not long after unto the Army with 4000 Foot, and ſome Horſe, *Frederick* incouraged by ſo great an addition of Forces, and by the coming likewiſe of *Fronſbergs* Horſe, and *Bracamonts* Foot, began very hotly to begirt the beſieged. He took up his Quarters particularly in the Village of *Nimy*, Saint *Sinforiano*, *Bertamonte*, and *Jumampel*, which inviron *Mons*; and he indeavoured to ſecure his Quarters every where the beſt he could by the Rivers *Heyne* and *Trulla*. There was a Priory under the Walls of *Mons*, well furniſht with Edifices. And becauſe the Kings men might be much prejudiced from thence, they within the Town had put a good Gariſon into it, and ſeemed as if they would ſtrive to defend it. At which *Frederick* being moved, he reſolved howſoever to take it: but he failed in his firſt attempt, through the valiant reſiſtance made by the defendants, and by the help they received by the Cannon which were at that time drawn out of the City. But returning the ſecond time with

greater

greater Forces, and playing upon the place with two pieces of Cannon, the *Spaniards* prepared for the aſſault, when the *French* knowing they could no longer hold it, forſook it, and withdrew themſelves within the Walls of the Town. The Priory being loſt, the Town was more narrowly beſieged. The Duke of *Alva* came at the ſame time to the Army, as well to encourage the enterpriſe by being preſent thereat himſelf, as to haſten whatſoever was needful to oppoſe *Orange* his deſign of relieving *Mons*, and freeing his brother. With him came the Duke of *Medina-Celi*, who was then come by Sea to *Flanders* from *Spain* with freſh men; being ſent by the King to ſucceed the Duke of *Alva* in that Government.

The Country had in theſe days contributed a great ſum of money more than uſual, ſo as the Army was much increaſed by their arrival, and by the new Levies of *Flanders*, and much more by thoſe that were raiſed in *Germany*; to boot that, ſet the Gariſons aſide, all the old Soldiery were ordered to come to the Camp. The Duke therefore preſently prepared divers Batteries and Trenches, where it was eaſieſt to fall down into the Ditches; and the City-walls began already to be furiouſly plaid upon from ſundry ſides. The greateſt part of the Cannon were placed againſt the gate *Bartimonte*, and againſt a Ravelin which fenc'd it: the Battery was one day ſo fierce, as ſome of the Pieces broke, and the Ravelin was almoſt quite level'd. But the reſiſtance and valour of thoſe within, was no leſs. Monſieur *de la Nue* was with *Lodovick*, a man of great valour, and the beſt eſteemed of any that was then in *France* of the *Hugonot* Faction: the defence of *Mons* paſt chiefly through his hands, and by his directions: and therefore the beſieged failed not to do what in them lay for their beſt advantage. Fearing therefore to loſe that place, they made a work more inward, and placed two Culverins upon it; and prejudicing the Kings men greatly thereby, they forced them to proceed more cautiouſly in their aſſault which they deſign'd againſt that ſide. But though they were not wanting in defending themſelves the beſt and moſt reſolutely that they could, yet their chiefeſt hopes lay in their ſuccour from *Orange:* who being already upon his march with a powerful Army raiſed almoſt wholly in *Germany*, was got into the *Low-Countries* by *Gelderland*, and made towards *Ruremonde*. He intended to uſe only fair means, and not force, to be accommodated with Victuals by that City, thinking he ſhould not ſo eaſily win it; nor was he willing to waſte his time and Forces before it, to the prejudice of his chief deſign, which was to relieve *Mons* as ſoon as might be, and afterwards to make there a great Magazine of Arms. He therefore friendly intreated thoſe Citizens to accommodate him with Victuals and other things which his Army wanted. But they anſwering more boldly than they ought to have done, and not meaſuring their Forces by their words, gave him a flat denial. He did not expect ſuch an anſwer, ſo as he grew much incenſed; and to his anger neceſſity was joyned, for his people ſuffered already in many things. There were not Hereticks wanting in the City, and they deſired to ſee it in *Orange* his poſſeſſion, who had formerly held ſome intelligence with them to that purpoſe. Practiſes being then renewed within, and the men prepared without, he made a fierce aſſault upon one of the Gates, which with equal valour was defended by thoſe within: who ſhewed the like ſtoutneſs twice after, when *Orange* renewed twice his aſſaults. In the heat of this reſiſtance which the Catholick defendants made, the Heretiek Townſmen making uſe of opportunity, poſſeſt themſelves of another Gate, and thereby let them in that were without. *Orange* either could not, or would not hinder the ſacking of the City: withheld perhaps on one ſide, by judging it was not fit to uſe examples of cruelty, when the *Flemiſh* did moſt expect clemency; and inforc't on the other ſide to provide for the neceſſities of his people, which ſince he was not able to ſatisfie with pay, he muſt ſupply the want thereof by plunder. But ſacking was the leaſt miſery which *Ruremonde* ſuffered: For the Hereticks with unheard of barbariſm, mingling ſlaughter with pillage, grew cruel to all ſexes and all ages, eſpecially againſt Church-men and Church-adornments. By the taking of *Ruremond*, *Orange* got another City in thoſe parts, which gave him a ſecure paſs over the *Mauſe*. He turn'd from hence to *Malines*, which was already wrought to be at his devotion, by Monſieur *de Dorp:* ſo as he put a good Gariſon thereinto of *High Dutch*. In his march he likewiſe made himſelf maſter of many other of leſſer conſideration: and being come to *Lovain*, deſired there to be received. But meeting with more ſtiffneſs in the Citizens than he expected, and fearing that he ſhould loſe too much time in ſtaying to force it, he reſolved to accept of a certain ſum of Money, which the City was contented to give him.

Thus leaving *Brabant*, he came in the beginning of *September* into *Hennault*; and here he muſtered his Army. His Forces conſiſted, as it was ſaid, of 16000 Foot, and 9000 Horſe, all of them *Germans*, except ſome *French* and *Walloons*. He was aided by the ſucceſs of a buſineſs which had happened a little before in favour of his adherents in *Zealand*, to move ſooner than he himſelf had thought. A great many *Flemiſh* Ships were at this

this time returned from *Lisbon* richly laden; and out of choice rather than neceſſity, they put in according to their cuſtom at *Fluſhing*, not knowing till then any thing of the new revolutions which had hapned there. The Inhabitants of that Town being maſters of ſo great a booty, made ſuddenly moneys thereof, and ſent the greateſt part to the Prince of *Orange*, juſt when he ſtood in moſt need, to aſſemble his men together, and make them march. But the greater his Army was, the greater was his difficulty in maintaining them: For neither had he ſufficient moneys to that end, nor any authority grounded upon command, but only upon intreaties. He came with the like reſolutions as before, to wit, to do all he could to draw the Duke to battel; hoping at leaſt thereby to find ſome means to ſuccour *Mons* the more eaſily. On the other ſide, as the Dukes ends were clean otherwiſe, ſo did his reſolutions appear to be. He, as before, deſired to beat *Orange* by the Arms of his own Neceſſity: ſo as deſpairing of Battel, and no leſs of ſuccour, and forced by diſaccommodations and ſufferings, he ſhould at laſt confeſs himſelf overcome, by returning diſcomfited. The Duke doubted towards which part *Orange* would betake himſelf. The ſpeedieſt and ſhorteſt way was towards *Nimi* and St. *Sinforiano*. Between theſe two Villages ſtands a Wood; and therefore the Duke uſed all needful diligence to fortifie all thoſe places, ſo to hinder his paſſage on that ſide. Which *Orange* hearing of, he changed his way, and turning Eaſtward, paſt by *Perone*, a Village ſome two leagues diſtant from *Mons*; and fording without any difficulty over the *Heyn* and *Trulla*, he marched towards the other part of the City, drawing ſtraight upon *Jumampel*. The ground was here a little more hilly than in other parts thereabouts, and was therefore thought leſs eaſie to fortifie; and therefore *Orange* judged he might ſooneſt ſuccour the beſieged on that ſide. But as ſoon as the Duke had diſcovered this deſign, he turn'd moſt of his men ſuddenly thitherward, and reſolved to raiſe a Fort there: which was done with all ſpeed, and the Duke *Medina-Celi* took particular care of it. To boot with the Fort, which was provided of Artillery the better to entertain the enemy on that ſide, the Duke ſurrounded his Camp on that ſide too with a Trench. Having thus ſecured himſelf, and having a watchful eye over all things, he commanded upon ſevereſt puniſhment, that no man ſhould ſtir from the Squadrons without his orders, nor ſhould in any manner whatſoever offer to fight. *Orange* was this mean while drawn near this place: And having ſent his brother *Henry* a little before, who was a gallant Youth, with fifty Horſe, to learn ſome news of the *Spaniſh* Camp, he met with almoſt as many, which the Duke of *Alva* had ſent out towards the Enemy to the ſame purpoſe. A bloody skirmiſh was had between theſe two Parties of Horſe, wherein the Dukes men coming off with ſomewhat the worſe, *Orange* came up ſoon after with his whole Army, and offered the Duke Battel. But he, ſtill more ſtedfaſt in his firſt reſolution, kept all his men in great order within their Trenches, ſuffering only the Artillery to play upon the Enemy, who did the like upon the *Spaniſh* Camp. *Orange* took up his Quarters afterwards at *Querenon*, a Village not far from *Jumampel*, and endeavoured divers times to provoke the Duke to fight. To this end he greatly annoyed the Kings Camp with continual thunder of Cannon; he endeavoured to keep them from Forage or Victuals, and ſallied out in skirmiſhes as oft as he could, ſo to provoke them to Battel the ſooner; wherein, having much the greater number of Horſe, he hoped to be Victor. There were ſome with the Duke who adviſed to fight the Enemy, ſhewing how much his men did exceed the others in Valour; ſaying,

That victories were not won by numbers, but by worth. How oft had their firſt Squadrons born it away? nay, how oft their firſt Files? What compariſon was there to be made between new tumultuary baſe people, ſuch as were the Enemy; and old Soldiers, ſo well diſciplin'd, and ſo nobly born as were his? Let him then go out of the Trenches: and fighting in ſo juſt a cauſe, and with ſuch valiant men, he might be ſure to overcome. The Archbiſhop of *Cullen* was particularly of this opinion; who being of a warlike mind, was come in perſon into the Camp. But the Duke, ſtill firm to his old Maxim, not to fight with Fortune, which in all humane affairs is ever fickle, but eſpecially in affairs of war and battel; anſwered in words befitting ſuch a Commander;

That the end of thoſe who govern an Army, was always to overcome, but not alway to fight. And that he ſhould have fought ſufficiently, when he ſhould have overcome.

Orange being thus deluded of all hopes of bringing it to a day of battel, apply'd himſelf wholly to the relief; and the Duke wholly to keep him from it: and this was the chiefeſt endeavour of them both. *Orange* propounded unto himſelf the conſequences of preſerving ſuch a place as *Mons* was: and the Duke the importancy of re-poſſeſſing himſelf of it. *Orange* had aſſur'd his friends that he would ſuccour and relieve it; and the other had ſignified no leſs aſſurance in *Spain* that he would hinder him from ſo doing. Each of them argue the future from the preſent ſucceſs. And warring one againſt the other, rather out of private hatred, than the publick reſpect, each of them fervently de-

fired to compaſs their ends with reputation and glory, the more to thwart the adverſaries deſign with loſs and diſhonour. *Orange* was much afflicted to find himſelf amidſt the aforeſaid neceſſities, which did foretoken, that if he did not very ſpeedily relieve *Mons*, his Army would immediately moulder away: he had no money to maintain it, nor was it any longer nouriſhable by rapine; and fearing every day leſt the Soldiers might mutiny, he knew that in ſuch a caſe his own Forces would be more prejudicial to him than thoſe of his Enemies. And doubtleſly he ran hazaad either of being brought into great agony by his own men, by actual impriſonment, or through great perfidiouſneſs and avarice, of being delivered up into the Duke of *Alva*'s hands, which was the moſt hideous thing his thoughts could ſuggeſt unto him. Without any further delay then, chuſiug out 2000 of his beſt Horſe, and 1000 of his beſt Foot, he ſent them with great reſolution towards that part where he thought they might eaſilieſt enter *Mons*, on the ſide of *Jumample*. He divided the horſe into two ſquadrons, and by them ſheltered the foot, which he intended to put into the City; and diſpoſed of all the reſt of his Army ſo as might ſerve upon any occaſion which fortune might preſent of battel. But the Kings men who had very well furniſht that paſs before, and eſpecially with ſome *Spaniſh* Colours under *Sancio d' Avila*, and *Julian Romero*, did ſo gallantly oppoſe the Aſſailants, and were ſo advantageouſly ſeconded by the Artillery which from the Fort commanded the Champian, as *Orange* could in no ways compaſs his intent. The conflict was notwithſtanding very fierce, and was accompanied by a double tempeſt of Cannon-ſhot, wherewith the Kings men played continually upon the Enemy both within and without: they being no leſs play'd upon by the others likewiſe, both from within and without: but few of the *Spaniards* were ſlain. Of the Enemy about 300. *Orange* deſpairing of bringing in any relief on that ſide, removed his Camp that very night, and lodged in the Village *Hermenes* upon the bank of *Trulla*, not far from *St. Sinforiano*. The Duke of *Alva* turned ſuch forces likewiſe as were requiſite on his ſide thitherward, to hinder the enemy from all relief on that ſide. Nor was it long ere he made them loſe all hopes thereof. *Orange* his ſoldiers were quartered in great diſorder, eſpecially the Germans; all other things alſo in his Camp were in much confuſion, nor was it any wonder: For the ſoldiers being for the moſt part pickt up here and there, without pay, or the curb of diſcipline, they obeyed no longer than they liſted. The Duke of *Alva* was very well informed of all theſe diſorders and wants amongſt the enemy; which he ſuddenly made advantage of. Having himſelf viewed the *Germans* neareſt quarters, he reſolved to aſſault them that very night, hoping that fortune would befriend him in their change of quarters. He gave the charge thereof to *Norchermes*, who was then very much imployed by him in *Vitelli*'s abſence, he being gone out of the Camp to be cured of his wound. The buſineſs inſued thus: A thouſand *Spaniſh* foot were pickt out, and the Camp-Maſter *Romero* was choſen to conduct them, who though he was very good at Counſel, yet was much better at Execution. To theſe thouſand *Spaniards* as many *Walloons* were added, to ſecure the retreat where need ſhould require. In the deepeſt ſilence of night the Kings men began to move: and that they might be known from the enemy in the dark, they went with ſhirts uppermoſt. The *Germans* were then in a great deal of careleſneſs all of them faſt aſleep, ſo as they were ſlain before they knew they were aſſaulted: they thought ſome tumult had caſually hapned amongſt them; but being diſdeceived by their wounds and blood, aud ſuddenly ſeized upon by confuſion and fear, they betook themſelves rather to flight than to fight. The Kings men at the ſame time they aſſaulted the *Germans*, the more to increaſe their terror and loſs, had fired their quarters: the fire burſt forth of a ſudden in ſundry parts, and burnt many of the enemies: So as it was queſtionable whether more of them periſht by the Sword, Fire, or Water, whereinto many of them did blindly precipitate themſelves; ſo to ſhun one death met with another: and the Kings men having continu'd ſlaughter a good while, they were forced at laſt to retreat, for the Enemies Camp was by this time in Arms. In this action about 500 *Germans* were loſt; and ſome few of the *Spaniards*, who not obſerving well their orders, were either born away with too much heat of fighting, or were not well acquainted with the places of retreat. But the Enemy was hereat ſo affrighted, as forgoing all obedience and diſcipline, and leaving behind them great part of their baggage, they of their own inclination betook themſelves preſently to be gone. They ſtormed againſt *Orange* for having abuſed and betrayed them, and that inſtead of returning home loaded with ſpoyl and booty, they were now to carry away nothing but ſufferings and diſaccomodations. Amidſt theſe outcries which taſted more of threats than complaints, *Orange*, being ſtrangely confuſed, and being reduced to a condition rather of obeying than commanding, raiſed his Camp and marched towards *Malines*. The Duke was counſelled by divers not to let ſlip ſo fitting an occaſion of falling on the enemy whilſt they retreated in diſorder. But he anſwered with the vulgar Proverb;

Let us make a Bridg to them that fly.

and ſhew'd how that without doubt *Orange* would within a few days be forced to quit the Country. That it was ſufficient for him that he had compaſt his end in the ſame manner as he deſired. *Orange* left a ſtrong Garriſon in *Malines*, intending to keep that City, which lying in the heart of *Flanders*, might ſerve him for many purpoſes. His Army afterwards wholly disbanding, and he luckily eſcaping out of their hands, whom he now ſuſpected more than the enemy, he at laſt by way of a fugitive, rather hiding himſelf than retiring, got to *Delfe*, a City in *Holland*, there to put on ſuch new reſolutions as time and neceſſity ſhould adminiſter. When *Orange* was gone from about *Mons*, the Duke of *Alva* began narrowlier to begirt the beſieged. He re-inforced the begun batteries, and uſed all other neceſſary diligence, to the end that being rid of this ſiege, he might the ſooner alſo recover thoſe other places which *Orange* had made himſelf Maſter of. The beſieged did notwithſtanding valiantly and conſtantly defend themſelves for ſome days; but at laſt all hopes of ſuccour failing them, they reſolved to yield, having received ſuch honourable conditions as upon ſuch occaſions are uſually articled and agreed upon between the vanquiſhers and vanquiſhed. Count *Lodovick* went ſick out of *Mons*; and paſſing into *Holland* to ſee his brother, he departed ſuddenly for *Germany*, to move every ſtone there which might ſerve to diſturb *Flanders*. Whilſt affairs went thus about *Mons*, many important novelties had happened in *Holland*, *Zealand*, and in other places. Monſieur *de Seras* was Governour of *Fluſhing*, being ſent thither, as hath been ſaid, by the Prince of *Orange*: and many hereticks were come from the neighbouring Countries to joyn with him. He therefore born away with greater deſigns, and deſirous in particular to lend his helping hand to the beſieged in *Mons*, by entring into *Flanders*, and afterwards into *Hennault*, betook himſelf thereunto. He gathered together 3000 foot, and eaſily imbarked them in the maritine coaſts of *Flanders*: he had not notwithſtanding ſufficient Artillery to force any place; wherefore he placed his hopes more in the peoples riſing, than in his own forces. But the Duke having uſed all needful care to ſecure that Province, and *Seras* meeting with good reſiſtance in all parts, he came from thence almoſt as ſoon as he was entred, and laid aſide all thoughts of doing any good on that ſide. The chief end of the tumultuaries in *Zealand*, was to poſſeſs themſelves of *Middleburg*. They thought that the Town of *Tergoes*, placed on the Northern parts of one of thoſe Iſlands, called *Southbeverlant*, would be a hindrance herein unto them. This Town was guarded by ſome *Spaniards* and *Walloons*: and *Middleburg* might better be relieved by the Kings men from thence, than from any other part. *Seras* applying himſelf to get this place, brought a good number of men with him, and endeavoured to enter it by force; but he found ſuch oppoſition, as he ſoon forſook the enterpriſe. And being deſpiſed by his own men, for theſe two unfortunate ſucceſſes, as alſo for ſome other things; thoſe of *Fluſhing* would no more receive him, nor the reſt any longer follow him; ſo as he was fain to forgo the Province with as much ſhame as he was at firſt received thereinto with honour. At the ſame time that Count *Lodovick* had poſſeſt himſelf of *Mons*, the aboveſaid inſurrections had happened in *Holland*; and except it were *Amſterdam*, the whole Province was almoſt revolted. To the *Brill*, where *Lumay* had raiſed the firſt tumults of thoſe parts, many heretick ſoldiers were come from the neighbouring Countryes, eſpecially from *England*. People were likewiſe raiſed by the Rebels in other parts of the Province, who fortified divers other Paſſes which lay more inward in the Country, to the end that they might be Maſters of the beſt Avenues on both ſides. The Duke of *Alva* had taken with him, to the relief of *Mons*, and to oppoſe *Orange*, almoſt all the whole Army, as hath been ſaid, eſpecially the *Spaniards*, in whom he did moſt confide. So as *Holland* being as it were abandoned to the will of the tumultuaries, it was no wonder, if having ſo large a field to break forth in into novelties, they were both ſo eaſily contrived by them, and ſo eaſily executed. Divers notable alterations to the Kings prejudice aroſe likewiſe in the contiguous Provinces of *Utricht*, *Frieſland*, *Overiſſel*, *Groninghen* and *Zuften*. At *Orange* his entrance into *Flanders* many of the cheifeſt places in each of them, followed him and his fortune, not meeting with almoſt any oppoſition by the Kings men. And the people baited by the ſpecious titles of common good, run almoſt from all places to aſſiſt his cauſe, as if it had been their own. The Count *de Berg*, one of the chiefeſt Lords of all the Low-Countryes, had married a ſiſter of the Prince of *Orange*; who had great adherences particularly in *Friezland*, and the parts thereabouts. He was likewiſe apparently inclin'd to favour hereſie, and joyned with *Orange* no leſs in Council then in Bloud. He therefore came into the aforeſaid Province beyond the *Rhine* at the ſame time that *Orange* paſt from them to the other more inward Provinces, and made divers places of importance riſe, and placed Garriſons in ſome of them which were moſt conſiderable either for their Scituation or Inhabitants: amongſt others the City of *Zuften* was fallen into his hands, which gives the name to that Province, and which being ſeated on the River *Iſel*, is held for one of the chiefeſt of all thoſe parts. He had taken and ſackt the Town of *Amersfort*, upon the Frontiers of *Holland*; and indeavoured thus to draw the people by force, where they would not of themſelves be wrought un-

to it, to joyn with him, *Orange*, and the other *Flemiſh* exiles. It is not to be believed how ill they obſerved their promiſe which *Orange* in the aforementioned Manifeſto made to the Catholicks in point of Religion: For the firſt thing the hereticks did when they were entred into any Town, was to violate this promiſe: nay growing more outragious then ordinarily againſt Eccleſiaſticks, and eſpecially againſt Votaries; not content to uſe ſcorn, they proceeded to rapine, to impriſoment, to torments, and with unheard of cruelties, even to death. The end, which to the praiſe of Martrydom, ſome *Franciſcan* Votaries made in the Towns of *Alckmar* and *Gorcham*, was very memorable. The affairs of the aboveſaid Provinces were at this paſs when *Mons* was delivered into the Duke of *Alva's* hands. A little before this ſiege was ended, the Tumultuaries in the heat of the advantages they had gotten, and whilſt the Duke was buſied about *Mons* with all the Kings forces, had reſolved to attempt the taking of *Tergoes* in *Zealand*: They deſpaired of getting *Middleburg*, if they had not *Tergoes* firſt. Putting therefore 8000 Foot together, many whereof were *French*, *Germans*, and *Engliſh*; and being provided of Artillery to batter, they ſhipt the one and the other at *Flushing*, with all other things neceſſary for the enterpriſe; and from thence went to the Iſland of *Southbevolant*, and incamped themſelves underneath *Tergoes*. *Iſidore Pacceco* commanded ſuch of the Kings men as were there, conſiſting of little leſs then 400 Foot, part *Spaniards*, part *Walloons*. And becauſe one of the gallanteſt reſiſtance was there made that hath been ſeen in all this war, and the Town ſtill preſerv'd by one of the moſt memorable ſuccours that ever was read of either in ancient or modern Hiſtory, methinks I may be permitted to be a little more diligent in the narration of the whole, than the brevity which we would willingly follow doth allow of.

Where the *Scheld* falls from the more inward parts of the Land, gliding for a good ſpace along the Confines of *Brabant* and *Flanderrs*, it comes at once out of both thoſe Provinces, and at the coming out divides it ſelf into two large branches: The one bends towards the North, and retains the name of *Scheld*; the other turns towards the Weſt, and is called *Honte*. Here both of them growing greater as they draw nearer the Ocean, before they fall thereinto, they joyn together in divers ſpacious Gulfs; amongſt which the Iſlands of *Zealand* are rather buried, then raiſed up, ſo low are they ſeated, and ſo oft doth the Sea do miſchief there. This low ſituation is notwithſtanding endeavoured to be remedied by the Inhabitants with exceeding high and firm banks. But this remedy doth not always avail: of which the Iſland of *Zuitbevolant*, which now we ſpake of, hath had ſad experience, it having in former times been one of the greateſt and beſt populated of all the *Zealand* Iſlands. 'Tis ſaid that in the year 1532 the Sea aroſe with one of the terribleſt tempeſts that was ever ſeen in thoſe parts; and that rending the banks aſunder, and bearing down whatſoever withſtood it, it overflowed from the one ſide to the other, and did actually drown a great part of the Iſland, to the utter and horrible deſtruction both of men and beaſts, and a great number of intire Villages, which were miſerably ſwallowed up by that deluge. This chance hapned on that ſide which lies neareſt *Brabant* and *Flanders*; this being the firſt Iſland which the *Scheld* in forming its aboveſaid branches, cuts off and divides from the Continent. Yet that Angle which lieth neareſt the firm land, remained ſtill unprejudiced, and is yet inhabited: So as by an eaſie paſſage which the *Scheld* gives there way unto, as many Soldiers as you pleaſe may be conveyed from each of the forenamed Provinces. On the Weſt the Iſland looks towards *Flanders*, on the North towards *Brabant*, and on this ſide ſtands *Tergoes*, and might therefore eaſilieſt be relieved from thence. *Tergoes* is a ſmall Town, better munited by nature then by art, being fenced on the one ſide by the *Scheld*, upon whoſe banks it is ſituated; it is inviroued on another part with certain mariſh grounds; and the defendants had fortified it on the weakeſt ſide which lies towards the firm land. When the Enemies were incamped about it, they were very diligent in their ſtrait beſieging it. Nor did the Kings men forbear making divers ſallies to hinder the out-works, ſo as at the firſt many were ſlain on both ſides, wherein thoſe ſhewed notable valour and courage. But the Enemy advancing with Trenches and Batteries on divers ſides, they began to annoy the beſieged very much; and had already made ſo great a breach in one of the walls with their batteries, as they thought they might come to an aſſault. Wherefore ſelecting out their choiſe men, they ſet upon the Kings men: but they met with ſo ſtout reſiſtance, as they were forced to retreat with the loſs and wounding of many of them; amongſt which more than one of their cheifeſt Captains. They afterwards made the like tryal in another of their batteries, and had the ſame ſucceſs. In fine, thoſe without could not labour more to offend, than thoſe within did to defend. Behind one Work they raiſed another; they wrought both night and day; women ran to the Works as well as men: And although the Soldiers were but few in number to what was requiſite, yet they ſupplyed that want by their worth. Famine works oft-times more in

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Sieges than doth the Sword. The Enemy proceeding no longer by way of Aſſault, betook themſelves to a more ſlow oppoſition, hoping to reduce the beſieged to ſuch a ſcarcity of victuals, as that they ſhould be forced to yield the Town. This mean while the Duke of *Alva* having taken *Mons*, did not delay his reſolution of ſuccouring *Tergoes*: He conſidered the Soldiers worth, the honour of the enterpriſe, and the importancy of the place; ſince upon the loſs or preſervation thereof, the like of *Middleburgh* did conſiſt. But it was chiefly weighed, that by keeping poſſeſſion of both theſe places, the King ſhould keep good footing ſtill in *Zealand*, the chief Maritine Port of all thoſe Countries; to the full obtaining whereof, all courage and induſtry was to be imployed. He therefore charged *Sancio d' Avila* and *Chriſtopher Mandragone* to endeavour the relief of the beſieged with all ſpeed. *Avila* was Governour of the Caſtle of *Antwerp*: and from that City, which lies upon the *Scheld*, and not far from the Iſland *Zuitbevolant*, neceſſary proviſions for relief might be better had than from any other part. *Berghen ap Zoom* is yet nearer *Tergoes*; ſo as all things neceſſary for the buſineſs were appointed to be brought thither, as the place fitteſt to receive them from *Antwerp*. The reſolution was, to enter the North branch of the *Scheld*, which keeps the name thereof, and upon which *Tergoes* ſtands, with armed Boats, and to endeavour to effect their enterpriſe by that way. *Mandragone*, though a *Spaniard*, was then the *Walloons* Camp-maſter; but paſt afterwards to the like, and other greater imployments in his own Nation, with ſuch praiſe for his valour, as he after became one of the chief Commanders thereof. A good number of men being then muſtered to this end, part *Spaniards*, part *Germans*, part *Walloons*, they divers times endeavoured at the flowing of the Sea to advance by the ſaid branch of the River, and to convey in the relief: but they ſtill found the paſſage ſo poſſeſt by the enemy, and with ſo much ſtronger forces by Sea than theirs, as they could not effect it. *Avila* reſolved afterwards to bring ſome Peeces of Artillery to the banks of the *Scheld*, and to try whether he could thereby make the Enemy give way unto the paſſage, ſo as *Mandragone* might at the ſame time convey the ſuccour into *Goes* by water. But this anſwered not their expectation: For the Artillery being almoſt ſunk in the mire of thoſe low places, they could not advance much; wherefore *Mandragone* deſpaired likewiſe of doing any thing on his part. Thus did all hope of ſuccour fail: When Captain *Plumart*, a Native of that Country, and very well practis'd therein, a man of courage, and who had ſerved the King faithfully, preſented himſelf before *D' Avila* and *Mandragone*, and ſpake thus:

Deſperate advice is requiſite in deſperate enterpriſes. Yet I hope that which I ſhall now propound, will prove rather ſo in ſhew than in ſubſtance. Why ſhall not we endeavour their relief, hazarding to wade through the drown'd part of the Iſland? A paſſage of terrible length doubtleſly; but yet it may be happily effected, if we obſerve well to endeavour it at the Seas loweſt ebb. I who ſo boldly give the advice, do with the like boldneſs offer to be my ſelf the firſt that will execute it.

The quality of the man, who was held experienced, and known to be faithful, added ſome force to his propoſition, though both *Avila* and *Mandragone* thought it bore with it important difficulties. They knew already by experience, that the Country which was drowned, and through which they were to wade, was near upon ſeven miles over; that the bottom of thoſe drowned grounds was very muddy; that before the inundation happened, there were other running waters which paſt through the Country: That in propoſitions of this nature, the difficulties proved always greateſt in the practiſe; and how troubleſome would ſo long a paſſage be? what breaſt, or what breath would be able to go through with it? and how could the ebbing and the flowing of the Sea be ſo juſtly meaſured, as that the Soldiers might not run danger of being loſt? Nor would their dangers have here an end: for if the Enemy ſhould either know of, or but ſuſpect ſuch a deſign, they might aſſault the Kings Soldiers upon great advantage as they ſhould draw near the dry land, and ſlaughtering them at their pleaſure, hinder them from fixing their foot there: In which caſe, what would it avail them to be well gotten out of the water, if they muſt at laſt be a prey unto the ſword of the enemy? *Plumart* did not at all go leſs, for all theſe difficulties mentioned by *d' Avila* and *Mandragone*. But ſtill making good his opinion, ſaid, his mind gave him that the paſſage would be ſafe, and that he would be the firſt that would venture upon it. That the chiefeſt importance lay herein; and that the buſineſs was to be carryed on with all ſecreſie, and done before it was known. *Avila* and *Mandragone* made then no longer delay. *Plumart*, together with two *Spaniards* and another Country-fellow well verſt in thoſe parts, went and found the paſſage for their purpoſe. It was about the end of *October*, and the ſeaſon was yet very fair, ſeeming as if it did alſo applaud the deſign. The tryal proving ſo well, they reſolved forthwith to venture to ſuccour the Town by that way. To this purpoſe a great many ſacks were prepared to carry match, and powder, and biſket, and the ſoldiers

were carryed into a Village called *Aggier*, in that Angle of the Island which lies nearest the firm land, most commodious for that passage. The people that were to make it were 3000 chosen out of the three abovesaid Nations. *Avila* stayed in another neighbouring Village with Minhere *Heroscherche*, Governour of *Bergben*, and the care of the succour was left to *Mandragone*. They took their time to enter into the water at the first ebb; for the time of its being at the very lowest would not serve the turn. He commanded the sacks to be distributed according to the number of the soldiers, who were to carry them upon there backs, to the end that not being hurt by the water, the souldiers might at their coming out take some refreshment after their so great labour, and use their musquets against the enemy, in case they should meet with any unexpected opposition. In War, nothing is more requisite than secrecy, as well to advantage the fight, as to overcome without fighting. The enterprise was therefore till then kept very secret, to the end that the enemy being taken at unawares, might not disturb it. The time determined being come, and *Mandragone* being now to make the business known, he by way of incouragement spake thus unto the soldiers: *Fortune could not shew her self unto us (my fellow soldiers) with a more favourable aspect, than when she seemed most to frown. You know we have oft-times in vain endeavoured to relieve* Tergoes; *and now when we were in despair of doing it, Fortune hath pointed out a way unto us how to do it: Do you see this spacious water whereinto we are now to enter? This in former times was all dry land, which hath since been miserably drowned by the sea; yet ever since then, the waters have been so shallow in some parts, as when the Sea ebbs it may be waded through. And that there may be no doubt of this, the tryal hath been lately made. Which of you doth not know Captain* Plumart, *and his fidelity in the Kings service? which of you knows not that he is better practised in these parts, than in his own house? h accompanied with some others, hath past forwards and backwards over these waters, through which we are to bring in the relief. He will be my guide, I will be the like to the first file, and so one to another till we shall all come upon dry land: which being done, the business is effected. The enemy will dream of nothing less than of being assaulted by us on this side: so as astonished at our boldness, and overcome more by their own fear, than by our Forces, they will betake themselves rather to flye than to fight: and say they should fight, how can we doubt the victory? These are the same Rebels as at first: Rebels no less to God than to the King. And altogether as cowardly at their Arms, as perfideous in their Cause. These are the very same whom we but lately saw besiege* Middleburg; *and in despight of them we relieved the Town by unexpected ways; and they running away before we were well got up unto them, yielded us the victory without any gainsaying. Then 'tis only the water that we are now to fight with, and to overcome; and some of you peradventure will fear this more than you would do the enemy. So many miles of drown'd land, blind ways, through so blind an Element; and chiefly the terror which the Tide brings with it. These doubtless are all of them dreadful objects, and I confess the enterprise is difficult; but glory is not won where there is no danger. Yet these are not such as may not assuredly be overcome. The Ford (as I told you) is already found: the tryal thereof hath already been faithfully made: and the ebb will allow us time enough for our march before the flood come. For what remains, our patience will be more requisite than our courage: and yet our courage will herein so clearly appear, as such an action cannot be more apprehended by the enemy, nor more celebrated in the mouths of all others. We shall be famous throughout all the world, as contemners of danger; as vanquishers even of Natures self, and of her proudest Element. And what shall our deserts be hereby from God? what from the King? moreover we may hope for great booty from their precipitate running away, as assuredly the enemy will do from the siege of* Tergoes. *But the work allows no longer time, I will be the first that shall enter the water: but every one afterwards undauntedly follow me; and let each of us perform our parts so, as that by this glorious action the world may think me a gallant Commander, and you no less gallant Soldiers.*

These words were followed with a great applause, each Nation seeming ambitious of the enterprise: and *Mandragone* ordered his people thus: The *Spaniards* went first, the *Germans* next them, and the *Walloons* last; all in very close files, to the end that the soldiers might wade the better, and if need should be, be the readier to help one another. Nor was there any delay made. *Mandragone* stept first into the water bare-footed and bare-leg'd, taking *Plumart* for his guide. Then all the rest did the like in the abovesaid order, and thus they continued to march, one file still encouraging the other. And the voyage was so well fitted to the floud, as also their courage in induring it, to the labour of doing it, as unless it were nine who perisht either through misfortune or weariness, all of them got safely to the banks of *Terschen*, a Village on the contrary shore, after a long march by water. *Terschen* is two leagues distant from *Tergoes*; when they were got thither, *Mandragone* gave notice thereof presently to *Avila* by fires: and resting himself and his soldiers that night, he resolved to proceed on to the succour the next morning. But it was not needful to make use of their Arms; for when the enemy heard how

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that they had paſſed the water, and in what manner; they were ſo aſtoniſhed, and ſo ſorely frighted, as they immediately raiſed their Camp, and began to imbarque themſelves: *Mandragone* being hereof advertiſed from *Tergoes*, and being deſired to ſend ſome ſoldiers to the Town, to aſſault the other in their retreat, he forthwith ſent them 400 Harquebuſiers, who made ſuch haſte, as they met with thoſe of the Town time enough to annoy the enemy on their reer, and ſlew many of them before they could imbarque themſelves. *Mandragone* entred afterwards into *Tergoes*, and by mutual demonſtration of military joy, the ſoldiers received each other on both ſides, contending whether the one had ſhewed more valour in maintaining the ſiege, or the others in raiſing it. When *Mandragone* had furniſhed the Town with things neceſſary, he returned to *Avila*, and both of them with their men went to the Army where the Duke of *Alva* was. Some of the ancienteſt *Spaniards* who were in *Flanders* during my being Nuntio in thoſe Provinces, were preſent at this memorable action; and amongſt others, *John Rivas*, who was come into thoſe parts with the Duke of *Alva*; and who from a private ſoldier, was by his worth arrived by degrees to the higheſt places of Military profeſſion. In my time he was governour of the City and Citadel of *Cambray*, which is one of the chiefeſt charges which is given to thoſe of his Nation. A man of a venerable aſpect, and in whom it might be diſputed, whether his wiſdom in Civil or in Military affairs was the more eminent. He hath ſundry times related this ſucceſs to me, and I have in this place willingly commemorated ſo worthy and ſo grave an Author.

But to return to what the Duke of *Alva* did after the recovery of *Mons*; when he had provided for the ſafety of that City, and the reſt of that Frontiers, he turned his Army into *Brabant*, and marched towards the City of *Malines*. He went thither intending to uſe more ſeverity than clemency: He thought that the *Malineſes* had favoured *Orange* upon too eaſie terms, both in receiving a Gariſon from him, and in furniſhing him with whatſoever he deſired. He therefore made his ſon *Frederick* advance, to prepare all things requiſite for ſtorming the City. The reſt of the Camp followed him, breathing forth threats and revenge. But not having received any pay for a long time, they were rather deſirous of booty than of bloud, and therefore inclin'd to allay their anger more by pillage than by ſlaughter. The Citizens were not ignorant of their danger: ſo as after a ſhort skirmiſh which happened between *Orange* his *Germans*, and the Kings men at their firſt arrival, they preſenly put that Gariſon out of the Town, and indeavoured by all means poſſible to appeaſe the enemies anger. They uſed the greateſt ſubmiſſion that might be to the Duke; and finally ſent forth the Clergy in ſolemn proceſſion, to induce them the more to clemency and commiſeration. The Duke began to liſten to conditions; when the *Spaniards*, laying aſide all delay, forced the Walls, and being followed by the reſt, they entred the City, and overrunning it on a ſudden, put it wholly to the ſack. Their fury extended to all ſexes, and to all ages. The Churches did not eſcape their avarice, nor did the Monaſteries eſcape their luſt. There was but little bloud ſhed; and the Duke not being much troubled to ſee the City puniſht, as alſo being in great arrears unto the Army, he was contented rather to excuſe the plunder, than to reſcent it. When he had reordered his affairs, he went from *Malines* to *Maſtrick*, and from thence to *Nimingben*, the chiefeſt City in *Ghelderland*. Here he ſtaid ſome days, thinking how he might recover the Towns of that Province which were loſt. *Ruremond* fell without any difficulty into his hands, together with whatſoever *Orange* had poſſeſt himſelf of thereabouts. He then reſolved to begirt *Zutfen*, where the Enemy had fortified themſelves, and ſeemed as if they would make it good. To this end he ſent his ſon *Frederick* thitherward with a good proportion of men, and Artillery.

Zutfen is ſituated upon the River *Iſel*, and on one ſide of the Town a leſſer River called *Berchel* falls into the ſaid *Iſel*: The other ſituations without the Town are very low and myery. *Zutfen* was at this time walled about after the ancient form, and was every where provided with good and deep ditches. But being many years after fallen into the abſolute power of the Hereticks, they have made it one of the ſtrongeſt places of all thoſe Countries. *Frederick* pitched his Camp about it, about the latter end of *November*, at which time the weather grew very ſharp and cold; and there was great ſtore of Ice, which as it made for the advantage of the Kings men, ſo did it to the contrary for the enemy, who had placed their chiefeſt hopes of defence in their low and watery places, wherewith the Town was environed on all ſides. *Frederick* drew near it without much difficulty; and having raiſed two Batteries where he thought it fitteſt in thoſe low ſituations, he began by them to make great breaches. Signior *Hierges*, a valiant Soldier, had the charge of the Artillery; and the Kings men were not likely long to forbear the aſſault: when the Gariſon which was within the Town growing apprehenſive, reſolved to ſteal privately away; wherefore the Townſmens fear growing greater, they fell preſently to treat of agreement. But the Kings men ſcorning all accord, forced the walls: and being more greedy here likewiſe of booty than of bloud, fell forthwith to plunder the Town in hoſtile manner, and treated it altogether as ill as they had formerly done *Malines*. By the terror of theſe two ſackings, all thoſe Cities and Towns on the other ſide of

Rhine in the aforeſaid Provinces of *Groninghen*, *Overiſel*, *Frieſland* and *Utricht*, which had caſt off their obedience to the King, returned ſuddenly thereunto: And the Count *de Berg*, together with divers other perſonages of quality, withdrew themſelves preſently into the neareſt parts of *Germay*.

It was now the beginning of winter: Wherefore the Duke caſhier'd all the *Germans* which he had lately raiſed, and which were much leſſened in their numbers, and returned to his uſual abode at *Bruſſels*. But his ſon *Frederick*, when he had ſecured the moſt important places beyond the *Rhine*, turn'd his Army forthwith into *Holland*. To boot with his former victories, he was encouraged by the ſeaſon of the year; which being extraordinarily cold and icy, made him hope he might the more eaſily enter thoſe low and watry ſituations. He marched thitherward with great Forces, particularly with the flower of the *Spaniards*. But before he could get thereinto, he muſt entertain himſelf ſome days before *Naerden*, a little Town near the Sea. *Naerden* is ſeated very low, and hath many ſtanding waters about it, occaſioned by the River *Wetcht*, which running through the midſt of the Town, falls ſoon after into the *Zuiderzee*. Here had many Hereticks neſtled themſelves, by reaſon of the opportunity of the ſeat; and not only thoſe of the Country, but alſo of the neighbouring parts. And this was one of the moſt corrupted Sanctuaries which they had in all thoſe parts. *Frederick* did not think they would make any reſiſtance: yet becauſe there were many *French Hugonots* there, and becauſe they were encouraged by the other Rebels in *Holland* who had promiſed them aid, they would not return to the Kings obedience, as *Frederick* had fairly invited them to do. Wherefore he was the more incenſed. He made the Artillery advance; and adding threats to the terror of Arms, he betook himſelf to ſtorm the Town. But thoſe within, failing in their courage, condeſcended to a parly, and agreed to ſurrender the Town to *Frederick*: wherewith the Soldiers being diſpleaſed, they obſerved no Articles, but fell preſently to fire the Town: Plunder was the leaſt of their evils: All the *French* and other Hereticks who were in the Town, were put to the ſword: And to compleat their miſeries, to Plunder and blood Fire was added; ſo as except it were one Church and Monaſtery, there was not any ſign of a Town left. With theſe dreadful preſidents did *Frederick* enter *Holland*. But the event will ſhew, that though it be always good to joyn fear to clemency, it is always hurtful to couple it with deſperation. When the *Spaniſh* forces were brought into that Province, the people therefore grew into ſuch horror of them, as deſpairing either to obtain forgiveneſs if they ſhould demand it, or to have it made good unto them though they ſhould have it promiſed, they reſolved to maintain by all poſſible means their begun Revolt.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK VII.

THE CONTENTS.

The Cities of Holland, *which are up in Arms, endeavour to get* Amſterdam *to joyn with them; which not being able to do, they imploy force againſt it.* Fredrick *of* Toledo *goes thither himſelf in perſon, and ſecures it from all danger. He ſeeks to be received into* Harlem, *and to put a garriſon into it. Thoſe of the Town ſeem at firſt to incline thereunto, and afterwards refuſe to do it.* Frederick *layes ſiege unto the City. The ſituation of* Harlem. *A Fort is planted by thoſe of* Harlem *without the Town: 'tis taken by the Spaniards, who alſo cut off a ſuccour. They aſſault the Town in an impetuous, but diſorderly manner, and are repulſed with great loſs. Freſh aid is brought into the City. Extraordinary Cold and Froſt. The* Hollanders *extraordinary dextrouſneſs and agility upon the Ice. Great ſufferings amongſt the Kings men: They fear to be neceſſitated to retreat, but the Duke of* Alva *will not conſent thereunto. The Beſiegers make therefore the greater oppoſition, and the Beſieged the greater reſiſtance. Valiant actions both by Sea and Land by both Parties. A Naval Battel, wherein the Kings men have the better. A ſore famine in* Harlem. *Succour ſent by* Orange, *but routed by the* Spaniards. *The City is ſurrendred: Severe puniſhments is inflicted. New things happen this mean while in* Zealand. *The* Spaniards *mutiny in* Holland. *Their unfortunate ſiege of* Alkmar: *and no leſs unfortunate ſucceſs by Sea. The Duke of* Alva, *and the Duke* Medina-Celi *depart from* Flanders. Recheſens *the Commendador General of* Caſtile, *is made Governor of* Flanders.

IN the almoſt general Inſurrection of *Holland*, it is not to be believed how conſtant the City of *Amſterdam* kept in their obedience to the Church and King. And her conſtancy is ſo much the more to be praiſed, for that all the reſt of the Cities, that were up in Arms, endeavoured by all means poſſible to draw her over to ſide with them. They firſt uſed fair means; and then betook themſelves to force. They infeſted her Territories with armed men; and indamaging her more by Sea than by Land, they had burnt many of her Ships in the Port, and did, as it were, beſiege her with theirs on that ſide. *Frederick* removed ſuddenly therefore from *Naerden* to *Amſterdam*, and ſecured the City on the Land ſide. He endeavoured to do the like on that ſide wich lay towards the Sea: he ſent ſome men againſt the Enemies Ships, hoping, by means of the Ice to be able to aſſault them near at hand, and to indamage them. But the Enemy breaking the Ice, and making, as it were, a Ditch about them for their defence, kept the Kings men aloof off, and preſerved their Ships free from any harm. So as *Frederick* highly commending thoſe of *Amſterdam* for their loyalty, and ſatisfying the City, by not putting any forreign Garriſon into it, reſolved to proceed in that Province as he had begun, by his Forces. He would notwithſtanding firſt uſe fair means, accompanied with threats: And to this purpoſe perſwaded the City of *Amſterdam* to mediate with the reſt. The neareſt and chiefeſt of them were *Harlem:* And ſo far did this City exceed all the other Cities of *Holland* in Prerogatives as in the new erection of Biſhopricks, the Epiſcopal Sea of that Province ſhould have been placed there. Thoſe of *Harlem* ſeemed to take in good part the *Amſterdamniſt* intereſſion; and ſent ſome of their Inhabitents, who were beſt affected to the Church and to the King, to treat with *Frederick* in *Amſterdam*: And the Treaty was already believed to be as good as agreed on, wherein was contained, That they ſhould receive a Spaniſh Garriſon. When the *Harlem* men ſuddenly changed their minds, would needs fall off, and break the Treaty. The Sea is not ſo agitated with Winds, as are the Common People with Paſſion:

They are blind in their conſultations, and more blind in their reſolutions; and with incredible ficklemeſs, on a ſudden turn their love into hatred, and their hatred into love.

We told you before, that the Prince of *Orange* was come to ſettle himſelf in *Holland*, not only as in a Province whereof he had formerly been Governor, and wherein he was ſtill acknowledged to be ſo, but as in the chief Seat of his deſigns: And therefore he ceaſed not by all poſſible art to foment the troubles, which were already begun there. Under him Captain *Wibald Ripert* was Governour of *Harlem*, born in *Frieſland*; and who depended upon *Orange* more by the ſubordination of his ſenſe, than of his Office. This man aſſembling the multitude together, whilſt they were hotteſt in concludiug with the *Spaniards*, with a loud voice ſpake thus unto them.

Shall private Fraud be now thus falſly cloaked by publick zeal? Shall the Tyranny exerciſed by the Duke of Alva *be thus adhered to under pretence of Obedience due unto the King? and to ſhun the peril of Siege, as is ſpeciouſly pretended, ſhall we with greater danger receive* Spaniards *into this City? which if we do, who ſhall ſecure us of their truth? or rather, why ſhould not we by their uſual cuſtomes aſſure our ſelves of their perfidiouſneſs? The Streets of* Malines, Zutphen, *and* Naerden *run yet with blood, their houſes ſmoke yet with fire, and the groans occaſioned by a thouſand other hoſtile acts of theirs in thoſe places, without regard either to Articles agreed upon, or Promiſes ſworn unto, are yet every where heard? Why ſhould not we of* Harlem *rather do as they of* Amſterdam *have done? the Inhabitants whereof would not admit of a Spaniſh Garriſon, but will maintain their Loyalty to the King by their own proper Malitia. It is beſt for us to do ſo likewiſe, and ſo thinks the Prince of* Orange, *who is Governour of this Province, and ſo well affected to this City. The Prince of* Orange, *who, after having run ſuch grievous dangers, and ſuffered ſo much hardneſs for the common ſervice of his Country, is at laſt come to fix himſelf here amongſt us, to make our Cauſe more his than his own; and by which he deſires the King may be obeyed rather than by any other; but by the mildneſs of our own Lawes, and not by the violence of Strangers. For if then the* Spaniards *will try their power by a Siege, and we ſhall endeavour to withſtand them, and do it more by the walls of our breaſts than of our City, our Cauſe will doubtleſly be ſo juſt, as we ſhall not doubt of the ſucceſs. But come what will come, how much better will it be to die once in defence of our Liberty, than a thouſand times every day in undergoing the miſeries of an intollerable ſlavery?*

When *Ripert* had thus ſpoken, *Lancelot Brederode* ſtept forward, one of the moſt honourable men of the Province, and beſt eſteemed of in that City; and ſeconded *Ripert* with equal efficacy. In kindling Sedition the forwardneſs of a few is ſufficient againſt the Lukewarmneſs of a many: and thus it then fell out. Some others, who were openly of *Orange* his Faction, followed theſe two Chieftains, and changing the reſolution, which was already almoſt agreed on, it was concluded, That inſtead of a Spaniſh Garriſon, ſome Companies of a German Regiment, who by order from the Rebels in *Holland* were raiſed by Collonel *Muller*, ſhould be received into the City. Hereticks where not wanting within the Walls, who growing bold upon ſuch an occaſion, flew ſuddenly to ſome Churches, and turn'd them to their own uſe. Nor did the rage of the Seditious ſtop here: They would have thoſe to be impriſonned, who were gone to treat with the Spaniards, and not long after they cruelly put them to death: whereat *Orange* was not diſpleaſed, for that the Harlemiſts being thereby the *deeper dipt in guilt*, they deſpair the more of pardon from the King. At the hearing of ſo unexpected an alteration, *Frederick* of *Toledo* was highly incens'd, and his Father more highly, who had heard news thereof at *Bruſſels*. They made no long delay. *Frederick* moved at the ſame inſtant with the Kings Army towards *Harlem*, and with great reſolution prepared to beſiege it. *Harlem* lies in a large plain, divided every where into lovely Meadows; the ground in *Holland* being uſually fitter for paſture than for ſeed. On the one ſide it hath a Wood nigh at hand, which is but very little, and ſerves rather for pleaſure than for firing. On another ſide the River *Sparen* runs within the Walls; which waſhing the walls on the outſide with another branch, that preſently joyns with the former, makes that part of the City an Iſland. Towards the South this River communicates with a great Lake called *Harlem Meer*, and towards the Weſt with a large Gulph called *Tie*, which entring into other greater Gulphs, falls not into, but is rather incloſed by the Ocean. The City is provided of a good Ditch and good Walls, not flanked according to the modern faſhion, but with great Towers after the ancient wont. The circuit thereof is great; it is very well peopled: and to the number of Inhabitants, as well in private, as in publick, doth the conditidition of the Edifices anſwer. Near this City, almoſt at equal diſtance, within half a dayes journey lies two of the Chiefeſt Towns of *Holland*, *Amſterdam* on the Eaſt, and on the South *Leyden*. The latter conſpired with the others in the Inſurrection; and *Orange* was himſelf then in it, to the end that he might be nearer to aſſiſt the Harlemiſts, both with advice and forces. *Amſterdam* on the contrary, was wholly as hath been ſaid, for the King; as was likewiſe the contiguous Province of *Utricht*: and from that ſide therefore was the Spaniſh Camp to be furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the Siege. *Frederick* endeavoured therefore firſt to ſecure the Paſſes on that ſide. One of which was of greater importance than the reſt,

and

and lay nearer *Harlem*, being two little Villages, betwixt which runs the river *Sparen*, and which by reaſon of the neighbourhood thereof are called, the one *Sparendam*, the other *Sparenwoude*. In this place there was a Fort, built by the Rebels of *Holland*, which being loſt, and again re-taken, was better munited by them than before. *Frederick* purpoſed to poſſeſs himſelf of this Fort; but as much as he deſired to gain it, as much did the Harlemiſts ſtrive to keep it from being loſt. It was now about the beginning of *December*; and the Cold falling out more early, and more bitter that year than uſually, the waters were in all parts very hard frozen. This made much for the Spaniards in aſſaulting the Fort; for the water in the ditch being frozen over, and the earth hardened by the cold, which before was ſoft and ſpongy, they might therefore the eaſilyer draw near it. *Frederick* fought firſt notwithſtanding to inform himſelf better of the Forts conditions, and of the enemy intentions. To this end he ſent forth *Roderigo Zappata* with a party of Harquebuſiers. Which when the Harlemiſts ſaw, they forthwith ſallied out couragiouſly, and made the Spaniards retreat: and in this action *Zappata* loſt an Arm.

This did not ſlacken, but did more inflame the Spaniards. They therefore ſoon after aſſaulted the Fort on two ſides at once, and the Harlemiſts came forth the ſecond time to defend it: But the number of the latter was neither equal to the others, nor yet their valour: ſo as they did rather yield than fight. And the Spaniards ceaſed not, till paſſing over the ditch upon the ice, and ſtill preſſing harder upon the Harlemiſts, they entred the Fort joyntly with them; where they ſlew many, and eaſily drove out the reſt. The Spaniards incouraged hereby, drew near the City, and begirt it on ſundry parts. The Kings Army conſiſted not of above 12000 foot, but all of them choice ſouldiers, and mightily puſt up by their ſo many proſperous ſucceſſes. There were about 6000 Spaniards, 3500 Germans, and the reſt Walloons. They brought but 400 horſe to the ſiege, part Lances, part Dragoons, which were as many as they needed, reſpect being had to the Country, and to the ſeaſon. As *Frederick* advanced, and as he divided his quarters, he underſtood that *Lumay* came from *Leydens* ſide to bring a good ſuccour to the City. He brought with him the remainder of the German Regiment which was raiſed by *Muller*, and ſome other Companies of French and Engliſh, which might make 3000 foot, with ſome pieces of Artillery, and ſome victuals. *Frederick* hearing this, haſted to meet the enemy: a thick cloud favoured both the parties, each of them thinking the better to conceal themſelves by the obſcurity thereof; and to fall upon the contrary party at unawares: But the event proved better for the Kings men. The encounter was near the Town of *Berchenrode*, where the buſineſs laſted not long; for the Kings men were ſo much the better both in numbers, valour and diligence, as the enemy were quickly routed. Many of them were ſlain, and the reſt diſperſt: they loſt their Artillery, many Colours, all their Baggage, and all the proviſion which they brought. *Frederick* returning to order the ſiege, choſe for his quarters a certain Hoſpital, with ſome few houſes of a Burrough, which anſwered upon one of the Gates of the City called *de la Croce*, and kept with him all the Spaniards. On this ſide a great battery was ſoon prepared. But this ſituation which was the moſt commodious for quarter, was not ſo for battery; for the Gate was fenced by a good Ravelin, and the Wall was there alſo more defenſable. On the ſide oppoſite to them, which looked towards *Leyden*, the reſt were quartered, with little or no commodity of covert. But the Wall being weaker on that ſide, and worſe-flankt, therefore the oppugning on that ſide might be the eaſier. This error was rather deſpiſed then not known. The Spaniards could not perſwade themſelves but that the Harlemiſts would throw open their Gates at the very firſt thunder of their Canon, as they had done in other places which they had lately taken. And they were the more confirmed herein by their double good ſucceſs of taking the Fort, and keeping back the relief. So as not obſerving the Military proceedings in ſieges, and too ſcornfully neglecting to make their Trenches, ſo to draw near by degrees (as is uſual) under their Rampires; they reſolved to fall immediately to the battery of the ſaid gate *de la Croce*, and of its Ravelin. They placed ſixteen piece of great Canon againſt that ſide, and on the 18 of *December* began a very fierce Battery. So great was the firſt days rain, as they of *Harlem* could hardly work upon the Ravelin and the Gate. But the night following they did ſo well provide for all things neceſſary, as they manfully made good the defence; to the great praiſe in particular of Captain *Steinback*, *Mullers* Lieutenant, who had the cuſtody of the Ravelin. They continued therefore to play more fiercely with their Canon from without. *Il Signor della Creſſoniera* commanded the Artillery, and Captain *Bartolomy Campi*, an Italian, was chief Ingenier of the Army; a man, greatly eſteemed in that profeſſion. The ſouldiers ſeemed very deſirous to proceed to the aſſault They were egg'd on by anger, hatred, and deſire of booty; but eſpecially by finding ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance in the Harlemiſts. The Ingenier *Campi* made a portable bridge, and the ruines being ſtill made greater by the Batteries, the *Tolledan* not contented with the commodity which the ice afforded him, commanded that the bridge ſhould be drawn over the Ditch. Yet for the better diſcovery, he made Captain, *Franciſco Vargas* advance with 150 Harquebuſiers,

siers, all Spaniards. The rest of the foot staid not to expect orders, but ere it was time to fall on, they advanced. Three could hardly march a breast upon the bridge, yet the souldiers striving who should enter first thereupon, and eagerness prevailing more with them than discipline, they came in such disorder, as one hindred another; and they could not advance, because the breach was not so great as that the bridge could reach unto it. This mean while a furious tempest of musquet-shot, of fire, and of Canon powred down upon them from the City, they lying open with their squadrons upon the side of the ditch, and making themselves too near a mark for the wounds which they received. Yet were they so transported with the fury of assaulting, as forgetting their obedience to their Commanders, they would not retreat. Insomuch as the Camp-master *Romero*, who was both greatly beloved and feared by them, was forc'd to go to them, and bitterly chiding them, to say.

What rashness, or rather what Frensie is it that causeth you do thus? Are these errors learnt in the Duke of Alva's *Military school? Do men go to assaults by the air? Will you suffer your selves thus to be slain, when you are not able to fight? being made a But, or rather a laughing-stock to these Rebels, who secure within their Rampires, mock you whilst they wound you? Shall you not have occasions enough to punish their perfidiousness? Lay aside now then that violence wherewith you are blinded. I, who have so often shar'd with you in victory, will at this time share willingly with you in loss.*

Thus at last they retreated; but they left little less then 200 dead behind them, whereof one Captain and some Ensigns. The *Spaniards* by this success found their error of their opinion touching the taking of *Harlem:* So as finding it now to be as hard, as they thought it easie before, they resolved to forego all manner of action, till they were largely provided of all things necessary to lead on the siege at leisure. To this end such orders as was requisite were given in the neighbouring Cities of *Amsterdam* and *Utricht*: But it was not so easie to bring provisions to the Camp, because the Rebel *Hollanders* infesting all the ways, did all they could to hinder them. A moneths space past over therefore, before the Kings men did any thing of consideration concerning the siege. In which interim the *Harlemists* received a succour of 800 French and Walloon Foot, who had been at the defence of *Mons*, led on by Signior *di Serras*, together with good store of ammunition and victuals. The enemy grew so proud upon this success, as becoming rather insolent than audacious, they appeared openly upon the Walls, jeering and scoffing at the *Spaniards*. And joyning impiety to their insolence, they caused themselves to be seen in usual places, as it were in Procession, with Priests and Friars habits upon them, with Mitres and other Church-accoutrements, contending who could best express their hatred to the Spanish Nation, or their derision to the Church and Catholick Religion. And this their heretical frensie grew to that height, as exposing in that wicked Scene the sacred Images, and chiefly such as were most frequented in the Churches, they made them a mark to be shot at, and finally cut them all to peeces with their swords. This mean while the Kings men, when they had made necessary provisions, desirous to redeem the time they had lost, they betook themselves with all fervency to the siege; intending notwithstanding to pursue it, not with immature assaults, but with well ordered patience. Whereupon opening their Trenches, they diligently persued them: The Battery followed; which they made not in the former place, but placed it against the Curtain which ran between the Gate *de la Croce*, and that of *Sil*, which lay neerest the Camp on the right hand. They made a great breach therein; and yet those within did so well repair it, as they without thought it not yet fit to fall to an assault. And because the Curtain was too well fenced by the aforesaid Ravelin, therefore it 'twas thought absolutely necessary to bereave the Defendants of so great an advantage. Leaving then the Battery for a while, they came in a short time to the entrance of the Ditch: here their whole endeavour was against the Ravelin; For going the longest way about, but yet the most secure, they would advance by degrees with the pick-axe, spade, and mines, and thus drive the enemy from thence. At last they made themselves masters of it, but with no less expence of blood then of time; such valour did they within shew, and plaid so often their parts rather of Assaulters then assaulted. The *Harlemists* lost not their courage, though they had lost their Ravelin; But their diligence increasing answerable to their danger, they ran suddenly from every place, women as well as men, to fortifie the gate *de la Croce*, which, the Ravelin being lost, lay altogether open. They did the like to the Curtain which was already battered, and which ran as hath been said toward the gate *Sill*. And fearing least the Kings men should play likewise upon the other Curtain on the left hand, which joyned with the next gate called S. *Johns* gate, they fell industriously to repair that side also; not omitting any labour either in making of Ditches, Traverses, Countermines, and other Inventions, which are usually found out by the most industrious Defendant, against the most cunning Opposers. But they without lay at too much disadvantage in comparison of those that were within. The Kings men, by reason of the Enemies continual excursions, came hardly by their victuals: Great store of men were required to conduct them; the remainder were not able to maintain the siege well: And together with other hardships, being mightily tormented by the cold, their numbers lessened every day, by sickness, death,

death, and running away. The *Harlemists*, on the contrary, did abound in warlike men; they were easily succoured with men and victuals; their Houses saved them from injuries of the weather; and the ice was not of greater use to the Kings Camp for ordering the Country, then it was to them by affording them means to bring all necessaries into the City. It is not to be said how dexterous the *Hollanders* are upon the ice. Their Country (as we have often said) is full of standing waters; which are usually frozen over every year, though they be not so excessive there as in other less humid and watry Countries. The waters do therefore then lose their nature; and the use of the Boats changed into the like of Chariots, those Fields of ice, as if they were so much firm land, are travell'd on by men and horses. Their Chariots are usually little, and drawn but by one Horse; they are not born upon wheels, but upon little joysts or rafters, according to those sledges which are used in *Lombardy*. Their men are likewise very ingenious in going a great pace, and yet very safe upon the ice: They harness the whole length of their feet with sleek and narrow irons, bowing a little outward in the part before they govern themselves upon these, and upon these wings (if I may so call them) they rather flie then walk, their course being then so fast as it can hardly be followed by the eye. Nor is the use hereof less practised by women then by men; nay, in contentions which have sometimes hapned herein between both sexes, the women have often had the better. The women there find no trouble at all in running upon the ice; but at the same time when they go fastest, do some one or other of their womanly works. By means then of these Chariots or Sledges, the *Harlemists* received whatsoever they needed: they came in troops upon that great neighbouring Lake call'd *Harlem-meer*. All that side is call'd by that name, which looks most upon the City, whereinto the River *Sparen* enters on that side. And because the same Lake comes almost as neer *Leyden* on another part, it is there called *Leyden-meer*. This communication between *Leyden* and *Harlem* by means of this Lake, furnished the besieged with all things necessary; who with frequent excursions received in their succours, and oft times made the Kings men repent the going about to hinder them. Nor did *Orange* forbear to bring in such aids into the City as he could by the usual land-way. But to secure the succours the better from those parts, he made a fort be erected almost half way between *Leyden* and *Harlem*, whither bringing the provisions, he conveyed them easilier from thence to the besieged. But the Kings men, though upon such disadvantagious terms, ceased not to pursue what they had begun: They pursued to batter the broken walls, and to endeavour the underminding them; hoping thereby to make the breach more commodious, and consequently the assault more easie. On the contrary the Defendants were not less vigilant in using all possible means to obviate all the Enemies endeavours, and make them invalid. To Mines without they opposed Mines within, meeting thus with them, spoiling them and springing them: They repaired the walls where they were amiss. So as they no ways feared the threats of being assaulted from without.

This mean while *December* ended, and the new year of 1573. began, which was remarkable in *Flanders* particularly for this Siege which we now describe. It lasted about seven moneths; the accidents were as various, at the time was long; and they doubted oft-times most of the victory, who at last got it. We notwithstanding will only set down the chief accidents which hapned there; the dignity of the story it self so requiring it, and the worthiness of future things calling us with too much reason from observing every smaller accident. But to return to the Seige. As vigilant as the Kings men were in providing that victuals might be safely brought to the Camp, the Enemy were altogether as industrious in endeavouring to hinder them. To this purpose they sent a good number of souldiers to possess themselves of one of the most important Passes towards *Naerdam* and *Amsterdam*. And they were led on by one *Antonio Pittore*, who had the chief hand in the surprisal of *Mons*, when Count *Lodowick* of *Nassaw* entred it, as we then observed. But notice hereof being brought to *Amsterdam*, the Townsmen sent forth souldiers enough to hinder the success, who meeting with the enemy, routed them and slew many of them, in particular *Antonio Pittore* was there slain; and the Spaniards in scorn of his misdeed, threw his head into the City, together with the head of another who was called the King, and who was much esteemed of by the Harlemists. Who incenst by this action, were not long in resenting it. They chose but twelve of those prisoners which they had of the Kings Army, and cutting off their heads, they put them into a barrel, and rouling it down the walls, made it fall into the Spaniards Trenches, with this Inscription upon it.

This Tribute of the tenth penny is sent by the Harlemists to the Duke of Alva; *and for use-money, they have sent the twelfth,*

This cruel act was answered by another no less cruel from without; for some of their men were in their sight hung up by the head and the heels, and they soon after served some of the Kings men with the same sauce. So much doth the fury of war inrage men minds, especially of such war, where rebellion is punished on one side, and maintained on the other. This mean while the number of souldiers within the City was mightily increased. Besides the Townsmen, there were there 4000 foot, many of which were Germans, French, and English. And

Orange

Orange ceaſed not to labour hard in all the neighbouring Countries, the raiſing of ſo potent a ſuccour as by open force might make the Spaniards raiſe their Siege. The beſieged growing therefore daily more jolly, made frequent excurſions: and made one ſo fierce againſt the German quarter of the Kings Camp, as they drove them from one houſe, wounded and ſlew many of them, and put all the reſt into great confuſion. They ſallied forth yet more furiouſly a few dayes after againſt the Spaniſh quarters, and endeavoured mainly to recover the Ravelin which they had loſt; and ſo far forward did their courage carry them, as they had almoſt nailed up the Canons mouths as they ſtood upon the battery. But being valiantly withſtood, they re-entred the City without reaping any advantage. The action was notwithſtanding very gallant, and coſt much blood on both ſides. *Frederick* on the contrary ſtill incouraging his men the more, reſolved to raiſe the Ravelin which they had taken, ſo high as it might command, and hinder the works within: and having cauſed much earth to be brought to that purpoſe, he planted two pieces of Artillery upon it, but the good did not anſwer expectation, ſo well did the beſieged behave themſelves on that behalf. The Kings men grew this mean while every day fewer by reaſon of their ſufferings. *Signor della Creſſoniera*, who had the charge of the Artillery was dead of ſickneſs. *Signor Norchermes* being wounded, could not have ſuch diligence uſed in his cure as was requiſite, many other Spaniſh Officers of quality were found miſſing, as alſo many of other Nations. And in fine, the affairs of the Army were reduced to ſuch terms, as the ſucceſs of the buſineſs began greatly to be feared. Yet the Duke of *Alva*'s inſtructions to his Son was ſtill more peremptory: Though in caſe the Siege ſhould draw out in length, he had written effectually to *Spain* to have two old Brigades of that Nation ſent him, who were then in *Italy*; and raiſed new men in the neighbouring County of *Burgundy*. *Frederick* delayed not then to make one tryal more before his men were conſumed. Reſolving therefore to give a fierce aſſault in divers places at once, againſt that ſide which ran from St. *Johns* gate to that of *la Croce*, and to the other of *Sill*, on which ſide, as we have already ſaid, the Kings men had opened their Trenches, made Batteries, and wrought in the Ditches, the determination was thus put in execution. The three Spaniſh Camp-Maſters, *Roderigo de Tolledo*, *Julian Romero*,, and *Conſalvo de Bracamonte* took upon thoſe to aſſault with the ſouldiers of their Brigades, one of them the gate *de la Croce*, and the other two the two next ſides on the right hand, and on the left. *Signor di Bigli* with ſome Walloones of his Regiment, was appointed againſt a work which fenced St. *Johns* gate, and ſuch orders were given as were requiſite ſo to annoy thoſe within at once, both from the Ravelin, and the hitteſt places of the Ditch, as they ſhould not be able to hinder thoſe without, who were to get upon the Breach. All theſe directions were valiantly performed by the Kings men; But the Beſieged ſhewed no leſs vallour on their ſide; running with vigilancy and courage whether ſoever danger called them. So as it behoved the Kings men at laſt to fall off, with a conſiderable loſs, for above three hundred of them were ſlain, and in particular many of *Bigli*'s men, which met with the greateſt difficulties, and moſt reſiſtance. In this aſſault *Roderigo de Toledo* was ſorely wounded, and Captain *Lorenſo Perea* was ſlain, with ſome other inferiour Officers. It cannot be ſaid how afflicted the Kiugs Camp was at this unfortunate ſucceſs. And the affair growing every day more doubtful, *Frederick* thought good to hear the opinion of the Chief Commanders herein. Many of them ſhewed very little hopes of any good ſucceſs.

That the difficulties of the Siege were now greater without than within. That the cold was very extream; and the ſeaſon a greater enemy than the enemies ſelf. That they ſuffered all other greater ſtraits in their lodgings and in their victuals: that their men were but few, being more conſumed by ſufferings than by action. That on the contrary, there was great plenty of all things in the City; that they were every day ſtrengthened with new aids, and appeared ſtill more obſtinate in their defence; whence it was to be concluded, that either the Siege was never to have an end, or if it were to have any, the Conqueror would at laſt be greater loſer than the conquered. That it was then better to withdraw the Army as ſoon as they could, and wiſely to prevent greater neceſſities, leſt they might unfortunately be prevented to their ſhame.

But it was again alledged on the contrary. *That upon the ſucceſs of this Siege, the conſequences of future Sieges did depend. That it was not to be believed that the obſtinacy of the Rebels in* Holland *was to be allay'd by this alone. How much would other Cities be incouraged, if they ſhould ſee the Siege baſely raiſed from before this? That the injuries of the ſeaſon were not eternal: that the worſt weather was ſucceeded by better. And that from the natural humidity of that Climate, it might be hoped that ſome one night the ice would be quite diſperſed. That new men would quickly come from* Spain, *new Levies might be ſooner made in* Flanders: *that then the Siege might be laid cloſſer, and care to be had for the advancement of proviſions for the Camp. That ſuccours being cut off, the Town would ſoon fall into their hands; neither could the Kings loſſes be ſo great upon this occaſion, but they may be largely recompenced in future atchievements.*

Frederick repreſented theſe different opinions to the Duke his Father, deſirous to know his opinion, which he would fully obſerve. The Duke qnickly anſwered in terms which might

might make it doubtful whether his Paternal, or Military Authority sway'd him most. *That he should be sure to persue and finish the Siege, unless he would shew himself unworthy of Spanish blood, unworthy of his blood; and of having the Command of those Forces, which when they should have reduced* Holland, *would without any difficulty do the like to all the rest of* Flanders. *That the hardest enterprises was alwayes the most glorious. And that in great Sieges the number of dayes was not to be considered, but the advantageous consequences. That he should now endeavour that by Famine, which hitherto he could not effect by the sword: And to this end he should use all diligence to keep the Town from being relieved from any part. That this might be done by new men, who should be suddenly sent him. That all places must yield at last if not succoured; and that in such a case, the most obstinate defendants become usually the most abject. That the event of this Siege would serve for an example to all the rest of* Holland. *And that finally he should set before him a Victory, wherein it would be questionable, whether he should have done more service to God and to his King, or won more glory to himself and to his Family.*

Frederick finding himself as well silent, as admonished by his Father, grew more hot than ever in the enterprise: And when the Dukes answer was made known to the Army it cannot be said how all their minds were enlivened. *Frederick*, together with all the other Commanders, resolved with redoubled diligence chiefly to study how to keep Victuals from the City. And in the interim *Bernardo de Mendosa* was dispatched away into *Spain*, to procure Orders from the King to the Governour of *Milan*, to the end that the two old before mentioned Spanish Brigadoes, which were in that State, should be sent from thence, together with some number of Horse, into *Flanders*, as soon as possible might be. This is that *Mendosa* who did so nobly write the War of the *Low-Countries* in his own language, during all the time that he staid there; and who, passing from the managing of Arms to the like of Civil Affairs, was employed by the King in Ambassies to *England* and *France*. The affairs of the Siege went on thus; when on a sudden, about the midst of *February*, the season grew more temperate, and the cold turning into moisture, the waters returned to their former being: and with the change of the weather, the whole order of the war began to change. At first the ice would not suffer the water to be distinguisht from dry land; and therefore it might be said, that all that was done then, was done by land: But the ice being thaw'd, the chiefest future actions were to be done by water; by reason of the commodiousness which the Enemy would receive, of being releived by the means of that great Lake before spoken of, and of the necessity the Kings men would be put to of hindring them by the same way. It was not long ere the events were seen on both sides. Hardly was the Ice gone, when many Vessels might be seen to appear upon the *Leyden-Meer*, which fell into the *Harlem-Meer*; and entring from thence into the River of *Sparen*, brought good relief to the City. The River where it falls into the Lake, forms a little Island, wherein the *Harlemists* had wisely built a Fort, which was called the Fort of *Fico*; foreseeing how much it would avail them to be masters of that place. Here then as in a safe Haven they received those succours, which came usually from *Leyden*, and from another Town not far from thence called *Sassene*. But the Kings men did not defer opposing them. Count *Bossu* prepared suddenly many Boats in *Amsterdam*, and quickly entred the Lake also with a good Naval strength. His ships, as likewise those of the Enemy were not very deep in the bottom, by reason the Lake was shallow: Each of them had likewise built some in the form of Gallies, which being the easiler guided by Oars, were more serviceable to the rest, which used only sails. Thus the whole balk of the Siege was brought to conflicts by water, and to endeavour the way interchangeably to bring in, or to keep out succour. At first they were but Parties; but at last when the Vessels on both sides were increased, they turn'd to Battels: fortune and valour making the successes alternate; sometimes the one side, sometimes the other getting the better. The Kings party did notwithstanding prevail for the most part; which being furnisht from *Amsterdam* with whatsoever *Bossu* could desire, and he performing his part gallantly, the *Harlemists* began to be in scarcity of Victuals. *Bossu* had placed some Forts on the East side of the Lake, under the shelter whereof his Ships might lie; they where not far from the little Island, where the aforesaid Fort of *Fico* stood. Here did the skirmishes often happen. But the Kings men could not so much hinder the Enemy, but that some of their Ships stealing from the conflict might get in safely under that Fort, and from thence might fall into the River, and come afterwards very safely to the City; to which purpose the *Harlemists* had fortified that side of the River which was nearest the Town, with other Works. The Kings men made then no longer delay; they likewise raised some works on the contrary side, the better to disturb the passage of the Enemies.

Soon after a new Battel fell out upon the Lake; and it was the last, and greater than any other that had preceded. The *Harlemists* Fleet consisted of a hundred and fifty sail; the Kings were not full out one hundred: but the quality of these did out do the others quantity. The Conflict was bloody, and the victory for a while doubtful; which at last lean'd towards the Catholicks, to the great praise of *Bossu* in particular. The Rebels Naval Forces were hereby so much weakned, as the Kings men met not afterwards with any resistance in the Lake. The

Fort



Maximilian Hennin Count Boſeu.
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Fort *de Fico* fell preſently afterwards into the *Spaniards* hands; and thus the City was ſtraitly beſieged. But this mean while other military actions by land ceaſed not. The *Harlemiſts* abounded in Souldiers, as hath been ſaid: And therefore often annoying the Kings Camp with bold Sallies, they fiercely aſſaulted now one, now another Quarter; and made one ſo furious Aſſault upon the German quarter, as entring by violence into their Fortifications; they ſlew many, and wounded more; and bearing away with them ſome Colours, and ſome peeces of Aritillery, they returned in triumph to the City. Nor ſhewed they leſs valour in reſiſting the *Spaniards* on the other ſide; who continued their former labour with ſecure ſlowneſs, leſt they might fall again into fruitleſs impetuoſity. They endeavoured to annoy them within, and to hinder the Works, which the *Harlemiſts* continually there made from the Platform, which (as hath been ſaid) they made upon the Ravelin. But on the contrary, the *Harlemiſts* having planted ſome of their Artillery againſt the Platform, they much indamaged it, and ſlew the engineer *Campi*, which was a very conſiderable loſs to the Kings Army. In fine it appear'd that the *Spaniards* had but ſmall hopes to do any good by oppugning, though *Frederick* ordered all things, as if he meant to end the ſiege by a general aſſault. His principal care therefore was, to keep out all relief; in which he was ſtill more encouraged. He had already received a good recruit of men; for the Baron of *Cleveraw* had brought 1000 Foot unto the Camp, who were raiſed in *Burgony*; and ſome other Walloons were come thither out of *Bigli*'s, and *Mandragones* Regiments, and the two Spaniſh Brigadoes, that were ſent for from *Italy*, were already on their march for *Flanders*. But if the Kings men made more uſe of Famine than of the Sword to overcome, the *Harlemiſts* ſought no leſs to famiſh them, and to overcome them with their own weapons. To this end they often tryed with reiterated endeavours to poſſeſs themſelves of one of the chief Paſſages by which Victuals were brought to the Catholick Camp from *Utricht*; and one of their endeavours was like to have ſucceeded, had not *John Baptiſta de Taſſis* made

made manly reſiſtance; who being caſually in *Vtritcht*, came forth againſt the Enemy, and forc'd them to retire. So as the Paſſes to the Catholick Camp continuing free as formerly, the Famine grew ſtill greater amongſt the *Harlemiſts*: who, when they had well weighed their neceſſity, began to ſeek for remedy by deſperate reſolutions. They reſolved to cut the bank of the River which was towards the City in divers parts, and overflow all the ground even to the Lake, ſo as ſome relief of victuals might be brought into the Town, at leaſt by little Boats; and particularly ſome Gun-powder, which they very much wanted. At the firſt they received ſome aid by that way; but they were ſoon cut off from that. Afterwards they made two Camiſado's in the ſtilleſt hours of the night towards the *Germans* quarters, ſuch counterſigns being paſt as was requiſite between them, and thoſe who were to conduct the victuals without. The bickerings were bloody, and the *Germans* recovered in theſe the honor which they had loſt in the former; for they behaved themſelves ſo valiantly to diſturb the ſuccour, fighting at once with the enemies without, who came to introduce it, and with thoſe within, who were come to receive it, as the enemy could get no good by theſe trials. The *Harlemiſts* being thus ſurrounded with unſupportable neceſſities on all ſides, their only hope lay in a ſuccour which the Prince of *Orange* was preparing to ſend with a great ſtrength of men. But they met herein with greater difficulties than the Rebels in *Holland* did imagine: For the Queen of *England* not willing to declare her ſelf an open Enemy to the King of *Spain*, did not what ſhe might have done in their behalf; and the Hereticks of *Germany* and of *France* finding themſelves buſied about their domeſtick neceſſities, they could not aſſiſt the troubles in *Flanders* as need required. This mean while the Famine was grown ſo great in *Harlem*, as they could brook no longer delay of remedy: wanting all other ſort of Nouriſhment, the Townſmen were reduced to feed on the baſeſt and uncleaneſt ſort of Animals, and at laſt upon Graſs, Leather, and on whatſoever deſpair in ſuch like caſes uſeth to ſuggeſt unto humane neceſſity. *Orange* was inform'd of this from the City; and the Town being now ſo ſtraightly beſieged, as no adverti ſement could be given by the miniſtry of man, they uſed the way of Pigeons. *Orange* made no delay. He had with him 2000 forreign Foot, conſiſting of French, Dutch, Walloons and Engliſh, and 3000 Hollanders, Zealanders and Flemings, and little leſs then 300 Horſe, mixt of all theſe ſeveral Nations. The Baron of *Batten-burgh* marcht away with theſe men, who carried along with them great ſtore of Carts loaded with victuals; and the reſolution was, that as theſe ſhould appear without, thoſe within ſhould move at the ſame time, and ſo by a double fierce aſſault they ſhould either free the City from the Siege, or furniſh it abundantly with all things requiſite to maintain it. But this laſt endeavour proved as unfortunate as the former: for thoſe within, and thoſe without, not having well adjuſted their time of giving aſſault; and the Kings men having notice that the ſuccour drew near, they fought them, and firſt routing their horſe, which marched moſt of them in the front, and afterwards with the ſame force ſcattering the foot, they wholly diſcomfited the enemy. The Spaniards who were already come from *Italy*, and were got but a little before to the ſiege, behaved themſelves gallantly in this action: wherein 'twas ſaid that about 2000 of the enemy were ſlain; amongſt which *Battenburgh* who commanded them, and divers other perſonages of quality. The Kings men got moreover many Colours, ſome Artillery, and almoſt all their victuals. This ſucceſs put a period to the pride of the Harlemiſts; in ſo much as they ſent to *Frederick* to treat of ſurrendring the Town upon Articles: But *Frederick* declared that he would not receive them but upon mercy. When this anſwer was brought back, the City were ſtrangely aſtoniſhed. Men, Women, and children, ran up and down every where, with tears and outcries, deploring their miſerable condition; whereupon Captain *Rypert*, who foreſaw himſelf loſt in the common ruin, taking a fit occaſion ſpoke thus unto the multitude.

With how much cruelty of mind (moſt worthy Citizens) the Spaniards have begun, continued, and now ended this ſiege, their actions have too clearly demonſtrated; in their undertaking it, they made uſe of falſe pretences, deſiring only that obedience from us to the King, which was grounded upon the arbitrary will of their own Forces. In the continuance thereof, you all know what their loſſes have been, what their ſufferings, and how oft they have been at the point of being rather beſieged then beſieging; to ſuch great ſtraits have they been brought, by ſnow, froſt, rain, want of victuals, want of men, and chiefly by our ſo many and ſo valiant excurſions, wherewith we have ſometime more indamaged them in their quarters, then they us within our walls. But at laſt their rage hath prevailed more over us in overcoming all difficulties, ſo to finiſh their ſiege, then the rage of earth and heaven (as it may be ſaid) hath prevailed over them. Behold them therefore thirſting after our bloud, and already panting at our gates, and ready to enter our City, thirſting after our goods. And ſhall we expect any mercy at their hands? any favourable dealing? from them I ſay, whoſe rape (as it is every day ſeen) is not to be ſatisfied by women, their firings by houſes, their plunder by goods, nor their bloud-thirſtineſs by all the people: We muſt then believe, that as ſoon as they ſhall be entred they will put us all to the ſword, or to ſome more ignominious death, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition. The welfare of the miſerable conſiſt in the deſpairing of welfare. Why ſhall not we therefore endeavour (placing the weakeſt ſex and weakeſt age amidſt us) to make our way through our enemies with our ſwords in our hands? whether we

yeild, or whether we be overcome we muſt die. But if we muſt periſh (as there is little hopes of doing otherwiſe) death will come the more welcome, when ſought by our ſelves with undauntedleſs valour, then when with ſcorn and diſdain received from the pride of our enemies.

Theſe words were of ſuch force, and found their minds ſo ready to entertain any whatſoever deſperate reſolution, as they already ſpake of following *Riperto's* counſel, which came to *Fredericks* ear. Who better conſidering the danger, what deſpair might make ſo valiant men do, and that by overcoming them, he ſhould find the whole City conſumed, he forthwith ſent a Trumpet to the Town, to let the Harlemiſts know, that they might hope for better then they deſerved. In particular, he promiſed to ſecure them from Plunder, and from all other licentious Military violence. That there were ſo many amongſt them who knew there was no ſafeguard for them, as between their deſpair, and on the others hope, it was often doubted whether the more fiercer or more mild reſolution ſhould prevail amongſt them: at laſt the laſt prevailed; and thus the City about the beginning of *July* was ſurrendred to the mercy of the enemy. A Brigade of the Spaniſh foot forthwith entred the Town, and unarmed every one therein. They then fell to inflicting puniſhment. Captain *Rypert*, as chief head of the ſedition, had his head immediately ſtruck off; *Lancelot Brederode* not long after received the like puniſhment. All the reſt of the Harlemiſts who were thought moſt guilty either of Hereſie or Rebellion, ended their lives either by the rope or ſword. And the like was without remiſſion done to all thoſe forreign ſouldiers who had been in *Mons*, or in any other place which the Spaniards had taken, and who had promiſed never to bear arms any more againſt the Kings party. Above 2000 were put to death; and the very executioners were either ſo weary, or ſo glutted, or ſo affrighted with the work, as for ſpeedier diſpatch, they drowned a great many of them in the River which ran through the City. The Inhabitants freed themſelves from plunder by the payment of 24000 pound ſterling, the Kings men raging and ſtorming to ſee their hopes ſo far deluded. This was the end of the ſiege of *Harlem*; Noble, for being ſo valiantly and ſo long both ſuſtained and proſecuted: Remarkable, for the variety of ſucceſſes both by land and ſea: but at laſt ſo horrid by the ſevere puniſhments inflicted by the vanquiſhers upon the vanquiſhed, as it was doubted, whether the faults committed by the one, or the puniſhments inflicted by the other, were the greater.

Whilſt affairs went thus in *Holland*, they were not quiet in *Zealand*; the chief Iſland whereof (as hath oft been ſaid) is *Walcherin*, wherein ſtands *Midleburgh*, a little within land. This Town which is the chief not only of that Iſland, but of the whole Province, was the Kings, together with the little Caſtle of *Ramekins*, and the Town of *Ramua*, both of them ſituated on the ſea-ſide. *Ramekins* was of great concernment for the keeping of *Midleburgh*. The rebels ſeeing the Kings forces ſo imployed about the taking of *Harlem*, did not let the occaſion ſlip, but applyed themſelves apace to the making themſelves Maſters of the whole Iſland of *Walcherin*. It made much for the ſuccouring of thoſe places that *Tergoes* was in the Kings hands, and chiefly for the gaining the ſpeedier paſſage in that branch which the River *Scheld* thruſts forth there. But howſoever, it was requiſite to have maritime forces to overcome the enemy, who freely ſailing over all thoſe Gulfs were much to their advantage, Maſters of them. Thus they kept *Midleburg* beſieged at a diſtance, though they did not ſeem to beſiege it. But little victuals were brought to the City, and it was known that if care were not had in that point ſpeedily, the City would ſoon fall into the rebels hands. *Seigneur de Beavior*, a man who had witneſſed his valour and loyalty in the Kings ſervice, was governour of the Province, and Colonel of a Regiment of Walloons. He acquainted the Duke of *Alva* with the danger that theſe three places were in, and eſpecially *Midleburg*. Whereupon the Duke reſolved to relieve it. He gave the care hereof to *Sancio d' Avila*, Governour of *Antwerp* Caſtle: who having made ready ſome ſhipping, betook himſelf to the buſineſs. But he was not well advanced when he returned back, hearing for certain that the enemy were ſo ſtrong, as he ſhould have run manifeſt danger of being loſt. Having then with very great diligence made better proviſion then before, he went again to attempt the ſuccour. The enemy, who did no ways fear him, expected him with much reſolution. So they came to a ſea-fight in the Channel of *Fluſhing*, which was rather ſharp then long. For many ſhips fighting at once, the battel was for one hours ſpace very fierce on both ſides. But *Avila's* ſhips being more rent, and his people ill treated, he was forced at laſt to yield the Victory to the enemy, not without great loſs both of ſouldiers and ſhips. He notwithſtanding landed, and brought ſome ſmall ſtore of victuals into *Midleburg*, made it ſafer then it was before, and ſo returned to *Antwerp*. With him *Beavoir* came along, who was ſent for by the Duke of *Alva*, meaning to make uſe of his ſervice, in providing a great Fleet for thoſe parts, whereof he made him Commander, and to that purpoſe, made him Admiral of *Zealand*. But the rebels this mean while, incouraged by one ſucceſs to undertake another, betook the taking of *Tolen*, a Town between the confines of *Brabant* and *Zealand*, intending if they ſhould ſucceed therein, to fall upon *Bergben ap Zoom*. Theſe two places lie not far from one another, but *Bergben* is a Town of great concernment out of thoſe reaſons that have formerly been ſpoken of. All the Country thereabouts lies very

low,

low, and is made habitable only by the Banks; one of which, of greater moment than the reſt, runs between the two aboveſaid Towns. The Enemies came preſently upon this Bank, led on by Collonel *Rollet*, Governor of *Canſer*, and endeavoured to make themſelves Maſters of it, to keep ſuccour from being ſent from *Bergben* to *Tolen*. *Chriſtopher Mandragone* was in theſe parts, being detained there by the Duke, together with *Sancio Avila*, out of the need the Kings affairs in thoſe parts had of them. *Mandragone* made no delay, but ran preſently with ſuch of the Kings men as were in the neighbouring Garriſons, to diſturb their deſign. And after divers skirmiſhes, in one of which he was wounded, he drove the Enemy from the Bank; overthrew a Fort which they had begun to build there; and ſecured both the aforeſaid Towns. But the Enemy was not diſcouraged for all this, nor did they cool in their undertakings. But uſing ſtratagems where they could not uſe force, they ſoon after perfected a practiſe of great importance. As the *Moſel* approaches near the Ocean, ſhe inlargeth her Chanel, and extends it into ſeveral large branches. Upon the left ſide of the firſt, lies the Town of St. *Getringburg*, belonging unto *Holland*; but ſo cloſe upon the Confines of *Brabant*, as it may be queſtioned whether her ſituation makes her more commodious for expeditions by land, or for ſuch as may be deſigned from thence by water. The Rebels held hidden correſpondency either with the Hereticks, or with the Malecontents every where, and chiefly in theſe parts. The deſign being then ſecretly laid; they were received into St. *Getringburg* by way of *Scalado* in the ſecret hours of night. The chief Author of this Plot, and of the putting it in execution was Captain *Poyeto*, a man of good eſteem amongſt them. Neither did the miſchief on the Kings behalf ceaſe here. This loſs was ſoon followed by another very great likewiſe, and not without ſuſpition of Fraud; which was that of the *Ramechins*, by the obtaining whereof the Rebels placed all their confidence of making themſelves ſhortly Maſters of *Midleburg*. *Bevoir* notwithſtanding being better provided of Naval Forces, try'd to bring ſuccour into the City, and with him was *Mandragone*. But the Enemies Fleet lying at watch in all the chief Avenues, the Kings men could not come where to relieve the City, and that but in a very ſmall meaſure neither, unleſs it were by great circumferences, and wayes far about. *Bevoir* returned to *Antwerp*, and *Mandragone* ſtaid to guard *Midleburg*. This was the condition of the affairs in *Zealand* and the adjacent parts, when *Harlem* was taken. The ſiege whereof was not well at an end, when one of the greateſt evils happened which could befal the Catholick Camp. The Spaniſh Souldiers of the old Brigades were much in arrears for pay; who ſtorming every day more and more to ſee themſelves deprived of the ſacking of *Harlem*, and that they had ſo bad reward for ſo long labour, more tranſported with ſelf intereſt, than withheld by obedience, they reſolved to mutiny. *Frederick* and the reſt of the Commanders endeavoured to appeaſe them in ſome ſort, ſo as they might not loſe the opportunity of the Seaſon, which was then very fair, to make further proceeding in *Holland*. But the greater the Kings need appeared to be, the more did the Spaniards contumacy increaſe. They threatened that they would have their whole pay: and quartering themſelves in *Harlem*, as it were by force, they began to draw Contributions from the City, and under the fair pretence of need and aſſiſtance, to uſe many of the moſt hateful actions which plunder and ſacking are wont to produce. So as after the precedeing miſeries, the City became more deplorable by this new affliction. The Duke of *Alva* was hereat mightily diſpleaſed; for he ſaw on the one ſide the fruits of the victory ſo baſely abuſed; and on the other ſide, the ſtrength of Diſcipline to be weakened in the Army by this example. But not being able to conſtrain theſe by greater Forces, nor make ſuch uſe of ſharp means, but that they might at laſt prove prejudicial, he reſolved to remedy this diſorder as ſoon as he might by fair means. The Marqueſs of *Vitelli*'s love in the Army was equal with his Authority, particularly amongſt the Spaniards. So as by his means, being ſomewhat appeaſed, the Mutineers were contented to receive a donative of four payes, and ſome monies in part of their arrears, that cruel rigour being laid aſide, which was always uſed in all the other enſuing Mutinies, which would never be ended before the Mutineers received their full pay. But howſoever, what through the difficulties the Duke found in raiſing of monies, and in thoſe *Vitelli* met withal in bringing his endeavours to an end, the whole Summer was almoſt ſpent; and the beſt Seaſon to work in low and watry Countries loſt: ſo as *Holland* was incumbred on all ſides. Nor did the Rebels let ſlip this ſo favourable conjuncture. In the moſt Northern part of the Province of *Waterlant*, there are many good Towns, of which *Alkmar* is one of the chiefeſt. Here a Treaty which the Hereticks within the Town held firſt ſecretly, and afterwards more manifeſtly, with the Rebels, who were without, the effect at laſt enſued. The one of them at unawares poſſeſt themſelves of one of the Gates, and the others ſent men preſently to make themſelves Maſters of the whole Town. On the other ſide the Catholicks, taking up Arms ſeized likewiſe on another Gate, which lay the fitteſt for receiving of ſuccour, and diſpatcht away Meſſengers to the Kings Camp with their earneſt deſires: but this availed but a little: For whilſt they were conſulting, whilſt things were deferr'd, and that entreaties were rather to be uſed than commands with the yet obedient Souldiers, who were notwithſtanding ill paid, the Rebels ſent preſently to aid their Confederates, and made themſelves Maſters of the Town. *Alkmar* being loſt, the Spaniards had not any thing in all *Waterlant*, for all the

reſt of the Towns there joyned in Rebellion with the reſt of the Province. Which made them reſolve to endeavour the regaining of it by all poſſible means. *Alkmar* is not ſtrong, ſave only by ſituation; lying, as do all other Towns in that Country, drowned amidſt water and mud. It is within five hours journey of *Harlem*. It may be ſaid to be the Gate whereby to enter by land into *Waterlant*: For that ſide of the Province being ſhut up, on one part by the Sea, on another by the Gulf of *Zuderſee*, and almoſt all the reſt by other waters and channels, and making the ſhape of a Peninſula, it leavs but a very narrow ſpace for entrance by land, and there a little within ſtands *Alkmar*. That therefore they might be ſure to enter in that part, and becauſe without the poſſeſſion of that Town, they could not hope to get the reſt on that coaſt, the Spaniards reſolved, without more delay to beſiege it. Of the reſt *Enchuſen* and *Horn* are the beſt, which are both of them ſeated upon the Sea. The firſt upon the very mouth of the gulph of *Zuderſee*, and the ſecond within the Gulph, not far from the other, and upon the ſame ſide: both of them very famous for building of Ships, and verſed in affairs of Merchandiſe. Neceſſary proviſions for to maintain the Siege were forthwith ſent to *Alkmar* from theſe two Towns, and from all the others of *Waterlant*. As ſoon as the Kings Army was encamped about it, their firſt action was to take a little Fort from the enemy, which they had built upon a Channel, which, not far from the Town, enters into one of thoſe neighboring Pools, and whereby ſuccour might eaſilieſt be brought from without. The defendants made ſome reſiſtance at firſt: but upon ſecond aſſaults, they were driven from the Fort by the Spaniards. Here *Frederick* ordered batteries on two ſides, both which were effected with furious ſtorms of ſhot: and a no leſs furious aſſault was prepared from both thoſe ſides. The deſign was to fall on, on both ſides at once, to the end that the Enemy being doubly aſſailed, might neither have courage nor force to ſuſtain it. But they met with many difficulties in the Execution thereof: For the Town being invironed by a large and deep ditch, it was requiſite to have bridges in both parts to paſs it over, and when they ſhould have paſſed it, the Enemy was well provided of In-works to hold the Aſſaylants play. When they came to the aſſault, the event proved very unfortunate: They were to have a ſign by fire, to adjuſt their motion at one and the ſame time; which was not accordingly executed. They had made two bridges to paſs over the ditch, and to mount the breach, and theſe likewiſe had various defects: ſo as the one of them moved ſome hours before the other, whereby the enemy might the more eaſily reſiſt them both. And the Kings men found afterwards ſuch difficulties in the bridges, and in the breach, as becoming for a good while a mark for their enemies to ſhoot at, they were forced at laſt to retreat, many of them being wounded, and leaving full out an hundred and fifty of their men dead behind them. 'Twas ſaid in the Army, that the two Camp Maſters, *Julian Romero* and *Franciſco Valdes*, who were to lead on the reſt to the aſſault, on the two appointed ſides, having ſome private grudge between themſelves, to the publick prejudice of that action, did not correſpond in the execution according as it was agreed on between them. This ſo ſiniſter ſucceſs took from them all hopes of having any better in that enterpriſe. And the rain and uſual moiſture of the climate began to fall in great abundance earlier than they had wont to do: ſo as the Army began to ſuffer very much in that low ſituation, were likely to ſuffer every day more, if they ſhould not ſuddenly riſe from thence. They therefore reſolved to give over the Siege for that time; and to ſee whether the Froſt would invite them to return upon better terms. But another expedition by ſea, at the ſame time had no leſs unhappy event. Count *Boſſu* could not make uſe of thoſe Naval Forces, which in the Siege of *Harlem* had ſerved the Kings party upon that Lake, whereof we then ſpoke, in the other waters, which by reaſon or their depth, required much greater Veſſels. And therefore the enemy having gotten a great Fleet of Ships upon the Gulph of *Zuderſee*, they fell from thence into the Channel of *Amſterdam*, and did in a ſort beſiege it. The City was much prejudiced hereby, and conſequently the Kings party. Wherefore the Duke of *Alva* going thither in perſon, made divers ſhips be put in order, much greater than uſual, and particularly one which was called the Admiral, and was of an exceſſive greatneſs. But the time being ſhort, and the expence very great, only twelve of them could be finiſhed. With this Fleet, (the quantity whereof was thought ſufficient to ſupply the want in numbers) *Boſſu* came out of *Amſterdam*, and with him were ſome foot companies imbarked, which were taken out of his own German Regiment, five other of the Spaniſh Companies, and one of the Walloons. This Fleet being come forth, the Enemy left the Channel of *Amſterdam* free; and retreated towards their neareſt Havens of *Enchuſen* and *Horn*; and haſtened likewiſe greater proviſion of Ships on their ſide, hoping to get the upper hand by their ſuperiority in numbers. Thoſe of *Enchuſen* exceeded all the reſt of the Inhabitants in thoſe parts, not only in number of Ships, but in Maritime skill; and therefore the Enemies Fleet was ſoon encreaſed by them, in ſo much as their number did very far exceed the number of the Spaniſh Ships. *Boſſu* being this mean while entred with his into the Gulph *Zuderſee*, he hovered thereupon, being much in doubt whether he ſhould provoke or ſhun the Combat. His Orders from the Duke were to fight as ſoon as might be; for it greatly imported the King that the Enemies Forces by Sea ſhould be abated, his affairs in

Flanders

Flanders ſuffering moſt thereby. And the ſecuring of ſo gallant an Arſenal as was *Amſterdam*, did too much import his ſervice. On the contrary, *Boſſu* conſidered the ſmall number of his veſſels; what preparation the enemy had made; and that inforced fights are ſeldome fortunate. He therefore kept in the deepeſt part of the Gulf, where his ſhips by reaſon of their greatneſs had the advantage over the enemy, and hoped to find it ſo in their fight. Some skirmiſhes had already been had between the two Fleets, and ſo they did daily: but the advarſaries ſhips were afraid to come to any greater ingagement in that place. The Duke the mean while preſt the combate very much; wherefore *Boſſu* delayed no longer: but falling down nearer land where the Gulf was more ſhallow, he with much reſolution ſet upon the enemy, who kept there ſafe together, as in the beſt place for them. They did not refuſe the combate, but gladſomely accepted of it, and fell to work with the Kings ſhips. *Boſſu* did manfully incourage his, and ſo did all the Captains of the other ſhips: in ſo much as the battel was at the firſt very bloudy on both ſides. But ere long the day began to lean towards the enemy. The bickering was not between ſhip and ſhip, or between ſouldier and ſouldier, upon equal terms, ſo as it was not valour, which was to give the victory. The enemies ſhips did too far exceed the Kings in number, who could not, as did the others, ſupply one ſhip when it was battered, with another, nor the wounded with freſh men; ſo as in a ſhort ſpace every one of the Kings ſhips were invironed by the enemy; and the conflict laſted not long. Except it were the Admiral, with which the Vice-Admiral kept always company, all the reſt of the Kings ſhips gave over fighting, and betook themſelves to ſundry parts, one of them being ſunk, and the reſt ſorely ſhattered. The Admiral ſtood like a ſtately Caſtle in the ſea; of ſuch a vaſtneſs was her body, having ſo many ſails, ſo many Marriners, and ſuch a number of ſouldiers and guns. *Boſſu* could not indure to ſee himſelf thus loſt. He had with him, beſides his own Germans, a hundred choice Spaniards, together with their Captain *Corvera*. They were all of the ſame mind, and had already turned valour in deſpair; ſo as the battel growing more bloudy then ever, the ſucceſs hung long in doubt; till ſuch time as Fortune Favouring the enemy likewiſe, and cauſing the wind to ceaſe, the Spaniſh ſhips ran on ground. Here *Boſſu* was at laſt inforced to yield, and all the reſt that were alive, who were but very few. He was taken, and impriſoned in the Town of *Horn*, where he was detained little leſs then four years. At the news hereof the Duke of *Alva* retired to *Bruſſels*, whether his ſon *Frederick* came ſoon after to find him out; having firſt diſtributed his men into thoſe parts of *Holland* which remained yet unto the King, and which, except *Harlem*, were almoſt all of them open places. All ſuch places about *Leyden* as were thought fitteſt to beſiege it, were till then poſſeſt of the Spaniards, for the Duke was reſolved to do his utmoſt to take that Town. But the ſiege thereof, which was afterwards likewiſe very memorable, was reſerved for his ſucceſſour. For the Duke was not well gotten to *Bruſſels*, when Letters came from *Spain* with leave from him to quit the Goverment of *Flanders*. He had often earneſtly deſired it, as had the Duke of *Medina-Celi* done alſo, to the end that he might not be burthened with that Government. The King having granted both their requeſts, choſe *Lodovico di Recheſens*, the Commendador, *di Caſtiglia*, who was one of the chief Lords of *Spain*, and who was then Governour of *Milain*, to be Governour of the Low-Countries. The King among all his other Subjects of *Spain*, pitcht upon him, for that ſeeing how the Flemiſh did abhor the Duke of *Alva*'s ſeverity, he would have him ſucceeded by one more mildly given, who in his Authority might, as much as might be, decline ſeverity. Such a one he took *Recheſens* to be, and ſuch were the directions which the King ſent from *Spain*. He departed from *Milain* about the end of *October* 1573. and went through *Savoy*, *Burgundy* and *Lorain* taking no other Militia with him ſave only two Companies of horſe, one of them launces, other Harquebuſiers. Being come to *Bruſſels*, the Duke of *Alva* ſoon delivered up the Government unto him; and together with his ſon *Frederick*, took the ſame way by land, becauſe he would return by *Italy*, and go by ſea from *Genua* to *Spain*. The Duke of *Medina-Celi* took ſhipping upon the coaſt of *Flanders*, and went back the ſame way as he came, by ſea.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK VIII.

THE CONTENTS.

The Commendador-Major resolves to succour Midleburg, *to this purpose he disposes of two Fleets in several parts, but had ill success therein; the one being routed by the Enemy whilst he himself looked on, and the others endeavours proving vain.* Midleburg *is therefore surrendred. Count* Lodovick *in* Germany *moves to enter with an Army again into* Flanders. Orange *makes great preparations, and conspires with him to that purpose. Incitements used by him to this end. The Commendadors perplexities and dangers.* Lodovick *comes into* Flanders. *Draws near* Mastrich, *and hopes to win it: but the Royalists secure the Town. Their forces oppose the Enemy; various successes and encountres between the two Armies. A battel ensues. The Royalists get the victory. The Spaniards presently mutiny. Things best worth knowledge in matters of Mutinies. The Mutineers go to* Antwerp. *The City is in great dread of them. They are at last pacified, and joyn with the rest of the Camp-Royal. A great loss of many of the Kings Ships.* Orange *his proceedings against whom* Vitelli *is sent by the Commendador. A new general pardon published in* Antwerp *in the Kings name. An endeavour of accommodation with the Rebels; but in vain. The Siege and Description of* Leyden. *Divers difficulties in the Prosecution, and in the maintaining thereof. Actions which succeed thereupon. Those of* Leyden *are in a desperate condition. More desperate Resolutions taken by the Rebels to relieve the Town. Which is at last succoured with great slaughter and prejudice of the Spaniards.*

WHEN the Government was in the Commendador, he applied himself with all his might to relieve *Midleburg*. *Mandragone* was (as has been said) at the defence of that City, and had continually prest very much for speedy succour: and turning his desires into protestations, he declared, that unless he were relieved within very few dayes, he should be constrained to put the City into the Rebels hands. He wanted all sort of victuals, not only of the better sort, but even of the most vile. The Commendador gave order then, that two Fleets should with all diligence be prepared, the easilier to relieve the Town by two wayes upon the *Scheld*. The one Fleet were of lesser Barks, to be sent by that narrower and lower branch, which parts not far from *Bergen up Zome*, and which (as we have said) retains the name of the River: The other consisted of greater Vessels, which were to pass through the *Honte*, the *Scheld* being so called in her other larger and deeper branch.

The Commendador added his own diligence to that of others. Going therefore himself in person to *Antwerp*, he did so hasten the peparation of both the Fleets, as about the end of *January* both of them put to Sea, to effect the intended succour. *Bevoir* the Admiral of *Zealand*, was then fallen sick, who was to have had the chief charge thereof: so as Signior *de Glimes* was appointed to be his Vice-Admiral. *Sancio d'Avila* commanded the greater Ships, and *Glimes* the lesser, with whom the Camp Master *Romero* went, as chief Commander of all the Souldiers that were aboard; who in both the Fleets were either Spaniards or Walloons, but the greatest part were Spaniards. *Avila* put from *Antwerp*, and sail'd before upon the *Honte*. The other Fleet put from *Berghen ap Zome*, in sight of the Commendador himself, who followed upon the *Schelds* bank, till he came to a Village called *Schacherlo*, which is over against *Romerswal*, a Town seated on the other side. Here *Glimes* and *Romero* staid, expecting a more favourable Tide, that they might the easilier free themselves, and get rid of those Sands, which occasion many



Lodovico Requesenes, Great Comendador of Castile Governour of ye Lowcountreys

many shelfs in that branch. The Enemies were very well acquainted with the design, preparations, and proceedings of the Royalists, by reason of the intelligence held between the Flemish, and especially in that Maritine part, where the people did extreamly favour *Orange*. Nay, it was held for certain, that many of the chief Pilots, who served the Spaniards, were wrought upon by him; and that this Fleet of the lesser Ships was unluckily lost (as we shall relate) rather by fraud than fortune. A much greater provision of Shipping being made by the contrary part, the Enemies Fleet which was commanded by *Lewis de Boisot* Admiral of *Holland*, made strait towards *Romerswal* to hinder the Kings Ships from going any further. The Vice-Admiral would not have fought, knowing the great disadvantage which was on his side: The Enemies Ships were much bigger built, and very much more in number. But *Romero*, were it either that his courage did transport him, or for his want of skill in Maritine affairs, or rather that he was necessitated to adventure, because succour could suffer no longer delay, and that this Fleet carried much the greatest part of the victuals, was of a contrary opinion, and would by all means fight. Hereupon the Vice-Admiral with all the rest made towards the Enemy: But whether it were chance or fraud (as it was doubted) the Vice-Admiral ran on ground, as did likewise some other Ships which were neerest her. The Enemies were not slack in setting upon them on all sides: A showre of Musket shot poured down upon them from their taller Ships, and the great Guns thundered apace. But a tempest of artificial fires proved most prejudicial, which the Enemies ships hurl'd into those of the Kings: the Vice-Admiral suffered most of all hereby; for the fire bursting forth in her in sundry places, and continuing pertinaciously to do so, she sunk at last; it being questionable whether the Fire or Water wrought most in swallowing her up. *Romero* made speedily towards them with his Admiral, and some other Ships; but his courage was greater than the help he gave; for he partook so deeply of the others danger, as he threw himself into the water, and so saved himself

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by ſwimming. Divers others of the Kings ſhips ran the ſame fortune of being either conſumed by fire, or ſunk in the River; and all the reſt fell into the Enemies hands, who triumphed very much in the Victory. And that their joy might be the greater, the Commendador himſelf was upon the aboveſaid Bank of *Shacherlo*, and ſaw with his own eyes, this ſo unhappy misfortune: which made him foreſee others of no leſs conſequence, which were of neceſſity to be ſhortly expected. *Glimes* was ſlain, together with many Spaniſh and Walloon Officers, and about 800 common ſouldiers. This defeat being given, *Avila* thought only how to retreat and ſave his ſhips: but being perſued by thoſe which the Enemy had ſevered from the others, which *Boiſot* commanded, he had much ado to get into *Tergoes*, and at laſt brought his Fleet ſafe to *Antwerp*. This was the end of the relief. So as *Mandragone* having neither time to expect ſuccour, nor hope to get any; and having firſt made good Conditions to march himſelf with all his Men ſafe and freely out of *Midleburg*, he preſently ſurrendred the Town to the Enemy. *Ramua* fell likewiſe into their hands, which till then had kept its obedience to the King. And thus they were poſſeſt of the whole intire Iſland of *Walcherin*, which they had ſo much deſired; and were puft up with hopes, that they ſhould ſhortly be Maſters of the whole Province.

The new year of 1574 was now begun: when the Commendador had not well received this blow by Sea, but that other Novelties were heard of, and of greater danger to the Kings affairs, more within land. We told you before how that Count *Lodovick*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, after the loſs of *Mons*, leaving his brother in *Holland*, was gone to *Germany*: where he was not idle; but being egg'd on by his own courage, and more by that of the Prince his brother, he had there occaſioned divers practiſes, that he might again enter *Flanders* with the Forces of that Nation. The unhappy ſucceſs of the two Brothers taking up arms againſt the Duke of *Alva*, had made them be rather commiſerated than ſcorned by the Germans. And the Spaniſh Forces in *Flanders*, being by ſuch ſucceſs become more formidable to all their Neighbours, the ſuſpition thereof grew daily every where greater. *Orange* in all thoſe parts made alternate uſe of the inſtigations of Fear and Hope: repreſenting ſometimes what danger *Holland* and *Zealand* were in; ſometimes what advantages he had there, and the hopes of their daily increaſe, not only in theſe two Provinces, but in all the reſt, if ſome Foreign aid might be added to the Domeſtick forces of the Country. The Spaniards Mutiny falling out afterwards; and the Kings expeditions by land at *Alekmar*, and by Sea under *Boſſu*, proving ſo very bad; and finally the Duke of *Alva* being gone from *Flanders*, he had ſo much the more ſet on fire the minds of his partakers both within and without *Flanders*, to favour the new preparation, which his brother was contriving.

That at laſt the Duke of Alva *was gone: but that* Recheſens *was choſen by the King in his place,* Medina-Celi *having refuſed to accept of it. That the one and the other of them were Spaniards; and that both of them as likewiſe the Duke of* Alva, *were reduced to ſuch a condition of fortune, as the Flemiſh had reaſon to be ſcandalized at ſuch a choice. That the Kings neglect of the affairs of Flanders did clearly appear, and that he did intend to introduce by violence the Government of* Spain *into thoſe Provinces. That then the Perſon rather than the intention was chang'd in the new Governour. That this man had a more pleaſing aſpect and more benign appearance; but in his ſoul the like pride, and the ſame reſolutions in his thoughts. That the allurements of words were to be eſteemed treacherous, while the force of arms continued: Nor could the Flemiſh ever confide, till they ſaw their Country free of Forreigners, their Cities free of Citadels, their goods of paying Tributes, their Conſciences of oppreſſion, and the Laws of their Country free from that violation which had been occaſioned in them by Foreign Laws. That to compaſs ſo juſt an end,* Holland *and* Zealand *had at laſt taken up Arms: That their ſucceſs had been alternately various; but that yet the greateſt part of both theſe Provinces where in the hands of their own Inhabitants. That the new Governour was not acquainted with the Souldiers, nor his Souldiers with him; That his experience in war was not great: That he found the Spaniards in Mutiny, the others but ill ſatisfied, and that monies were very ſcarce to give them ſatisfaction. That the Empire of* Spain *by reaſon of its too great diviſion and largeneſs of its bulk, was ſo incumbered within it ſelf, as it could not furniſh* Flanders *with ſufficient Forces to maintain war long. Then let the Flemiſh once reſolve to joyn in one, and thoſe their neighbours with them, who were moſt intereſted in their cauſe. That thus the Country would ſoon be reſtor'd to her ancient form of Government, and her preſent miſeries be turn'd into her former enjoy'd Felicity. Otherwiſe, how could it be hoped for, but that the Flemiſh divided at home within themſelves, and forſaken by their Friends abroad, were ſhortly to receive all hardeſt and proudeſt Laws from the Spaniards.*

Orange gave abroad theſe conceits, as well to incenſe the Flemiſh ſtill more againſt the Government of *Spain*, as alſo to make the neighbours the more ready to joyn with his brother in his aforeſaid endeavours. But theſe practiſes were chiefly had in *Germany*, and were as uſually fomented by the Heretick party of *England* and *France*. The deſign of the *Naſſaw* Brethren was, that *Lodovick* ſhould enter *Flanders* from the ſide of *Germany* with all the Forces he could aſſemble together; and that *Orange* at the ſame time coming out of *Holland* ſhould endeavour to joyn thoſe which he had muſtered in the Country, with the Forreigners. To this end very cloſe intelligence was held by both of them in ſundry parts of *Flanders*, and by *Lodovick*,

dovick particularly in ſome Cities which were moſt commodious for him, for his paſſage over the Rivers: but of all others he coveted to be maſter of *Maſtrick*, a very fitting place towards the Frontiers of *Germany*, there being a bridge there over the *Mauſe*, as hath been formerly ſhewn. When *Lodovick* had got all things neceſſary for the body of an Army, he marched from thoſe parts about the beginning of *February*, not valuing the threats of the ſeaſon, that ſo he might not loſe the opportunity of the Criſis. He knew in what ſtraights the new Governour was, by reaſon of the difficulties which were raiſed againſt him by *Orange* and his pertakers. Having therefore paſt the *Rhine* and *Moſel*, he drew near *Ghelderland*; intending, as might be conjectured, to paſs over the *Mauſe*, and get into *Brabant*, where his brother was to joyn with him. 'Twas ſaid that he had in his Army 7000 Foot and 3000 Horſe, gathered out of the neighbouring Nations; and that his greateſt ſtrength lay, as it had done formerly, in *German* Souldiers. Theſe, and all the reſt came with great opinion of good ſucceſs, which would prove ſo advantagious to them, as might make abundant ſatisfaction, yea with uſe, for their laſt unfortunate loſſes. *Lodovick* had with all induſtry ſtrove to nurſe them up in this belief, ſhewing all which made for his advantage and his Brothers in the affairs of *Flanders*, which might moſt confirm hope in them, both of making large Conqueſts, and of getting the Victory with eaſe. This expedition of *Lodovick* was ſo ſpeedy, as the Commendador heard of the effects thereof, before he heard of the preparation. So as very much troubled at the news, and meeting with difficulties on all ſides, he knew not what reſolution to take. He ſaw the Kings men were mightily decreaſed in their numbers; that to muſter them together, and march towards *Lodovick* to defend the Land frontiers, was to leave all the Sea-ſide in prey to *Orange*; that to divide his Forces, were not to have ſufficient to break their deſigns as it behoved on both ſides; that to draw them out of the Garriſons, was not without danger, becauſe peradventure they would not be drawn out without receiving their pay, at leaſt in ſome proportion; that howſoever it was requiſite to make other great Levies ſhortly, which would coſt great ſums of mony; that the proviſions from *Spain* were not ſufficient to furniſh requiſite monies for ſo many affairs, and that *Flanders* was every day more backward then other in contributing thereunto. When *Recheſens* had adviſed upon all theſe difficulties, with all the chief of the Army, the reſolution which was taken, was, That he and the Marquis *Vitelli* ſhould not go far from *Antwerp*, where *Orange*'s ſecret practiſes did threaten moſt; That leaving a ſufficient number of Souldiers in *Holland* to keep what they had gotten, they ſhould only ſtand upon their defence on that Frontier; and that all the reſt of the Army being aſſembled together, *Sancio d' Avila* ſhould lead them towards the *Mauſe* to ſecure the Kings Towns thereabouts, and to hinder *Lodovick* from paſſing over that River. This being reſolved upon, it was ſuddenly put in execution: Neceſſary orders were ſpeedily given forth for the making of great Levies of new men in the neighbouring Catholick parts of *Germany*, *Burgony*, and the *Walloon* Provinces of *Flanders*. But becauſe they were ſtraitned in time, they betook themſelves to draw the old Souldiers out of the Garriſons, uſing all the means they could to ſatisfie them with hopes, ſince they could not do in effect. This men while *Lodovick* ſtill advanced; and halting with his Camp near *Maſtrick*, he ſtaid expecting whether he might, according to his hopes, ſteal into the City by way of Intelligences. The Commendador fearing this, diſpatcht away *Bernardino di Mendoza* ſuddenly thither with ſome Troops of horſe, to which he afterwards added ſome Foot-companies. And the Royaliſts flocking thither from all parts to make it their rendezvous, *Sancio d' Avila* came thither likewiſe about the beginning of *March*, who was to be the chief Commander there. Thus that City was ſecured in its obedience to the King; and *Lodovick* was likewiſe kept from paſſing over the River on that part. He took up his quarters near the Caſtle of *Walchemburg*, little more then two leagues from *Maſtrick*, in divers Villages therabouts. *Avila* had likewiſe diſpoſed of the Kings men, towards that ſide accordingly as they came to the rendezvous. And in the interim, the more to encourage his men, and to diſcover the Enemies courage the better he ſent forth Skirmiſhes almoſt every day; in one of which, which proved more bloody then the reſt, *Franciſco de Medina*, who was Commiſſary-General of the Kings horſe, was ſlain, the remainder of the loſs being equal on both ſides. But *Avila*, taking his advantage another time, took a number of ſelected *Spaniards* and *Walloons*, and ſet upon the village of *Bomelem*, wherein divers Companies of the Enemies German Foot lay, and ſlew above 400 of them; the reſt ſorely confuſed flying for ſafety into their neighbours quarters. *Lodovick* being out of all hope of getting into *Maſtrick* by fraud, or of being able to paſs the *Moſel* there, he reſolved to follow the courſe of the river, and to go towards *Ruremond*; hoping likewiſe to get into that City by the way of Treaty: wherein if he ſhould fail, his determination was to continue his march ſtill on, and between the *Mauſe* and *Vahal* to joyn with *Orange*, who to that purpoſe was to march that wayes and joyn with him. When he was come near *Ruremond*, he loſt all hopes of being received in there by way of underhand dealing; either for that the Kings men had diſcovered his plot, or for that his partakers had not courage enough to performe covenants. He therefore marched ſuddenly from thence; and keeping along the River ſide, he marched towards *Nimmighen*, the chief City of all *Ghelderland*, ſituated

upon the *Vahalle* : where he and *Orange* had many adherents, who gave them hopes of making them be received in by ſurpriſe : which would have been much for their advantage, as well by reaſon of the wealth of the Town, as by its ſituation. But *Avila*, who had already either ſuſpected or diſcovered theſe deſigns, following him apace on this ſide the River, to keep him from paſſing over, and from joyning with his brother. The Kings Army was this mean while more recruited both with Horſe and Foot: the Camp-maſter *Bracamont* was in particular come from *Holland* with 200 old Spaniſh Foot ; and almoſt all the other Spaniſh Campmaſters, and thoſe of other Nations were with *Avila* : the Army till then not being above 4000 Foot and 800 Horſe, *Avila* being aſcertained of *Lodovicks* laſt intent, after his vain attempt upon *Ruremond*, which was, not to paſs over on this ſide, but to joyn with *Orange* on the other ſide ; he likewiſe increaſed his diligence and made his men mend their march. And all the Towns upon the *Mauſe* which were convenient for paſſage being in the Kings hands, *Avila* ſent therefore ſuch Scouts forth as were requiſite, to ſcour the contrary ſhore, and to learn continual news of the Enemy, that he might the better know how to govern his affairs on this ſide. It appeared at laſt, that the greateſt advantage lay in making haſte, and in the preventing of one another: So as the Kings men paſſing the *Mauſe*, might hinder the Enemies Camp from advancing further ; or the other haſtning his march, might prevent the paſſing over of the Kings men, and ſo joyn as he intended with *Orange*. But the difference was too great between the Souldiers of the two Armies : The Kings men being trained up under accompliſht Commanders, might be ſaid to know their orders before they received them ; and obedience being as readily given as was command, all things were quickly underſtood, and readily executed : whereas on the contrary, the Enemies Souldiers being tumultuouſly gathered together, all of them almoſt new men, divers Princes ſubjects, and who were not incited either by puniſhment or by reward in the ſervice of their own Prince, they had no other ſenſe of military affairs ſave only Prey and Plunder ; and what by difficulty of victuals, and incumbrance of baggage depending oftentimes more upon neceſſity then choice, they could not advance ſo faſt as occaſion required ; and ſome diſorders were already grown amongſt them. Therefore thoſe hopes failing with *Lodovick* had very confidently built upon ; and finding the Towns upon that Frontier ready to keep him out, which he thought would have willingly received him ; and the ſcarcity of victuals and difficulty of lodging being hereunto added ; Out of theſe reaſons a great many of the Enemies Horſe were already disbanded, and their Foot leſſened every day ; and the Captains authority availed very little, the Souldiers not caring much to obey them to whom they had no natural obligation. The Kings Army advancing then with ſpeedy march, it came to *Graves*, before *Lodovick* could get over againſt it with his men. The Town of *Graves* is ſeated upon the *Mauſe* on the left ſide ; and *Avila* having given formerly order for the throwing a bridge of Boats over it, his Army without loſs of time paſt over to the other ſide and quartered there. Monſieur *de Hierges* came ſoon thither from *Nimmighen*, having firſt made that Town ſure for the King, and brought with him 300 *Spaniards* : And ſoon after came two other Spaniſh Companies, and one of Burgonians, which were a good recruit for the Army. The Enemy marched likewiſe a great pace ; when being come to the village of *Mouch*, they underſtood by their Scouts that the Kings men were on that ſide the River, and not above a league off. Hereupon they muſt either retreat, or fight. To retreat was dangerours: For to boot that retreating bears always fears with it, the enemy had neither proviſion of victuals, nor any place of ſafety to ſtay in one that ſide : And to hazard a battel againſt old Souldiers, though fewer in number, appear'd to be too doubtful a buſineſs. But at laſt they muſt go on, though they cut the way through with their ſwords. Wherefore ſtaying in *Mouch*, they preſently raiſed a Trench on the ſide where they feared moſt to be ſet upon by the Kings men, the better to fence their Foot: Their greateſt hopes lay in their Horſe though they were not above 2000 in number, yet were they more then the Kings Horſe ; who were notwithſtanding more favour'd by the ſituation, which was ſomwhat narrow, by reaſon of certain hils which ſtood not far from the river, and allowed but a ſmall ſpace for the Horſe to exerciſe in. The Kings men having the Enemy on the Front, prepared with much reſolution for combat. And becauſe either the perſervation or the loſs of the Low-Countries in the Kings behalf lay almoſt wholly on the ſucceſs of this Battel, it is not to be believ'd how the Royaliſts encouraged each other: And *Avila*, before he gave out his orders, did rather by reaſon, then by words, in a military manner exhort them thus to fight. *Our reward is to be meaſured by the ſervice which we ſhall this day do our King: who doubts but that if we overcome, theſe Countries will by our ſwords be preſerved unto his crown? He hath not many other forces in theſe parts, then what are now with us ; then conſequently the merit of ſo important and action will be wholly ours : And as the King is to acknowledge it from us alone, ſo it is not to be doubted but that he will royally reward it And what greater ſecurity can we have of obtaining the victory now ; then the ſo many which we have already won. 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their perfidiouſneſs have undertaken againſt theſe Countries, have always had the ſame end; they have not ſo ſoon been entred but they have been beaten out to their ſlaughter and ſhame, and to our everlaſting glory and honour. And upon all theſe occaſions experience hath ſufficiently ſhewn how much valour exceeds numbers, order before confuſion; and what advantage they have, who fight out of the zeal of honour, over thoſe who bear arms only for rapines ſake. The ſame will certainly be ſeen in this preſent conflict ſince our conditions, and the conditions of our enemies are not the ſame: Ours, by being bred ſo many years in the wars, and the knowledge how to defend a good cauſe, being added to the favour of the cauſe which we defend; and that of the Enemy, in bringing new men to all military actions, and in baſely maintaining wicked cauſes under rebellious Captains. The narrowneſs of the place makes much for our advantage, which will not ſuffer their Horſe which are more than ours, to have too much the better of us; and yet ours ſhall be ſo well fenced by Foot, as that advantage ſhall ſupply the other default. And that weak Trench which the Enemy have raiſed for defence of their Foot, what doth it argue but an abject fear in them, & an evident deſire rather of flight then of fight? We on the contrary ſhall aſſault them with our wonted reſolution and undauntedneſs; & ſhall aſſuredly have the like ſucceſs as formerly in overcoming, and they in running away.

This Speech of *Avila*'s was received with great acclamations by the ſouldiers. Whereupon he with the other field-Officers diſpoſed their orders thus: For the more ſafety-ſake he placed the foot towards the River, on the right hand, and divided them into proportionable ſquadrons, lining the Pikes with ſhot where it was moſt convenient. He divided the horſe likewiſe on the left ſide into divers ſquadrons, and munited them toward the field-ſide, with a good wing of Spaniſh and Walloon musketiers, the better to break the enemies greateſt force, which was to be expected on that part. The Camp-maſters, *Conſalvo di Bracamonte*, *Fernando di Tolledo*, and *Chriſtopher Mandragone*, who had brought with him his Walloon Regiment, which did remarkable ſervice that day, had the chief command of the foot. And the chief places in the Cavalry were ſupplyed by *Bernardino di Mendoza*, and *John Baptiſta de Marcheſi del Monte*, with whom were other Captains of try'd valour. The German Harquebuſiers under *Schinck*, were placed in the front, together with thoſe of other Nations: and after them the Lanciers, which made up the greateſt body of the horſe, and this was ſo executed, as, if the enemies Rutters ſhould charge upon the Harquebuſiers, the Lanciers might charge them. To boot that the wing of Musketiers which flankt the Kings horſe on the outſide, might be of great uſe to break their firſt violence, as hath been ſaid. The enemy this mean while had not omitted any thing which might make for their advantage in the battel. *Lodovick* had his brother *Henry* with him, who had likewiſe a warlike ſpirit. But *Chriſtopher*, one of the ſons of the Prince Elector Palatine, was of great preeminence in their Army. He commanded all the horſe, and the whole Government of the Camp was almoſt equally had between him and *Lodovick*. They left ſome foot-companies to defend the Trench which hath been ſpoken of, and which lay nearer the river on the left hand. On the right hand they compoſed a great ſquadron of the other Foot in good order, and extended their Horſe towards the hill, as far as the narrowneſs of the place would permit them; and made thereof one choice ſquadron a part, wherein were the two Generals, and Count *Henry*. Which made it be doubted whether they did this, to be in that part of the battel where victory was moſt to be hoped for; or in caſe they ſhould be worſted, ſo to make their way ſooner through the enemy, and joyn with *Orange*, who was already come with great forces to *Nimingben*. The two Generals, as they ordered their ſquadrons, were not wanting in encouraging their ſouldiers.

They affirmed that this was the day which muſt free the Flemiſh from ſlavery, the Germans from jealouſies, and which would throw a thouſand rewards upon them, the ſouldiers, for obtaining the victory, of which no doubt was to be made. That the new Spaniſh Governour truſting little in himſelf, and peradventure leſs in his men, would not be in perſon where the greateſt danger was. That he was conſtrained to to draw his people out of their Gariſons almoſt by force: who howſoever came rather with a mind to mutiny then to fight; and were ſo leſſened in their numbers, as they were able to make but a very weak body of an Army. How much did they exceed the enemy, eſpecially in horſe? And how great would their ſtorm be? That when the victory ſhould be got on this ſide, it would the more ſafely be had on the other ſide: where the foot would notwithſtanding ſo ſignalize themſelves, as they needed no other to aſſiſt them in overcoming. That the enemy being routed, and made to fly, Flanders *was to be wholly at their diſpoſal: And what Laws would not ſhe be ready to receive, having the Prince of* Orange *with his forces on one ſide, theirs on the other; or when they ſhould be all joyned together?* Holland *and* Zealand, *invincible Provinces in the defence of their Country, would certainly ſhare in the fruits of ſo happy a ſucceſs? as alſo every other Province which would cordially joyn with them in the ſame Cauſe. That in ſuch Provinces as would prove refractory, the ſword ſhould do, what fair means would not effect: and as they ſhould be joyfully received by thoſe, ſo ſhould they find rich pillage in theſe. That every ſouldier ſhould therefore enter the combate with firm reſolution of being victorious. And that adding one incitement to another, every one of them ſhould think they were looked upon by the eyes*

of both the Germanies ; *which expected by means of their valour that day, the one to recover what ſhe had loſt ; the other to keep what ſhe had feared to loſe.*

When both Armies were ordered in manner aforeſaid, they began to skirmiſh. *Avila* advanced 300 foot, part Spaniards, part Walloons, againſt thoſe who guarded the Trenches on the other ſide : who coming forth with a proportionable number, received the Kings men with muſt ſtoutneſs ; but theſe, as being more experienced, began to get advantage over the others, driving them back into their Trenches, and endeavouring to fall in with them. Here the fray grew hotter ; and each ſide received new courage accordingly as they received new ſuccours. But the Kings men ſtill prevailing they at laſt got upon the Trenches, and of them Captain *Diego di Mounteſdock* was one of the firſt that was ſlain. Then the chief ſquadron of the enemies foot began to move. Whereupon the others making a ſtand, who before begun to give back, they fell all again a fighting, and for a while did manfully withſtand the Kings men: whoſe ſquadrons being likewiſe come up, had brought the whole burthen of the war on that part hither ; but the hereticks ſtill giving ground, they at laſt began to run. The buſineſs was better diſputed between the horſe of both ſides, the Kings horſe Harquebuſiers were ſo furiouſly aſſaulted by *Lodovicks* Rutters, and eſpecially the Germans led on by *Schinck* who ſtood forwardeſt, as being firſt broken, and then totally diſordered, they did not only forſake the place, but running away to the next neighbouring Towns, they gave out every where that the enemy had won the day. The Rutters having diſcharged their firſt Volly of ſhot, wheeled about to charge again, and make a ſecond more furious aſſault ; but the Kings Lanciers afforded them not time, who fell on with ſuch violence, and did ſo vigorouſly charge them on divers ſides, as breaking their orders, they forced them back, and opened them. In this the foot-wing played their part miraculouſly : by whom the Rutters being gauled on their flank, were put yet into greater diſorder. *Lodovick* and the Palatine courageouſly endeavoured to re-order them, and encouraged them by their own examples acting the parts rather of common ſouldiers then of Commanders in chief. But the Kings horſe ſtill more inheartned, both by the apparent victory of the foot, and by the advantage which they themſelves continually got ; did ſo cloſely purſue the Rutters, as not being able longer to be withheld, and fear getting the upper hand of ſhame, they turned their backs, and at laſt ran directly away. Fortune would likewiſe have her ſhare in this battel, as uſually ſhe hath in all. For juſt as the Rutters began to give back, three Company of Lanciers came up to the Catholicks, led on by *Nicholas Baſti*, by *George Macuca*, and by *Peter Taſſis*, all of them Captains, and this new inforcement finiſht the buſineſs ſo as inſtead of fighting they fell to execution. The Kings men being maſters of the field, ſlaughtered the enemy horribly in all places ; and it was commonly believed that above 4000 of them periſht. Above 200 of the Kings men were miſſing. This ſucceſs was particularly innobled by the death of the two brothers of *Naſſaw*, and of the Palatine, which being all of them joyntly reſolved either to make their way by their ſwords, or by indeavouring to do ſo, to loſe their lives, were ſlain fighting valiantly. The Kings forces got great advantage and reputation by this victory. For though the battel was not between numerous Armies, yet the chief conſequences of *Flanders* lay at ſtake on both ſides. And thoſe which concerned the King being particularly conſidered, 'tis no doubt, but if the enemy had got the better of the day, their Forces being joyned with thoſe of the Prince of *Orange*, would have overrun the Country every where, and would have made the Stanſheſt raiſe new rebellions.

But this ſo important victory was not well gotten, when they who had been the chief Authors of it, ſpoiled the effect thereof. Inſtead of expecting their reward from the King, the Spaniards to the great diſſervice of his Majeſty, would be their own pay-maſters. The very night after the day of battel, and upon the very place where the battel was fought, they reſolved to mutiny. And the effect thereof was ſeen, before the thing it ſelf could be imagined. It began at firſt to be whiſpered by a few, afterwards it was put in practiſe by many, and at laſt it was fully conſenting unto by all. They complained, and ſeemed much incenſed to ſee their labours ſo ill rewarded.

'Twas their hands and their bodies by which Towns were taken, Battels won, and all other actions of greateſt danger done. The honour and advantage redounded to the Commanders ; their reward was only wounds and poverty. That their bare pay was given them rather as a reward, then as of due. Which yet being ſo far in arrear, they could not fully receive. How could ſo miſerable a condition be longer tollerated? that it was in their own power to ſatisfie themſelves for the monies which were every day promiſed them, and never paid. And that therefore they were now rather to have it at their command, then to wait for it any longer, and that perhaps in vain.

They made no long delay ; they in a great hurly-burly flew to their arms ; and violently laying aſide their former Officers, they choſe new ones. This being done, they went immediate from *Mouch*, and marched towards *Antwerp*, intending to enter the City, and there with all ſafety and commodiouſneſs to cauſe their whole pay to be given them. *Sancio d' Avila*, and all

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the Camp-maſters uſed all poſſible diligence to remedy ſo great and ſo unexpected a diſorder that they could do nothing that would prevail. And becauſe after this mutiny, ſo many others of the like nature inſued in the progreſs of this War, whereby the Kings affairs in *Flanders* were more prejudiced by the arms of his own Souldiers, then by thoſe of his Enemies. It will not be amiſs to relate here anticipately, with as much brevity as may be, what is beſt worthy knowledge, in a buſineſs which we ſhall have ſo often occaſion to treat of. An Army in the field is a great movable City, governed by Military Laws, within walls of Iron: this City is diſtinguiſhed into perſonages of divers qualities. The chiefeſt place is poſſeſt by the Captain-General, who hath ſupream Authority in the Government thereof. The other chiefeſt Commanders follow after him, and after them the leſſer. And in the laſt place remains the inferiour order of common Souldiers, who having no ſhare in Command, are only to obey. In this popular order of the Army (if I may term it ſo) do mutinies fall out: the uſual cauſe whereof is the want of pay. In the meaner ſort of ſouldiers Intereſt prevails more than Honour; wherefore being unpaid, firſt they complain, then they grow angry, and at laſt mutiny. In long wars this is oftener ſeen, by reaſon of the exceſſive expences, which they occaſion. This length of time makes ſouldiers marry, whereby they have children: and in that reſpect grow ſtill more neceſſitous: and this neceſſity at laſt turning into corruption, they mutiny many times rather becauſe they will do ſo, than that they have any juſt occaſion to do it. The Laws of obedience being then broken, this popular order riſeth up againſt their Superiours, and out of their body, do tumultuarily chuſe new Officers. This happens uſually when the Armies are in the field, becauſe it would be almoſt impoſſible to compaſs it with ſecurity in Garriſons. In the change of Government, 'tis commonly ſeen that we degenerate from the better to the worſe. And thus it happens upon this occaſion. The ſupream command of one onely, paſſeth then into the whole multitude, which being compoſed of horſe and foot, makes a body of each of them, which they call the Squadron of the incenſed, ſo to ſhun the always ignominious title of Mutiners. The Authority conſiſts then in the Squadron, and all the command in the united body thereof. This tumultuous Commonwealth will notwithſtanding have a head, who is called the Elect. Next him it will alſo have ſome others of greater imployment, and theſe they call Counſellors. The foot and horſe are likewiſe diſtributed under two chiefer Heads. They call the head of the horſe, Governour; and him of the foot, Serjant Major. The Captains and uſual Officers follow in either ſort of theſe men; and diverſ[illegible]hers places are diſtributed according to occaſion. The Offices are diſtributed by votes allowed; and in the like ſort all other reſolutions are taken. The Squadrons firſt intention is to poſſeſs it ſelf of ſome good Town or City; and here to fortifie it ſelf ſo as it cannot be forced. From thence it takes in all the Country thereabouts; which to ſhun greater damage, is brought to pay equal Contributions. The Office of the Elect is barely to propound what upon all occaſions is to be reſolved on, the buſineſſes being firſt well weighed in the Counſel. He therefore redwels in the beſt *Piazza*, or Market-place of the Town poſſeſt; and out of a window makes his Propoſitions to the Squadron which meets there to that purpoſe. The multitude grumble often at thoſe which they like not; and being born away by rage, inſtead of ſhewing their negative by the uſual way of votes, they many time witneſs their gainſaying by a peal of muſket-ſhot. They are hereunto chiefly induced through the jealouſies which reign amongſt them. One ſouldier fears to be betrayed by another; and they eaſily grow to diſtruſt their heads, wherein they did at firſt impoſe their chiefeſt truſt. The Elect is therefore never left without one particular ſentinel; he can neither receive nor write any Letters without the knowledge of the ſquadron: and thus in all things elſe, his voice is as well bound up as his hands unleſs the impediment be firſt taken away by the Squadron. The Miniſtry of his Counſellors is bounded in like manner. Amongſt the other ſouldiers all ſeparate commerce is abſolutely forbidden; it being their pleaſure that by irretractable rigour as the Squadron makes but one body, ſo it have but one will. Their diſcipline in all other things is very ſevere: ſo as it may be doubted whether it were introduced with ſtraiter laws, or executed with more ſevere: And no fault in point of execution is pardoned. Never did diſobedience beget better obedience. The Squadron in withdrawing it ſelf from the command of its firſt Commanders, doth with ſo much rigour bereave it ſelf of all liberty in ſubmitting to ſecond heads; though (as hath been ſaid) it keeps the ſupream authority in it ſelf, and will ever and anon make it appear by horrid examples. It therefore often puniſheth great faults with its own hands; making thoſe, who according to their laws have deſerved it, ſometimes paſs the pikes, and ſometimes be ſhot to death. Their laws offend for the moſt part on the more ſevere ſide; but many of them are ſo well regulated, as better cannot be deſired in whatſoever compleat Common-wealths. Theft, play, blaſphemy, drunkenneſs, diſhoneſt women, all brawls, running in debt further than men are able to pay, and many other ſuch like exceſſes are forbidden upon heavy penalties; which in the form of all good Governments are born withal, ſince they can never be fully irradicated. In this, their chief reſpect is, to avoid all occaſi-

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on of contention or diſcord, which may diſunite the Squadron. Of ſo much greater force with men is ſervice done to themſelves, than when to others. And ſo much prevails the uniform conſent of many, though of differing births, cuſtomes, and language. For in the War of *Flanders* divers Nations have been ſeen to mutiny together, and all of them to make but one body, and lead to one end, as if they were but one onely people. Generals and other Warriors have ſometimes endeavoured to break and puniſh Mutinies; but they have ſeldom hit in their deſigns: For the better ſort are oft-times won over to ſide with the worſt, and the remedy is turn'd into a greater malady. It is therefore beſt to agree the divided Souldiery: which is done by delivering up ſome principal Perſonage into their hands for a Pledge, till full ſatisfaction be given: And we in our time have ſeen the Duke of *Oſſuna*, a Grandee of *Spain*, given up for an Hoſtage. This in brief is the form of Government obſerved by Mutiniers. When they have received their Pay, they ſoon return to their former obedience, and there is no ſign left of any ſuch peſtilence: For ſo may all Mutinies which happen in Armies be called, ſince ſo great a part of their body is infected thereby, the union thereof is broken, the government diſturbed; their forces then rendred weakeſt, when they ſhould be ſtrongeſt; and thoſe advantages are either loſt, or thoſe evils cauſed by their own Forces, which the Enemy could never have effected.

Now to reaſſume the thread of our diſcourſe. The *Spaniards* when they had formed this Mutiny, took their way ſuddenly towards *Antwerp*, paſſing over the *Mauſa* at *Grave*. *Sancio d' Avila* gave ſpeedy advertiſement of this to the Commendador: who forthwith went himſelf in perſon to that City, to keep the Mutiniers from entring thereinto; which if he could not do, then at leaſt to keep them from ſacking it. Of one ſide of the City the wall met not by a good ſpace with the Ditch of the Citadel, and that open place was only ſhut up with certain Paliſadoes. Towards this part the Mutiniers march in ſuch diligence, and preſented themſelves before it in ſuch reſolution, as neither the Inhabitants of the Town, nor yet the Garriſon, which were ſome German Companies, durſt withſtand them. They might have been beſt reſiſted by the Spaniſh Garriſon which was in the Citadel: but theſe, not being very well pleaſed neither, did rather incline to joyn with them; nor had the Governour thereof *Sancio d' Avila* little to do in keeping them from ſo doing. At their entrance into the *Piazza*, the Mutiniers put themſelves in order, and made the Citizens ſorely afraid that they would have plundred the City. Here the Commendador came before them on horſe-back, and with fair words endeavoured to reduce them to their obedience, aſſuring them that they ſhould very ſhortly receive full ſatisfaction with advantage. But neither were his entreaties of validity, nor did his Authority prevail: yet they aſſured him, that ſet their preſent maintenance aſide, the City ſhould not ſuffer any prejudice, provided always that they did receive ſpeedy ſatisfaction. They then took up their quarters in houſes in the Town, having firſt made the German garriſon which was in *Antwerp*, under *Frederick Perenotto* Lord of *Champigni*, and brother to Cardinal *Granville*, withdraw out of the City. But were it either for ſome particular diſtaſte which they had taken againſt him, or that they could not well moderate their own heat, they could not forbear plundring his houſe, together with ſome other houſes, where either their jollity or hatred did moſt tranſport them. After this, all poſſible diligence was taken to give them ſatisfaction: Neither did they let ſlip any occaſion of haſtning the effects thereof by way of terror, and eſpecially of Plunder. So as threatning it every day, and the *Antwerpians* every day fearing it, they were ſo much affected therewithal, as they were reſolved to contribute whatſoever monies was requiſite to free themſelves as ſoon as might be from ſo dreadful a danger. The Mutiniers were notwithſtanding contented to receive ſix payes in Cloth and other Draperies which the City furniſht them withal; they were paid the reſt in money. And having obtained a large Pardon from the Commendador in the Kings name, upon ſolemn oath in the greateſt Church, they at laſt went out of *Antwerp*, and return'd to joyn with the reſt of the Army, which had already re-entred *Holland* and had begun to beſiege *Leyden*. Amongſt other prejudices which the Kings affairs received by this Mutiny, one of the greateſt was, the loſs of many ſhips which the Commendador had prepared upon the ſhore of *Antwerp*, for new deſigns upon *Zealand*. In *Glimes* his place, who was ſlain in the former related Sea-fight, was *Adolphus Hanſteede* put: Who fearing leſt the Mntiniers might fall upon the Navy which he had the charge of, and would have it in their power, for their better ſecurity of getting their pretended ſatisfaction: reſolved to launch forth with it into the deepeſt part of the *Scheld*, and there ſecure himſelf from that fear. But by ſhunning this danger, he ran into a greater. The *Zealanders* had quickly notice hereof, and would not loſe the opportunity. They came unexpectedly with many armed Veſſels, and without much ado took moſt of the Kings ſhips, which, what great, what little, were about forty, and almoſt all of them well provided of Artillery and all Naval preparations; and the reſt they either burnt, or ſunk, or ſhatter'd them ſo as they were for no more ſervice. The deſign was to aſſault *Zealand* with this the Kings Fleet, by the Rivers and Gulfs which inviron it within, and which cannot receive great Veſſels; and at the

the ſame time to do the ſame with another Fleet of greater ſhips on the outſide, which ſhips were with all ſpeed preparing in *Spain*: intending chiefly to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome good Haven, and ſtill to ſtraighten that maritine Tract the more, and to endeavour by all means poſſible to poſſeſs themſelves of that Province, without which the King could never hope to keep *Flanders* firm in his obedience. And although the ſame deſign was continued in *Spain*, after the unfortunate ſucceſs of the Navy in *Flanders*; yet ſo many difficulties aroſe on all ſides, as it was impoſſible afterwards to effect it.

The Prince of *Orange* was this mean while with many Forces about *Nimingben*, whether he was come two joyn with his brother *Lodovick*, as we had ſaid: whoſe defeat, and death enſuing, and inſtantly thereupon the *Spaniards* Mutiny, he ſtaid ſtill in thoſe parts; and failed not to make his advantage of the diſorders hapned in the Kings Camp. But ſeeing the Enemies forces hindred by the ſaid mutiny within themſelves, he made many incurſions into thoſe parts, hoping to make ſome conſiderable progreſs: He was poſſeſt of the Town of *Bomel*, a ſtrong place, and which gives the name to a large Iſland, made by the *Mauſe* and *Wahale*. Here *Orange* ſtaid, as in a place naturally very advantagious; and annoy'd the neighbouring parts which were ſtill in obedience to the King. And becauſe *Balduke*, which is one of the chiefeſt Cities of all *Brabant*, was in greateſt danger, the Commandador ſent men ſuddenly to ſecure it, and fortifie the cheifeſt Paſſes thereabouts. The Mutiny being afterwards accommodated, he diſpatched away the Marquis *Vitelli* with a good ſtrength, to diſturb *Orange* in all his deſigns. With him went *John Baptiſta*, and *Camillo*, brothers to the Marquis *del Monte*, and *Vitelli* his Nephews by the ſiſters ſide: Each of them commanded a Company of Lances, but came to much greater preferment afterwards in the continuation of the War, and won therein a great eſteem of valour. The greateſt weight of the military affairs in *Flanders* lay then upon *Vitelli*; as well in regard of his place of Campmaſter-General, which was the chiefeſt charge in the whole Army next to the ſupreme command of Governour; as for his long experience in war, which appeared yet more after the Duke of *Alva*'s departure, ſo cry'd up a Commander, and of ſo great reputation: of the Italian Nobility which were then in the Army of *Flanders*, *Rafell Barberino* was in great eſteem, and was much imployed in many weighty actions. He was very well skill'd in particular in matter of Fortification; and therefore his advice was asked, and his opinion followed upon all ſuch occaſions of that nature. He was as well eſteemed in treating of buſineſſes as in Military imployments, and therefore having been formerly ſent into *England* by the Duke of *Alva*, the Commendador continued to make good uſe of him in divers new negotiations which were then in hand, to breed, if it were poſſible, a better intelligence and correſpondency between that Queen and the King of *Spain* in the occurrences of *Flanders*. This *Rafel* was Uncle by the Fathers ſide to *Maffeo Barberino*, which our age hath ſeen paſs through all the chiefeſt degrees of Prelatſhip with much applauſe in the Apoſtolick See, and who by his worth becoming Cardinal, and laſtly Pope, preceeds now in the univerſal Government of Chriſts flock, by the name of *Urban* the eight: A Prince, who amidſt his ſo many ſublime vertues, leaves it in doubt which of them merits more praiſe; and in whom it is no leſs queſtionable which of his Principalities becomes him beſt, or that which the Church gives him over men, or that which he by his learning hath acquired over knowledge.

Vitelli being then gone towards the Iſland of *Bomel*, he reduced many Towns thereabouts to the Kings devotion, and built two Forts there, the better to curb the enemies in thoſe parts. The chief Towns which he took were, *Leerdem*, *Aſperen*, and *Huechelen*, all of them ſeated upon the River *Linga*, which runs through *Holland*. He hoped likewiſe to ſurpriſe the Town of *Bomel*: but were it that his practiſes were diſcovered, or not well managed, he could not effect his hopes. From hence *Vitelli* returned to *Antwerp*, and of the people which he had with him, a Regiment of Swiſſers were diſmiſt, which the Commendador had lately raiſed, and the reſt marched more inwards into *Holland*, to joyn with thoſe of the Kings men who were in that Province. A new general pardon was at this time publiſht by the Commendador-general in the Kings name, like that which formerly in the Duke of *Alva*'s time came forth with ſuch ſolemnity. And becauſe the other had begot more fear than truſt, by reaſon of the ſo many exceptive clauſes which were in it; therefore in this the King inlarged his clemency and goodneſs unto all ſuch as would enjoy the fruit thereof, except ſuch as were guilty of the moſt heynous offences; and he thereunto added alſo the Eccleſiaſtical Authority touching ſuch faults as were committed in matter of Religion. But neither did the one or the other Indulgence avail any thing; nay this latter met with leſs of Faith in the Flemiſh then the former had done; by how much they were more alienated from the Church and King, ſince the coming forth of the former. The Commendador had at this time ſome little hopes of reducing the Rebels to ſome pacification. *Philip Marnice*, Lord of *Aldegonda* was made the Inſtrument herein: who in ſome Military action had formerly been taken, and was then priſoner in *Utrich*. This was one of *Orange* his chief Councellors, a man of great courage and abilities in whatſoever imployment. And to him were attributed chiefly many of thoſe actions which

which had occaſioned the firſt tumults in *Flanders*, particularly the drawing up of that Covenant of which we have formerly ſpoken. He gave ſome hopes, that he would bring *Orange* to ſuch conditions as the King ſhould be ſatisfied withal. Whereupon by the Commendadors orders, *il Signior de Champigni*, who was Governor of *Antwerp*, and *Gunio di Jongen*, entred into Treaty with him for certain days; but it quickly appeared that the Treaty was commenc'd either out of fraud or vain-glory. For the propoſals on *Marnice*'s behalf, bore conditions which were impoſſible to effect. He firſt propoſed, That all forreigners ſhould be made to quit the Country, endeavouring by ſundry wayes to honeſt the motion. And for what concerned Religion, he repreſented what had ſo often been propoſed by *Orange*: to wit, That the States General might be called, and that they ſhould maturely conſider, what means were beſt to be uſed, as a remedy therein: So this Treaty of agreement was quickly broken off, for the Commendador would not have it to continue any longer: judging that Religion and the King ſhould ſuffer too much prejudice by onely liſtening to ſuch Propoſitions.

Now follows the Siege of *Leyden*, which was particularly memorable, for the condition of the Succour, which ſo altered the order of affairs, as the beſiegers became beſieged; and look what unhappy ſucceſs the aſſailed expected, the Aſſailant made trial of the very ſame. *Leyden* is one of the chief Towns of *Holland*; it is ſeated low, amongſt, as may be ſaid, a labyrinth of Chanels, part of which are running, part ſtanding waters, and which cut through the Territories thereof on all ſides. The *Rhine* runs through it with one of its branches, which now is the weakeſt, but hath formerly been the moſt frequented; though this retain its ancient name, whereas the reſt, as they draw near the Sea, change it into that of other Rivers. So many other Channels are derived from this branch within the Town it ſelf in ſeveral parts, as the ſpace, which is there broken off by the Iſlands, is in a ſort larger than what is united to the Continent. But if it be divided by ſo many Channels, it is rejoyned by many more bridges. Of which there are about an hundred and fifty where they may ſerve either for uſe or ornament: and the moſt of them are of Stone. The Town is well peopled, her Streets are large, buildings well polliſhed; it is well flankt round about; her ditch is every where deep; and in fine, ſhe is in all circumſtances of ſuch condition, as the Kings men had good reaſon to uſe all endeavours to gain her, as alſo the Rebels to keep poſſeſſion of her. The Towns of *Delft*, *Roterdam*, and *Gouda*, are much about half a days journey diſtant from *Leyden*, the nobleſt and beſt peopled Towns in all *Holland*. The *Hague* is likewiſe within two leagues of it, an open Village; but which for beauteous ſituation, for number of Inhabitants and gallant buildings, may compare with many of the beſt walled Towns of that Province. Yet is not this Village watred, or cut through by any River. The Town of *Delf* lies upon a River which joyns upon the *Mauſe*; *Roterdam* upon the *Roter*, from whence it hath its name: and *Gowda* upon the *Gowe*, from whence alſo it hath its nomination, where it joyns with the *Iſell*, and together therewith falls afterwards into the *Mauſe*. To theſe Rivers many other Channels cut by hand, are annext; ſo as there is no Village thereabouts near which there is not either running or ſtanding waters in divers places. The *Holland* Rebels knew long before, that the Spaniards intended to beſiege *Leyden*: And that the Duke of *Alva* after the taking of *Harlem*, had declared his intention therein, by poſſeſſing himſelf of all thoſe places aloof off, which in the Winter ſeaſon were moſt opportune to effect it. The Duke being gone, *Recheſens* had continued the ſame reſolution. Wherefore the Rebels to prevent the danger, intended to fortifie thoſe Paſſes, which where of greateſt importance, either to impede the Rebels or to bring ſuccour to the Town. Two Villages amongſt the reſt where moſt conſiderable for this purpoſe; the one toward *Gouda*, called *Alfen*, which is ſeated upon a Channel over which there is a bridge, which according to the cuſtome of that Country, opens and ſhuts in the paſſage of the water with ſluces, or floud-gates. The other towards *Delf*, which is called *Maſen*-ſluce, and which commands one of the chiefeſt paſſes upon the way to *Leyden*. In theſe two places the Enemies had fortified themſelves, and eſpecially in that of *Alfen*, in reſpect of the bridge which they guarded by a particular Fort. When then the Kings ſide had reſolved to beſiege *Leyden*, it was thought neceſſary before all other things to poſſeſs themſelves of both theſe Paſſes. The Commendador had given the chief care of the ſiege to the Camp-maſter *Valdes*; who to this purpoſe having aſſembled together a good many Spaniards, joyned ſome Germans and Walloones with them, was gone towards *Leyden*. His firſt deſign in approaching it, was to aſſault the Village of *Alfen*; and to bereave the enemy of the aboveſaid Bridge. Wherefore picking out ſome of the ſtouteſt Souldiers, they aſſaulted the Enemy ſo furiouſly, as after a bloody fight they won the Fort, which was built to defend the bridge. And following thoſe with the ſame violence who retreated, they entred together with them into their fortifications, wherewith the Town was munited, and ſlew many of them rather in their flight than in their making reſiſtance; ſo made themſelves Maſters of that place, and quartered there. As much as the Kings men were hereby incouraged, the Rebels were as much diſcouraged;

which

which made the taking of the other Fort of *Masen*-ſluce more eaſie to the Royaliſts: and thus theſe two places fell within a few dayes into their hands, who, by ſo favourable a beginning, hoped very much in a no leſs proſperous end of the Siege. They then betook themſelves with diligence to be Maſters of all other Avenues, whereby ſuccour might be kept from the Town. The parts thereabouts (as hath been ſaid) are full of Channels and Rivers: wherefore it was thought neceſſary to block up all Paſſages with ſundry Forts, by which the City might be come to, either by land or water; ſo as ere long, there were little leſs then ſixty Forts built round about it, whereby almoſt all poſſibility of relieving it was taken away. The Leydeniſts this mean while were not wanting on their parts in preparing for defence. And judging that the Royaliſts intended rather to take the Town by Famine than by the ſword, they thought it not convenient to receive many forreign Souldiers into the City; as well the longer to preſerve their victuals, as for that they hoped they had men enough of their own to maintain and defend it.

There hapned therefore but few skirmiſhes on either ſide; though thoſe within ſallied out ſometimes to keep the Kings men as far off the City as they might, and eſpecially on thoſe ſides where they found greater diſturbance or danger by the Aſſailants approach; who amongſt the reſt had raiſed one Fort, which they called *Lammfort*, and which was neareſt *Leyden*. The *Leydeniſts* found themſelves much incommodiated by this Fort; for it troubled divers of their paſture grounds wherein they fed much Cattel, and put the City into other great ſtraits, provoked therefore by anger, and inforced by neceſſity, they ſallied out one day againſt thoſe that kept it, and aſſaulted it with ſuch reſolution, as it was long doubtful which ſide had the better: But at laſt the Royaliſts prevailed, and the Fort continued ſtill in their poſſeſſion, which they fortified better than before, that they might not any more fear the loſs thereof, nor thoſe within hope to get it. The *Leydeniſts* cooled not notwithſtanding in their making reſiſtance: But fearing by reaſon of the Royaliſts ſtill nearer approach unto the City, that they would haſten the end of the Siege alſo by an Aſſault, they omitted not to provide for all things neceſſary upon ſuch an occaſion. They wrought upon the walls night and day, the women wrought as well as the men; every one leſſened their own victuals, to furniſh the publick longer therewithal: And they encouraged each other on all ſides to maintain the defence; concluding that it was better to ſuffer any how hard conditions ſoever, and even death it ſelf, than to undergo ſuch puniſhments as they had not long before ſeen inflicted upon the *Harlemiſts*. *John Douza*, a famous Latin Poet in thoſe days, very nobly born, and of other high deſerts, had the chief government of the affairs of the City. He failed not in acting his part well; he ſtill incouraged the *Leydeniſts*, and fed them with hopes that the other Cities would ſpeedily joyn with them, and relieve them. In confirmation of this, ſometimes Letters, ſometimes Meſſuages came from without, and ſome news was cunningly raiſed within the Town it ſelf: Though it were very true, that *Orange* and the reſt of the Rebels in that Province labour'd nothing more, then how to keep a place of ſuch conſequence ſtill at their devotion. 'Twas now the month of *Auguſt*; and the *Leydeniſts* began already to ſuffer want of victuals. Therefore the States of the Country met to treat of ſo weighty a buſineſs, and to find out ſome way whereby the City might be relieved: And this affair began to be mightily canveſt. The Deputies differ'd in their opinions. Some thought that the Town might be the eaſilieſt got into by making a gallant aſſault by Land; others held, it might better be relieved by ſome River or Channel; but the greateſt part concluded that there was ſmall hopes of doing it either one way or other, the Kings men having ſo ſtrongly fortified themſelves every where. *Lewis Boiſot*, Admiral of *Holland*, chanced to be at this meeting; A man very expert in maritine affairs, of a manlike ſpirit, and good at execution; and one who was very well eſteemed of over all the Province. He, whilſt they were hotteſt in the variety of their opinions, ſtept forth to propound his, and began to ſpeak thus:

I wiſh that our own misfortunes did not too deplorably teach us, how perverſe the fury of the Sea proves ſometimes to our Countries. Who ſees not how we are daily inforced to oppoſe our induſtry to the threats thereof? Nor hath our mountainous banks been ſufficient, ſo to curb the tempeſt of her waves, but that ſometime ſhe hath ſwallowed up whole Iſlands on ſome ſides, and cauſed miſerable and unheard of ruins in other parts. We are now to ſeek for remedy in this our preſent neceſſity, from theſe evils which do ſo often afflict us. Let Nature work the ſame effect to day for our good, which ſhe uſeth upon ſo many other occaſions to do for our hurt. And by thoſe weapons wherewith ſhe makes war againſt us, let us by her example make war upon our enemies. Every one knows that at the two Equinoxials of the year, the Ocean ſwells extraordinary high upon our Coaſts; and by the ſeaſon of the year, we are ſhortly to expect the effects thereof. My Counſel ſhall therefore be, that we may immediately, at the high tides, begin to let the waters looſe into the neighbouring grounds of Leyden: *greater tides will hereafter follow. And thus, turning the ſiege upon the Beſiegers, we may hope to deſtroy our enemies within their own works, and at the ſame time to free the City from all danger. It may be thought impoſſible to relieve it by land, or by the ordinary way of channels and rivers; whereas by the way which I have preſcribed, we may believe that our enterpriſe will be*

miled on by ſucceſs. It will be in our power to let in the Inundation where we pleaſe. We ſhall ſee the enemy ſtrangely aſtoniſhed and confuſed, between the ſhame of abandoning the ſiege, and the horrour of continuing it. But being forced at laſt to fly, we ſhall ſee our own weapons, and thoſe of nature conſpire together in ſlaughtering them on all ſides; and ſhall ſee that puniſhment juſtly transfer'd on them, which they with open violence prepared for the Innocent. The Country which ſhall be drowned will doubtleſly be ſomewhat indamaged thereby; but who would not bear with ſuch an inconvenience, whereby their Country ſhall receive ſo great a benefit? On the contrary, whoſe hair will not ſtand an end to think, that after the loſs of Harlem, *and of* Leyden, *all the whole Province will ſhortly remain at the cruel will of the Spaniards? we muſt ſometimes be wicked to be good. How oft do we cut off ſome one member for the welfare and ſafeguard of the reſt of the body? yet this evil will not prove finally ſo great, but that it will in time be paid with great uſury. Some worldly actions prove ſo memorable, as they ſtrike envy dumb, and add new tongues to fame. This of ours will certainly be ſuch, and will be every where highly celebrated. I, who ſo boldly give the advice, do as confidently pronounce the augury; and hope that the event will crown both of them with fortunate ſucceſs.*

At the hearing of ſo ſtrange a propoſition, the Deputies were much confuſed, whether they ſhould accept of it, or reject it. But it is oft-times ſeen, that need paſſing into neceſſity, neceſſity paſſeth luckily into deſperation. And thus it proved in what we ſhall now relate. For all of them joyning at laſt in opinion, that *Leyden* was not to be freed by any other way, than by what *Boiſot* had propounded, 'twas reſolved, that at all adventures they would follow his advice. The Chief Banks or Ditches of the *Mauſe* and *Iſell* between *Roterdam* and *Tergowe* were preſently cut in divers places. And at the high-tide the waters began to break in every where, and overflow all the grounds, which lie between *Tergowe*, *Roterdam*, *Delf*, and *Leyden*. At the ſight of this unlookt for inundation, the Spaniards were at firſt much aſtoniſhed, but they were ſoon aware of the enemies deſign. The Kings forts were very many, as we have ſaid; and divers of them were ſeated in the loweſt places. Theſe the inundation did quickly reach, and therefore they were quickly forſaken, and thoſe, who kept them, went to joyn with thoſe that kept the chiefeſt Forts, which were ſo placed as they might be the more eaſily maintained. This mean while, when once the enemy had pitched upon the aforeſaid reſolution, they applyed themſelves apace to get together great ſtore of Veſſels, which ſhould be fitting to relieve *Leyden*. They were very careful to build them with ſhallow bottoms, to the end, that they might paſs over ſuch grounds where the waters were ſhalloweſt: the greateſt part of them were built in *Roterdam* by reaſon of the nearneſs and opportunity of its ſituation. Whole *Holland* was in great expectation what the ſucceſs would prove, and therefore people flockt from all parts to help to build boats: many of which were to be in the form of Gallies with Oars, to the end that they might the eaſilier get by the Paſſes, and aſſault the Forts, which were yet in the Royaliſts poſſeſſion. Theſe boats were therefore furniſhed with many peeces of Artillery, and ſuch people as were judged fit to fight. Whilſt they were making this preparation, the Admiral of *Holland* indeavoured with ſome ſhips prepared for that purpoſe, to force certain paſſes, and to bring ſome ſuccour into *Leyden*; for the beſieged ſuffered very much for want of Victuals, and did very earneſtly ſolicite ſuccour. But his deſign did not at that time take effect: For the waters were not yet ſo far increaſed, as that his Veſſels could come near *Leyden*. All *Holland* joyned therefore in their prayers, That the Sea might ſuddenly ſwell higher; and that the Province, by raiſing the ſiege of *Leyden* might receive ſo deſired a misfortune. On the other ſide the Kings men were not wanting in ſecuring their Forts, and repairing them with earth, hay, and whatſoever elſe they could come by of moſt commodious. And hoping that the waters would ſwell no higher, they perſwaded themſelves that they ſhould within a few dayes finiſh their buſineſs. They very well knew the Townſmens neceſſities; and that all their Victuals being already ſpent, the affairs within were drawing to great extremity. While both ſides were in theſe fears and hopes, the time came wherein Nature, by way of her hidden cauſes was likewiſe to work her effects. About the end of *September* the Sea began to ſwell exceedingly, according as ſhe uſeth to do in that ſeaſon of the year: And pouring in at the high Tides no longer Waves, but even Mountains of waters into the moſt inward Channels and Rivers made ſo great an inundation, as all the Country about *Leyden* ſeemed to be turned into a Sea. It cannot be ſaid how much the Rebels were hereby incouraged, and the Kings men diſcouraged. The former came preſently forth with their Fleet, which conſiſted of about one hundred and fifty bottoms, a great part whereof were made like Gallies; and to theſe were added many other Boats, which ſerved only to carry victuals. The vvhole Fleet vvas thus aſſembled together about the beginning of *October*, and put to vvater in good order to execute their deſigned relief: the Gallies vvent on the outſides; the other greater Veſſels, which if need ſhould be vvere to play upon the Forts, in the midſt; and thoſe vvhich bore the Victuals in the rear. But there vvas no occaſion of any great contention: For the Kings men having valiantly defended themſelves in ſundry places, conſidering that they

they vvere not novv to fight vvith men, but vvith the Elements, thought rather hovv to vvithdravv themſelves into places of ſafety, than raſhly to oppoſe the Enemy. Yet they could not forego their fortifications neither ſo ſoon, nor in ſo good order, but that many of them remained a prey, either to the ſvvord or to the water. And truely it vvas a miſerable ſpectacle to behold from all parts, one ſlain another drovvned; and many endeavour to ſave themſelves in the higheſt places, vvhere, vvhen they vvere freed from the vvaters they vvere inexorably ſlain by the Enemy. 'Tis ſaid, that above fifteen hundred of the Kings men periſht thus, and moſt of them Spaniards, as thoſe vvho vvere chiefly imployed in ordering the Siege, and vvho deſirous to bear avvay the greateſt glory, fell into the greateſt misfortune. Thus vvas *Leyden*, at laſt relieved, after five moneths ſiege to the exceeding great joy of the Rebels, and all that favoured them. But hovvſoever the memory of this ſiege remained a long time very ſorrovvful in the City: for about ten thouſand died vvithin the Tovvn, of hunger and other ſufferings; and all the moſt unclean and vileſt nouriſhment vvas already ſo conſumed when the relief vvas brought in, and the beſieged reſolving rather to die than to yield, nothing vvas expected, but that the City ſhould give up her laſt breath, and remaining a miſerable carkaſs, ſhould be buried vvithin her ovvn Walls and Houſes.

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK IX.

THE CONTENTS.

The Emperour endeavours to procure the Peace of Flanders, *and ſends an Ambaſſador to this purpoſe. The Commiſſioners for the King and for the Rebels meet, and confer at* Breda. *Difficulties met with in the Treaty, not to be overcome. The Treaty is ſoon diſſolved, and all hopes of Agreement vaniſh. Arms are reaſſumed on all ſides. The Catholicks progreſs in* Holland, *and in* Zealand, *and with what deſign. Deſcription of the Iſlands which lie on the Eaſt-ſide of* Zealand. *To take them, it is propounded to wade through a large Channel, the difficulties whereof are held very great. The Commendador reſolves to make trial, and hath happy ſucceſs therein. The King men take divers Forts.* Quirickſea *is beſieged: the Town begirt, and great reſiſtance made, but at laſt thoſe within yield. The Commendador this mean while dyes, and the Government paſſeth into the hands of the Council of State. The* Spaniards *mutiny again; who are therefore declared Rebels, and are ſet on on all ſides by the* Flemiſh. *Divers hoſtilities between them. The States cauſe the Caſtles of* Antwerp *and of* Gaunt *to be beſieged. The mutinous* Spaniards *run to relieve that of* Antwerp; *and having ſecured it, ſack the City in revenge. A General Aſſembly of the Deputies of the Catholick Provinces, and of thoſe of* Holland *and* Zealand *which are infected with Hereſie. Peace and Union inſues thereupon; and the thing chiefly reſolved on, is, that all Forreigners ſhall be expelled the Country.*

FLANDERS was thus conſumed with the flames of war, when the Emperor imployed his authority to reduce thoſe Provinces to peace. *Maximilian* the 2. was then Emperour: To boot with the common *Auſtrian* tye, he and the King of *Spain* could not be more nearly joyned in their own perſons; for the Emperors wife was Siſter to the King, and the King had taken to wife a Daughter of the Emperors. Wherefore *Cæſar* valued the Kings affairs in *Flanders* as his own. And on the other ſide, that fire ſo near *Germany*, to foment the which the Heretical Faction of the Empire had been ſo ready, kept his thoughts greatly agitated; fearing leſt the fire being redoubled by paſſing likewiſe into the German Provinces, his houſe might thereby be ſet on fire, as was the King of *Spains* in the Low-Countries. He therefore well weighing in his Council what (the condition of the affair conſidered) was beſt to be done; and having adjuſted what was moſt neceſſary for the Catholick Kings intereſt and honour, ſent an Ambaſſador to procure a Treaty concerning it in *Flanders*. This Ambaſſador was Count *Suarzemburg*; one of the ancienteſt Counts of *Germany*; and who was no leſs eſteemed of in thoſe parts for his wiſdom, then for his bloud. He came into *Holland* about the beginning of the year 1575. he ſtaid ſome days in *Dort*, whether *Orange* and ſome of the Deputies of *Holland* and of *Zealand* came to meet him. The Ambaſſador negotiated with him in particular in the name of *Cæſar*, and gave unto him a Letter from his Imperial Majeſty, wherein mingling authority with intreaties, he exhorted him to be a means of facilitating the Ambaſſadors negotiation. After this private Treaty, they came to the publick management in *Breda*, a Town ſituated upon the uttermoſt bounds of *Brabant* towards *Holland*, and therefore very fit for the intervening of the people on both ſides. *Orange* was maſter of that Town before the troubles began in *Flanders*; but being afterwards forfeited to the King, 'twas kept as one of the Kings *Garriſons*, as we ſhewed in the beginning. Here then met the Depu-

Deputies on both ſides in *March* following for the King, there was Monſieur *de Raſſenghien*, the Count *Della Rocca*, *Arnold Saſhout*, *Charls Suys*, and *Albertus Leonino*; and for the Rebels, *James Vanderdoe*, *Philip Bernice*, *Charls Boiſot*, *Arnold Dorp*, and *Junius de Guine*. And for their ſecurity whilſt they were to ſtay in a Town guarded by the Kings Forces, the Camp-maſter *Julius Romero*, and *Chriſtopher Mandragone*, together with *Mibel Cruiglias*, and *Mibel Allentor*, all four Spaniards, were committed into particular cuſtody in *Dort*, as Hoſtages. In the opening of the Treaty, the Ambaſſador in a very grave and gracious manner, exhorted the Deputies on both ſides, that they would ſet their whole minds and endeavours to procure a happy iſſue of this Treaty: and he laboured the Rebels Deputies apart, giving them a Letter which the Emperour had writ to the States of their Provinces. They then fell to Treat.

We told you in the former book, that in that Treaty of peace which was then indeavoured to be introduced, the Rebels Propoſals were chiefly reduced to two heads: The firſt, That all the Spaniards, together with all other forreign ſouldiers ſhould be made to leave the Country; and that then, the General States being aſſembled, Religion, and the Peace of the Provinces ſhould be eſtabliſhed as they ſhould think beſt.

The Rebels Commiſſioners made the ſame Propoſals at *Breda*. As for the firſt Head, the Kings Deputies anſwered,

That the Vaſſals of the ſame Prince were not to account one another ſtrangers: That indeed the Germans, French, and Engliſh were ſuch; of which the Rebels made uſe; and that notwithſtanding as ſoon as Flanders *ſhould be reduced to peace, the King would forthwith cauſe the Spaniards, and all thoſe others that they called forreigners to leave the Country. As for the convocation of the States General, they anſwered, That the whole body of the Provinces, which by the troubles of War were now ſo divided, was likewiſe firſt to be re-united by peace. Which being done, the King would willingly and ſuddenly call ſuch an Aſſembly, would hear their opinions, and would agree unto whatſoever they ſhould think fitting. After this, the Kings Deputies fell to propound ſuch conditions, as they thought fitteſt to affect the deſired concord. Which were theſe. That in the firſt place, all paſt offences ſhould for ever be forgotten: That the revolted Cities and Towns ſhould be reſtored to their Priviledges; and every other perſon to their former Honours and poſſeſſions. That all the Towns, Cities, ſtrong Holds, Artillery, Warlike Ammunition, and Arms which were now in the Rebels poſſeſſion, ſhould return into the Kings hands. That the Catholick Religion ſhould be reſtored in all places, without the permitting of any other Sect. That notwithſtanding the King would out of his clemency and goodneſs, permit all thoſe that had followed Hereſie, to go freely out of the Country, and would allow them time to ſell ſuch goods as they could not carry with them.*

All buſineſs between the Commiſſioners, was tranſacted in writing: The Rebels Commiſſioners having ſeen the Propoſitions propoſed by the Kings ſide; anſwered fully on their behalfs; but in ſo bitter words, and in ſo contrary a ſenſe, as it was eaſie to be ſeen, how little hope there was of bringing the begun negotiation to a happy iſſue. The Papers which were propounded were very prolix; and therefore to avoid tediouſneſs, we will give you here only a breviate of them. The Rebels Deputies, in their anſwers, made firſt rather a long Invective, than any complaint againſt the Spaniards; exagerating that they had been the chief cauſe of all the evils that had befaln thoſe Provinces. Then reaſſuming the head concerning forreigners, they repeated the ſame things over again more at large. They ſaid,

That the Spaniards, and all the reſt which were not native Flemiſh, were not (as ſtrangers) any ways to participate of that Government. That thoſe forreigners which they on their ſides were forced to make uſe of, were meer mercenaries. But that the Spaniards contrary to the immunities and priviledges of the Provinces, were by violence brought thither, and there by violence eſtabliſhed. That the Government of Cities, keeping of Forts, chief Commands in the Army, were in their hands: And that it was they, who, according to their arbitrary will, gave now the Laws. That if the King when he went from Flanders *was pleaſed to take away thoſe who were then there, he ought much more be induced to do the like now, when it was ſeen by evident proofs, how prejudicial their ſtay there was.*

Touching the Convocation of the States General, they ſtood ſtiff to their firſt Principles. Saying.

That in making ſuch a peace as might be beſt for Flanders, *the King could not be better adviſed then by thoſe who were beſt acquainted with her malladies, and who knew beſt what were the fitteſt remedies for her cure: wherefore recourſe muſt needs be had to that Aſſembly. For what remained, they ſaid, That they would never relinquiſh thoſe Cities, ſtrong Holds, Munitions, and Arms, wherein their ſafety did conſiſt, till they ſaw a ſetled peace in the form by them propoſed. That they held their reformed Religion to be good, and that they would not for ſuch an occaſion abandon their Goods, Parents, and Country, nor leave the two Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand *made deſolate by the excluding from thence ſo many who profeſt the ſame Religion, which would redound very much to the Kings diſſervice, by his loſing ſo many Subjects, and by the too much impoveriſhing of both the Provinces in the leſſening of their Commerce and Merchandiſe.*

The Kings Commiſſioners ſaw very well by this opiniatracy of the adverſe party, that no reply which they could make would be to any purpoſe. Yet more to juſtifie the King in his proceedings,

ceedings, then out of any hope of good ſucceſs, they reſolved to preſent another paper, whereby to confute the oppoſitions made by the contrary party. They ſaid,

That to ſpeak in that manner againſt the Spaniards, and the reſt of the Kings ſubjects, ſhewed they had no mind to a reconciliation, but that they were ſtill more radicated in their enmity. And yet the end of this Treaty was only to take away all miſ-underſtanding, and to eſtabliſh peace and concord. That they again replyed, when peace ſhould be once made, the King would not ſtick at removing the Spaniards, and all thoſe that they termed ſtrangers, out of thoſe Countries. That to do this before, were for the King to lay down his arms before his time, contrary to his dignity, contrary to all reaſon of war, and contrary to all right of juſtice. That as the King did not pretend this at firſt in reſpect of thoſe men who did ſerve the Rebels, and who were indeed all of them ſtrangers; ſo when peace ſhould be made, he would on his part agree that all that ſort of ſouldery ſhould depart the Country. As for the aſſembling of the States General, they ſhewed how that it would require too long time, and that the Treaty being to paſs through their hands, would cauſe a much longer expence of time. That ſuch Treaties were never known to be handled by the States General. That this would be to make the Subjects authority greater than the Kings, and to make them the Law-givers, whereas they were with all moderation to receive them. That therefore when the peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed, the King would ſuddenly call the States: And in the re-ordering the affairs of Flanders, *would follow whatſoever was convenient, and which had been formerly practiſed by his predeceſſors, thoſe Counſels and Records which upon like occaſion, ſhould be given him by them. Concerning the reſtitution of Towns, Munitions and Arms, they ſaid that no more reaſonable demand could be made: That in all reaſon, when the alienated Provinces ſhould return to the Kings obedience, The Towns and Arms thereof ſhould likewiſe return into his hands as formerly: That this was practiſed in the making of every Peace between Prince and Prince; then much more ought it to be ſo between Princes and Subjects. Touching the point of Religion, they replyed again, That the King would not in any the leaſt degree alter his reſolution taken therein, and which they had declared; That to change Religion was not in the power of Princes, much leſs of Subjects: That the Apoſtolick Roman Religion had for ſo many Ages, and with ſo much piety been the only Faith profeſt in* Flanders: *That at the Kings taking poſſeſſion of thoſe Provinces, the King and People had reciprocally ſworn to defend and preſerve that alone: That by the departure of thoſe that were infected with Hereſie,* Holland *and* Zealand *would not ſuffer any conſiderable diminution of people, much leſs would they be left deſolate, for they were not ſo many; nay, if the Heretick Preachers were driven from thence, who had brought with them, and upheld that infection, the Catholick Religion would ſoon return to flouriſh there again; That notwithſtanding the King would ſuffer ſuch as would continue pertinaciouſly in their Sects, to tranſport their goods in form aforeſaid. And to be ſure that whatſoever was promiſed ſhould be performed, the King would to that purpoſe pledge his Royal Faith in the moſt ample manner, and would thereunto add (if the adverſe party ſhould ſo require) the like of the Emperor, by whoſe authority, through his expreſs Ambaſſador, this Treaty which was now in hand was introduced.*

When this Paper, which was very long, and ſpoke home, was preſented by the Kings ſide, the adverſe part took time to anſwer, ſhewing that they muſt fully communicate the whole to the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and therefore they their Commiſſioners were inforced to go themſelves in perſon into thoſe parts. Count *Suarzemburgh* endeavoured very much to keep them from going from the Conference, fearing (as indeed it fell out) that the Treaty, if once interrupted, would hardly ever be reaſſumed. But they would by no means be perſwaded, and therefore at the ſame time the Hoſtages were ſet at liberty. It was a good while ere the Anſwer came: which was at laſt ſent in a long paper; and repeating the ſame things yet more bitterly againſt the *Spaniards*, and againſt the Kings demands, did conclude,

That they ſtood firm to the Conditions propounded by them concerning Peace; that they thought them altogether neceſſary, and that they would never accept of any other Accommodation.

When this Anſwer was made known to the Ambaſſador and the Kings Commiſſioners, the Treaty forthwith broke, and the Ambaſſador ſoon after returned for *Germany*. In fine, the buſineſs between the King and the Rebels was grown to too great a diffidence. The publick Faith is ſufficient between King and King; and to this Tribunal it is that recourſe is had for Juſtice in differences which ariſe betwixt them: But the Rebels more conſidered the Kings forces then his Faith; for the Treaty being betwixt Prince and Subjects, they were ſtill afraid, and therefore demanded ſuch terms for their ſecurity, which they neither ought to ask, nor the King to give. The Prince of *Orange* was ſole Arbitror and Moderator of whatſoever was treated of by the Rebels; and 'twas he who fill'd them with ſo continual ſuſpitions. It was every day more clearly ſeen, that amidſt the revolutions of the Country, he hoped to reap good advantage for himſelf; and therefore he choſe rather to hazard the Common intereſt in Wars, then to ſee his own deſigns quite overthrown by Peace and quiet. Nor did the Heretical Faction in *Germany*, *France* and *England*, for the conformity of their ends, deſire the continuance of the troubles in the Low-Countries leſs than he. 'Tis therefore not to be imagined with how much induſtry all thoſe of that party did ſtrive to hinder the proceedings of that accommodation which was introduced by *Cæſars* means; and how much afterwards they laboured to make

the

the Ambaſſadors endeavours ſubject to ſuſpition, and much more the like of the Kings Commiſſioners, to overcome the difficulties which aroſe.

The Treaty of Peace being thus vaniſht, all ſides fell eagerly again to the reaſſuming of war. The Commendador, having miſcarried in his deſign upon *Leyden*, made all the Kings men that were at the Siege tarry in *Holland*. It was clearly ſeen, that his intentions were totally to ſubdue that Province, and to ſet himſelf with all his might againſt the other of *Zealand*, that he might get that opportunity of reception which was neceſſary for the ſhips of *Spain*; towards which the Sea of *Zealand* opens, and affords the beſt Havens that are to be deſired in all the maritine coaſt of the Low-Countries. *Egidius di Barlemonte*, Lord of *Hierges*, was Governour of *Holland*; a man of known Zeal to the Kings ſervice, and of approved skill in military profeſſion. The Commendador commanded him to gather together as many of the Kings men as were in that Province, and to execute thoſe Orders he ſhould receive. The firſt was, to take the Town of *Buren* from the Rebels. *Hierges* prepared therefore for this deſign: And that he might the ſooner ſucceed therein, he ſeemed as if he marched elſwhere, and afterwards bent ſuddenly thitherward. The Town belonged to *Orange*, and he poſſeſt it in right of his firſt wifes portion, who was daughter and heir to *Maximilian Egemont* Count of *Buren*. This place lies very opportunely to moleſt *Brabant* and *Gbelderland*; and to this end *Orange* had furniſht it with men, who making incurſions into all thoſe Confines, hindred much proviſion, which was brought from thoſe two Provinces to the Kings Camp in *Holland*. For what remains, the Town is ſeated upon a mean River, built about with an ancient Wall, and without any Bulwark; it hath an ancient Caſtle; the greateſt ſtrength which they within had, was a large and deep Ditch. *Hierges* coming thither unexpectedly, threatned the Townſmen with all ſevere hoſtility, if they did not immediately ſurrender the Town. He had with him about 6000 Foot and 400 Horſe, all choice men, and long trained up in diſcipline. They within ſeemed little to fear the threats from without; but their actions did not correſpond: For *Hierges* having made a great Battery, and in deſpight of them thrown a bridge over the Ditch, did with his men aſſault the Town ſo furiouſly, as the Defendants thinking rather how to ſave themſelves, than how to fight, retreated into the Caſtle, where neither did they make any greater reſiſtance. *Hierges* encouraged by his firſt ſucceſs, redoubled his former threats: whereupon the Defendants courage failing them, they quickly articled to ſurrender, contenting themſelves baſely with the bare ſafeguard of their lives, and came forth without either Arms or Colours. The Caſtle and Town were both of them ſackt; and *Hierges* preſently went from thence, having firſt ſecured the Town. He from this Angle re-entred the Province; and receiving a new recruit of *Germans* and *Walloons*, beſieged the Town of *Oudwater*: A place conſiderable in it ſelf, and much more for the way it made for the taking of others of greater importance. The *Iſel* runs on the one ſide, and it is incompaſſed every where elſe with a great Ditch; and the ground all about it is ſo low and ſpongie, as there is no coming to the Town but upon Banks, nor any getting in but by Channels. This kind of ſituation made the Siege more difficult; for the place was of it ſelf weak, and had no ſtrong works. The Kings Army lay chiefly upon the banks, and their greateſt battery was placed upon one of the greateſt of them, which for want of earth was inlarged by a great maſs of old Nets, with flax and hemp, with which the Country thereabouts doth infinitely abound, and with the ſame materials they provided to paſs over the Ditch. Thoſe of the Town ſeemed very reſolute to defend themſelves; and making neceſſity yield to induſtry, they likewiſe in ſtead of Rampiers had fortified their wals where it was moſt needful with ſuch like materials as the beſiegers had made uſe of. The Townſmen had received a recruit of a good many *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, and *Orange* promiſed them to ſend another ſuccour ſpeedily. Here began the oppugning and the defence, which continued not long: Thoſe within having at firſt made ſome reſiſtance againſt the batteries, the Kings men return'd with ſuch fury again to the aſſault, and mixing themſelves with the defendants in the breach, they entered together with them into the Town, and putting all to fire and ſword, they in a ſhort time did quite deſtroy it, and laid it deſolate; nor did *Hierges* any wayes hinder his Souldiers heat. He went immediately from this Siege to another, and ſate down before *Sconoven*, a little Town, but conſiderable, and not above a league from *Oudwater*. Theſe two Towns are ſituated much alike, *Schonoven* ſtands upon the *Lech*, and is ſurrounded on every ſide with mire and water; it hath a large Ditch about it; and ſome Companies of *Dutch* and *French* were entred thereinto. But the Townſmen, deſirous rather to return to the Kings obedience, then to remain under that of the Rebels, inſtead of incouraging, diſcouraged thoſe that were come from without. *Orange* therefore laboured, to ſend a good ſuccour thither by the river, it being then a very high tide. Which danger *Hierges* being willing to prevent, he croſſed the river over where he thought the greateſt danger lay, with a bridge of great boats, and munited them on the ſame ſide with pieces of maſts, ſo faſtned together as they might be an obſtacle to the enemies ſhips if they ſhould ſet upon the bridg on that ſide. This being done, he placed his Battery on the higheſt part, and began to play upon the Town. The Townſmen murmured againſt the Garriſon, fearing their Town would fare like *Oud-*

water : which *Orange* being advertised of, he resolved to send three ships laden with men, Artillery, and other provisions to relieve and succour the besieged. They were led on by the Master of the French Guard, who was mightily favoured by the flowing tide. The Kings men discovering the design, ran from all parts to the banks to frustrate the effect. Here began a fierce bickering ; for the guns playing from all sides, and each side endeavouring to overcome the other, many fell on both parts, and the victory was a good while doubtful. But fortune seemed at last as if she would make the successes equal. The enemies ships broke the bridg, and the master of the Guard passed over it with his ship, fighting still courageously ; but the other two were lost, and the bridge suddenly made up again : so the Town was more narrowly besieged than before. Here *Hierges* renewed his Batteries, and threw down above three hundred yards of wall ; whereat those within being still more terrified ; and the garison fearing more the Townsmen threats then those of the Kings men, a Parly was soon had, and the Town was surrendred with good conditions to the Inhabitants, and with safety of persons and goods to the souldiers. *Oudwater* and *Scown* being taken, *Hierges* quickly took two Forts upon a point of land called *Crimpen* : which being surrendred, and the parts thereabouts munited, *Hierges* returned to *Utricht*, expecting new Commissions from *Rechesens*. At this same time *Christopher Mandragone* made another considerable atchievement in *Holland*, on another side towards *Brabant*, where the *Mause* doth most inlarge it self, and joyns with many other rivers, all of them falling soon after into the sea. Amongst divers little Islands which lie on the West side, there is one of a very narrow compass, but considerable for its situation, called *Finaert* : here the enemy had fortified themselves and had there some ships for their safety and guard. This Island is parted from *Brabant*, by a Channel not above three quarters of a mile over. *Mandragone* caused diligent search to be made for a Ford over it, at a low sea ; and found that with some hazard it might be past over. He was not troubled, but rather incouraged at the danger, which was no new thing to him, who had overcome a much greater in his so famous relieving of *Tergoes*. He chose a thousand Walloons out of his Regiment, and 300 Spaniards ; and furnishing every souldier just as he had done at the aforesaid relief, they marched very secretly to the Channel, that they might take the enemy at unawares, and effect the passage the more easily. Nor was he deceived in his design. Steping himself first into the water, he met with no difficulty save in passing through it : for the enemies being of themselves very weak, and greatly disheartned by this sudden success, withdrew their ships, and not making any resistance, abandoned the place, studying only how to save themselves. These were the proceedings of the Kings Forces then in *Holland* : but there was no less need of them in *Zealand*. The King, amongst other resolutions, intended to send a great Fleet suddenly into *Flanders*, which was to this end preparing in *Spain* : knowing too well what advantage the Rebels had over him in their Flemish ships. And considering likewise very well, that as their Rebellion was chiefly begun, and continued by sea, so must it likewise by the same way be allay'd and extinguished. He had therefore straitly commanded the Commendador, that he should by all means indeavour to get footing in *Zealand*, as the place fittest for receiving aid by sea from *Spain*. Wherefore *Rechesens* without any delay apply'd himself thereunto. He sent word to *Hierges* that he should forbear indeavouring any thing more in *Holland* ; and that detaining only so many souldiers as were requisite for those parts, he should send the rest into *Brabant*. He himself was this mean while gone, together with the Marquis *Vitelli* and other Spanish Commanders to *Antwerp*, and had there with all diligence prepared a Fleet of divers ships, which might serve for the several Channels and Gulfs, which do on so many parts divide, and surround *Zealand*. Many were likewise prepared to serve with Oars, and in the shape of small Gallies, to the end that the speed of the fleetest, might supply the slowness of the more sluggish. Hereupon they began better to consider upon what was to be done. The two abovesaid places which *Mandragone* had so luckily taken, made them believe that they might have the same success in the other channels and Gulfs of *Zealand*. To this purpose some places were observed by experienced personages, which were herein most hopeful. In the East side of *Zealand*, many Islands lie upon the sea, one in pursuit of another, which are distinguished by divers channels, and lie at several distances one from another. But three of these are the chiefest : that of *Tolen*, which is the first that is severed from the Continent ; that of *Dwellant*, which lies next it ; and the last called *Scown*. Other little Islands lie near to these, which are almost nameless, as being almost unhusbanded. The least of these is called *Fileslant*, which stands on the left side of *Tolen*, towards *Scown*. The Island of *Tolen*, as likewise that of *Zuitbeveland*, by the succour which was given to *Tergoes*, were yet in the Kings possession ; and therefore the Spaniards desired to get the other two, *Scown* and *Dwellant*, out of hopes that they might afterwards easilyer come by that of *Walcherin*, which is the greatest Island of all *Zealand*, and wherein stands *Midleburg* and *Flushing*, the most important places of the Province, and which lie neareſt *Spain*. By these successes the whole Province would fall into the Kings hands ; and he would likewise the sooner have got all that maritine Tract ; especially by those aids which were the mean time

to

to be ſent from *Spain* to *Flanders*. The fleet which the Commendador had got together, was not thought ſufficient to take the two aforeſaid Eaſtern Iſlands, becauſe the enemies forces in that part were much greater. There was then no hope left but to wade over ſome of thoſe waters at the low ebb, and by that way to get footing on land: and it was affirmed by divers well experienced people, that from the Iſland of *Filiſlant*, the channel which runs from thence to *Dwellant*, being about four miles over, might be waded through. The Commendador and all the reſt of his Council of War, were greatly perplext what to reſolve upon in this point. They doubted leſt the enemy might already have dived into this deſign; for their Navy was mightily increaſed, and eſpecially in little barks, that they might the better (as it was gueſt) approach the Kings men, and offend them if they ſhould at any time venture to wade over any of the aforeſaid channels. The Council differed therefore in their opinions touching this. The Propoſal by one ſide was withſtood; alleadging,

'That the Enterpriſe was now to be eſteemed quite another thing from what thoſe other 'two were which *Mandragone* had been ſo fortunate in. That in that which was the chiefeſt, 'the relief of *Tergoes*, the waters were principally to be fought with, and the victory lay in every 'ſouldiers overcoming himſelf by bearing the trouble of ſo large a paſſage. But that in do-'ing it they had not been withſtood by any adverſe Fleet, by any Artillery which might thun-'der upon them from afar off; by any musket, nor other weapons which might wound 'them near hand. That the beſiegers being taken at unawares, fled ſuddenly of their own ac-'cord: And in brief, that that buſineſs being well weighed, very much of it was certainly to be 'aſcribed to valour, but no leſs alſo to Fortune. That now they were to meet with a channel 'of almoſt the ſame breadth, where in the way was alike blind, and the dangers of the voyage 'no leſs uncertain; to which if you will add the oppoſite Fleet, as our men ſhall be on their 'paſſage, and armed enemies to entertain them at their coming to land, how could ſuch 'an undertaking he thought feaſable? That unfortunate events follow unfortunate advices, 'That then 'twere better to take ſome other courſe; and that the beſt would be, to expect till the 'maritine forces, which were preparing in *Spain*, were come. The which when they ſhould be 'joyned to thoſe of *Flanders*, the buſineſs, though it might be ſomewhat ſlower, would 'certainly be more ſecure.

But on the other ſide, many of the chief Commanders were altogether for trying the new paſſage; ſaying,

'That give the ſafety of the paſſage for granted, there was little elſe to be doubted. That 'the more to facilitate the ſucceſs, they were to chuſe the quieteſt hours of night, under a faith-'ful Guide well practiſed therein. What damage was to be feared in the dark from raſh and 'blind ſhooting? That the difficulty would reſt in coming to land, wherein the Kings mens 'greateſt danger lay, and the Enemies greateſt advantage. That notwithſtanding when they 'ſhould be brought face to face, why ſhould not the like ſucceſs be looked for from them 'both? The Kings men, according to their wonted reſolution, would aſſuredly either overcome 'or dye; eſpecially when they ſhould know they had no third choice to make, having the Enemy 'on their face, and upon their backs ſo great a water. But on the contray, the Enemies, who 'were for the moſt part mercenary, cowardly-minded, and greater cowards of their hands, 'thinking rather how to flie then how to fight, would long for nothing more then to 'forſake the firm land, and to retire into their cloſe holes. When they ſhould have fearfully 'abandoned the open fields. That this mean while the Fleet would play her part, and land-'ing the men by another way, who were deſtin'd to the enterpriſe, they could meet with no 'other diſturbance. That when they ſhould have got good footing thus in *Zealand*, the ma-'ritine Forces, which were to be ſent from *Spain*, would have the eaſier entrance; that this 'muſt needs precede that, and the one be guided by the other. That fortune did for the moſt 'part rather favour bold reſolutions, then ſuch as were too cautelous. And ſo it was to be hoped 'for now: The rather, for that her favour would be accompanied with the juſtice of the Kings 'forces tending to ſo good an end, and by the Souldiers valour in making uſe of them upon ſo 'worthy an occaſion.

'Twas evidently ſeen, that to make this paſſage would prove very dangerous; yet the Commendador, after having been again well aſſured of the ford, reſolved to try it; being very deſirous, and alſo full of hopes to get the aforeſaid Eaſtern Iſlands, and eſpecially that of *Scowin* which lay neareſt the Sea; which was very conſiderable in it ſelf, and very proper to ſecure thoſe ſhips the better which were ſhortly expected from *Spain*. Within it is the Town of *Zarickzee*, the greateſt Town in all thoſe Eaſtern Iſlands, and where the Commendador chiefly intended to eſtabliſh the Kings Forces on that ſide. He then without delay put 3000 Souldiers into the Iſland of *Tolen* which lies neareſt *Brabant*, as hath been ſaid, and compoſed them of Spaniards, Dutch, and Walloons in equal numbers; and went himſelf thither afterwards, the more to encourage the expedition by his preſence. He made *Sancio d' Avila* Admiral of the Navy which was aſſembled thereabouts, and reſolved to imbarque half his men in it, which

when they ſhould be landed were to be commanded by *Chriſtopher Mandragone*. The other half, compoſed likewiſe equally of the aboveſaid three Nations, were deſtin'd for the paſſage which was to be taken from the furthermoſt point of *Filiſlant*, where the Channel was broadeſt: For there at the low ebb the ground was higheſt; ſo as though the paſſage were the longer, it was the more eaſie. With the 1500 Foot were 200 Pioneers, to the end that thoſe together with theſe might the ſooner fortifie themſelves when they ſhould come to land. They imbarked all of them firſt in the Iſland of *Tolen*, that afterwards they might divide themſelves in *Filiſlant* in ſuch order as hath been ſaid. At their imbarking the Commendador preſented himſelf before the Souldiers, and eſpecially before thoſe who were to wade over the Channel? and in a grave manner did thus encourage them. He ſaid,

That the hardeſt enterpriſes were moſt familiar to them: that many of theſe very men had been in the two precedent actions; that therefore they went to dangers which they had formerly experienced: that they ſhould remember this was the ſame cauſe, that they ſerved the ſame King, and that they were to meet with the ſame enemies: that therefore they could not doubt but that they were to be ſeconded by Divine favour, by Princely reward, and by that advantage which they had always had over thoſe who were Rebels to the Church and King. That they were ſuch againſt whom they now were to fight: that the Forreigners who were joyned with them, were of more mercenary ſouls than hands; ſo as all inſtigation to fight ceaſing in them, they would ſtrive who ſhould run faſteſt away.

At theſe words they all chearfully imbarked themſelves, that were to tarry in the ſhips, and the reſt went in little Boats to the Iſland of *Filiſlant*. Here the Fleet ſtaid, till the reſt had paſſed over the Channel. *John Oſorio d' Ulon*, a Spaniard, one of the valianteſt Captains of that Nation, and one who of all the reſt did moſt counſel that enterpriſe, led on the men, and would himſelf make the paſſage. They waited the coming of the night, which was *Michaelmas*-Eve: and upon the beginning of the ebb, *Oſorio* entered the water the very next after the Guides, and was followed firſt by the *Spaniards*, next by the *Dutch*, and then the *Walloons*; after them came the Pioneers; and Captain *Paralta*, a Spaniard, cloſed up the Files with a Company of the ſame Nation. The Files conſiſted not of above two or three Souldiers at the moſt a breaſt; to the end that being ſo ſtrait or narrow, and walking upon the higheſt ſhelves, the Adverſaries might have the greater difficulty in encountring them, and hindring their paſſage. The Enemy ſtood this mean while upon their watch, having already clearly pry'd into the *Spaniards* deſign. Wherefore when they knew they had begun to wade, they ordered their Boats likewiſe in long Files, eſpecially the leaſt, both on the one and the other part againſt the *Spaniards* Flank; they then begun to play upon them a good diſtance off with their Artillery, and nearer hand with their Muskets, but did them but little hurt, by reaſon of the obſcurity of the night. The ſucceſs altered with the change of the Tide: the Enemies Boats were not able to come near the Spaniards whileſt the Ebb was low; but when the Flood began, and that as the Tide riſe, the Enemies Boats drew nearer, the Kings men were then divers times in great ſtraits; for they were at one and the ſame time to haſten their paſſage, to keep their Files in order, to contend againſt and to overcome the waters, and chiefly to reſiſt the Enemies aſſaults, who were not content to gaul them with their Muskets and Harquebuſes, but they annoyed them nearer hand with Iron-hooks, and ſtruck and moleſted them with other inſtruments which they had provided for that purpoſe; endeavouring by all means poſſible to hinder, at leaſt to diſorder their paſſage. Yet the Kings mens courage increaſing as did their danger, they marched on in good order, and made reſiſtance, at the ſame time turning their Pikes upon the aſſailants, and ſhewing moſt courage where moſt danger lay. Indeed the Night made very much for them; for the Enemy could go but blindly to work, and with great diſorder in the dark; which made them guide all their actions more by chance then by advice. The Kings men then, having ſtill kept their order, and made manful reſiſtance where it was needful, paſt over the Channel in ſuch a ſpace of time, as they were not to receive any other diſturbances neither from the increaſing of the Tide, nor from the Enemies Barks. Having eſcaped this danger, they thought to have met with a much greater in getting to land: For the Enemies, who were all of them almoſt Mercenaries, and of the aforeſaid Nations ſtood upon the ſhore ready to oppoſe them. But ſcarcely ſtaying the firſt aſſault made by the Royaliſts, they baſely ran away, and ſhamefully forſaking the ſhore retreated to ſome parts more inward in the Iſland, where ſome of them had fortified themſelves. Yet this action of the Royaliſts was accompanied with ſome misfortune; for the Pioneers being overtaken with the Tide, not being able to go further on, nor yet to go back time enough, were almoſt all of them drowned: And for the ſame reaſon Captain *Paralta* with his Spaniſh Company could not enjoy the commodity of the paſſage, but was forced to return to the Navy. Of the reſt who made the paſſage, Captain *Iſador Pacecco* was ſlain, together with ſome Souldiers of leſſer account; and ſome other that were wounded periſht in the water. For what remains, the Enterpriſe, all the circumſtances conſidered, was certainly one of the moſt memorable that ever the war of *Flanders* produced; and ſuch a one as deſerved indeed rather to have been beheld by day-light, then to have the

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luſtre thereof loſt by the obſcurity of the night. *John Rivas*, a Spaniard, who in the time of our being in *Flanders* was Governour of the Caſtle and Citadel of *Cambray*, was in this action of *Zurickzee*, as alſo in that other of *Tergoes*, as we touched upon in that place. He hath not only often related both theſe paſſages to me, but comparing them together, he concluded, that in his opinion that of *Tergoes* was in one conſideration more to be preferr'd, as being a novelty never before tryed; and this laſt in another reſpect, as having met with much greater difficulties. When the Kings men were paſt over, they forthwith gave the appointed ſign to their ſhips, which without any conſiderable oppoſition put alſo to ſhore: and the men being landed went preſently to joyn with the reſt, and without any difficulty drive the Enemy out of the whole Iſland of *Dwellant*. The Channel which divides this from the other Iſland of *Scown*, was yet to be waded over, where their chief intention of getting footing was, that they might come by *Zurickzee*. That Channel is almoſt a league over, and therefore required new reſolutions and courage for the paſſing through it, eſpecially for that the Enemy ſtood on the contrary bank in a poſture of oppoſition. *Mandragone* would needs make one here, as alſo *Sancio d' Avila*, who was with him. Whereupon the Royaliſts being incouraged by the example of two ſuch Commanders, with their wonted daring overcame all the difficulties of the paſſage; and the Enemy in their endeavouring to withſtand them, ſhewed likewiſe their accuſtomed cowardlineſs. Running baſely away they retired to *Zurickzee*, and there joyned with the Townſmen to ſuſtain the Siege which they expected. The Town of *Zurickzee* ſtands not far from the aforeſaid Channel which divides the Iſland of *Scown* from the other of *Dwellant*. On that ſide, a leſſer Channel cut by hand enters into the greater, and ſo the Town enjoyes the Sea as it were within its own boſom. The ground about it is very low; and by the cutting of ſome banks, it may eaſily be overflown on all ſides: the walls thereof are but weak, and the Ditch very ordinary. The Inhabitants hoped much in the relief which *Orange* had promiſed them, as alſo in that which they expected from the ſeaſon of the year; which drawing towards winter, made them believe that the Royaliſts would not be well able to bear with the bitterneſs thereof. The enemy had fortified themſelves in three other places upon the ſhore-ſide; and on the North, in the Village of *Brouverſaven* and *Bommene*, in each of which there was a commodious Haven; and on the South, upon a certain point of land which lies between the Village of *Borendam* and the Town of *Zurickzee*. The Kings men would firſt make themſelves maſters of theſe Forts. They found no reſiſtance in that of *Brouverſaven*; from whence they went to the other upon the aforeſaid point of land: and falling to the Aſſault more out of eagerneſs then good advice, they loſt 60. Spaniards, amongſt which Captain *Paralta* was ſlain; and ſome other Dutch and Walloons. Irritated therefore by Anger, and no leſs by ſhame, they prepared to make a more orderly aſſault. But the Defendants not ſtaying for it, forſook the Fort; and ſetting it on fire, went to *Zurickzee*. *Bommene* yet remained, which was the beſt munited, and according to appearance ought to have been the beſt guarded. Captain *Lye*, a French-man, a ſtout ſouldier, commanded within: He had with him the Flower of all the Forreigners, who all of them ſhewed equal reſolution with him to defend themſelves, and to recover the honor loſt in the laſt actions. The Fort was inexpugnable at high Sea, becauſe the Sea-water came then into the Ditch, and likewiſe then into a Channel which cut through a good part of the Fort on the other ſide: ſo as at that time the enemies ſhips might both greatly aſſiſt thoſe within, and moleſt as much thoſe without. When the Kings men came near it, they advanced with their Trenches, and ſet up a great Battery near unto it, from whence they plaid for two whole dayes againſt the Fort: Then at the next Ebb they made a fierce aſſault, which the beſieged did as couragiouſly withſtand, and made the oppugners retreat at laſt with much loſs; for above 150 of them were ſlain, and twice as many hurt. The Kings men, angry to be beaten back with ſo great a loſs, reſolved to fall upon the Fort the next day on ſundry parts at once: but the like reſolution was found in the aſſailed as was in the aſſailants, both of them reſolving either to die or to overcome. The Kings men at the Ebb ſet upon the Fort in divers parts; and thoſe within, running to all places, and ſhewing much undauntedneſs, were not wanting in defending themſelves manfully on all ſides. Equal fear and hope did both encourage and diſcourage both of them, but with contrary effects: the Royaliſts feared the coming of the new tide, and hoped to force the Fort firſt; the Defendants on the contrary hoped to defend themſelves till the tide ſhould come, and feared to be firſt forced by the Royaliſts. Wherefore the conflict proved exceeding bloody, great numbers falling on both ſides, and worth and fortune varying the ſucceſs a long time. They fought thus for ſix hours together; when the Kings men perceived that the Tide began to come, which brought them to their laſt endeavours; which was ſuch, as thoſe within not being able longer to hold out, were forced to give back, whilſt they ſtill defended themſelves valiantly, till they were in ſo doing all cut in pieces: there were ſlain about 200 of the Kings men, and the number of the wounded was much greater. The chief of each Nation wan much renown in this conflict: and amongſt other *Italians*, the two Brothers of *Monte*, Nephews to the Marquis of *Vitelli*, *Raphael Barberino* and *Curtio Martinengo*; each of which playing the part of a

Common-Souldier, expoſed themſelves to each common danger. After the reducing of the Forts, the whole body of the Kings forces betook themſelves to do the like to the Town of *Zurickzee:* the greateſt difficulty lay in bereaving them of the ſuccour which might be brought by the aboveſaid greater Channel, and by the leſſer which comes (as we have ſaid) into the Town. *Signor di Dorp* was the Governour thereof; a vigilant and ſtout man. For the better ſecuring of the concourſe of the leſſer Channel with the greater, he had fortified the banks thereof on both ſides to, where it joyned with the other; he likewiſe from the very firſt cauſed all the fields round about to be overflown. So as the Kings men had no hopes of taking the Town by the wonted way of Trenches, Batteries, and Aſſaults. Succour was eaſily conveyed thereinto; nor was the Kings Fleet, though diſpoſed of in the moſt convenient places, and aſſiſted by the Boats made like Gallies, able to hinder them. Wherefore the Siege drew on in length, and the cold weather was already come; yet was it ſo favourable this year, as it did never hinder the paſſage of the Boats upon thoſe Channels. The chief care of the Siege lay upon *Mandragone*, who was not wanting in uſing all means poſſible to ſhut up all paſſages whereby relief might be brought to the Town. He planted a great Paliſado at the mouth of the leſſer Channel, and placed ſome big Barks there to hinder the entrance. But to work in that place, coſt both time and blood: for Musket ſhot hail'd down continually from the fortified banks, and much harm was done likewiſe by the Artillery. Two little Iſlands of very ſmall circuit lay on that ſide at the entry of the greater Channel, the on near the other. Towards that which lay moſt inward, and where the Channel grew narrower, *Mandragone* cauſed alſo another Paliſado to be planted on both ſides, and ſought to block up the paſſage on that ſide alſo by great chains of iron. He likewiſe raiſed a Fort upon the Bank neer *Doveland*, the more to hinder that ſuccour. And laſtly he reſolved to incloſe the two fortified Banks of the Channel which leads to the Town, planting a Fort upon both ſides of the chief Bank, the better to impede all entrance on that ſide. *Raphael Barberino* was author of this laſt advice, which proved to very good purpoſe. The Marquis *Vitelli* held particular correſpondency with him; who not being able to be himſelf in perſon at that enterpriſe, he repoſed very much upon *Raphael* in all the moſt weighty affairs both by ſea and land.

The enemy were brought thus every day into greater ſtreight; yet their vigilancy ſtill increaſing, they provided for ſuccour one way or other, ſo as the Kings forces were not able to diſturb them. Count *Hollac* brought in a very conſiderable ſuccour in the beginning of *February*. But *Mandragone* did ſo ſecure the Traverſe which lay at the mouth of the Channel which leads to the City, and did ſo vvell ſhut up that paſſage on all ſides, as the Enemy could come to the Tovvn no more by that vvay. They had cut many gaps in the chief Bank, as hath been ſaid, to overflovv the ground about the town, the largeſt part whereof was toward the village *Dreiſcher*, lying in the midſt of the Channel. The Enemy endeavoured to enter into the little Iſland by this gap, and ſo into the Town; from whence divers little Boats were to be ſent out the better to receive ſuch proviſions as ſhould be brought, which could not be brought in by greater Barks at a low Ebb. Count *Hollac* endeavoured to relieve the Town by this way: but the Kings men, who for want of high ſituations elſwhere had placed themſelves chiefly upon the ſaid greateſt bank, and did very well guard it in all parts, did ſo behave themſelves, as the enemy failed in their deſign. This bad ſucceſs moved *Orange* the more to try a greater by the ſame way again; for it was thought impoſſible to bring relief by any other way. To this purpoſe the Rebels aſſembled together as great a ſtrength of Boats, men, and victuals as poſſibly they could. *Orange* would be preſent himſelf at this ſuccour, and *Lewis Boiſot* Admiral of *Holland* had the chief care thereof. But the preparation was not anſwerable to the need, nor did the ſucceſs anſwer the hopes. *Orange*, by the advantage of the high tide, came about the end of *March* to the aboveſaid Gap of *Dreiſcher*, he aſſaulted the Kings men, and at firſt put them into ſome diſorder; ſlew ſome of them, and took ſome of their Canon from off the banks. But their courage increaſing together vvith their danger, and the ebb being by this time come, they drove the enemy avvay from all parts; many of vvhich vvere ſlain, many drovvned, and amongſt the reſt, the Admiral *Boiſots* ſelf, for his ſhip running upon the ſands vvhich vvere very deep, neither the ſhip, nor any of the ſouldiers that vvere in it could be ſaved. This laſt indeavour of the rebels proving vain, they deſpaired of ever relieving the Town; which notwithſtanding under the ſufferings of a lingring ſiege, which laſted almoſt eight months did ſtill hold out, till it was at laſt ſurrendred about the latter end of *June*, which we have thought good to relate here, ſo not to break off the thread of this ſucceſs, with other narrations.

This mean while many other important affairs hapned, which we ſhall now ſet down. For the better incouragement of the ſiege, Marquis *Vitelli* was come in the midſt of Winter into the Iſland of *Scown*; great were the moyſtures in theſe low ſeats, eſpecially this year the cold not being ſo very bitter as uſual. Here he, who was already well ſtrucken in years, were it either by reaſon of the air, or other diſaccommodations, fell dangerouſly ſick; and taking a boat that he might be carried to *Antwerp* to be cured, his mallady ſo increaſed as he died by the way before he could get thither. His loſs proved very prejudicial to the King affairs: for upon

upon him at that time lay (as we have often ſaid) the greateſt weight of the military adminiſtration. And indeed he was a Commander of very great renown; who to his honour, won firſt in the Wars in *Italy*, had made the like correſpond, which he did purchaſe in the Wars of *Flanders*. But this loſs was added unto by another of much greater importance, which inſued within a few dayes after; to wit, the Death of *Recheſens*, the Commendador; who about the beginning of *March*, falling ſuddenly into a violent fever, died within five dayes at *Bruſſels*. His Bodily ſickneſs was preceded by a great malady of mind: for being brought into a very great ſtraight for want of money, he was not furniſht with any from *Spain*; neither was *Flanders* any ways able to ſupply him therewithal. Inſomuch as a little before his death, a part of the Spaniſh Horſe mutined, to the Countries great indignation: for which he was forced to ſuffer the people to reaſſume their arms, which were formerly taken from them by the Duke of *Alva*: knowing that they would have done ſo of themſelves, though he had not given them leave. Four ordinary ſhips were at this time only come from *Spain* with ſome few ſouldiers: The Maritine preparation from thence not any wayes anſwering expectation. By reaſon of all which obſtructions, the Commendador had reaſon to fear that the ſiege of *Zurickzee* would end unfortunately, and that other ſiniſter events would befall the Kings affairs in *Flanders*. Whilſt thus agitated in mind: he fell ſick and died, with a reputation rather of great goodneſs, then of great valour, and of being fitter rather for peaceful imployments than for thoſe of War: in the managing whereof, ſo great a Paragon as was the Duke of *Alva*, proved (to ſay the truth) too diſadvantagious to him. Many, and eſpecially the wiſer ſort of Spaniards, thought that a mixture of them both might have done well; if joyned together, the one had been wholly imployed in Military, the other in Civil affairs. Here enſued one of the greateſt and moſt tempeſtuous agitations that ever *Flanders* felt in the whole perſuit of the War, which we will now deſcribe.

You ſhall ſee a Government without a Government; the whole Country about to revolt: the Kings Forces at enmity within themſelves; and his cauſe more oppugned than defended by them: more Governours than one bear his name at once in *Flanders*, and uſe his Authority: The Provinces of various ſenſes, and no leſs differing Counſels: Neighbouring Princes manifeſtly aſpiring to the Government thereof. A New introduction of forreign Forces: No publique nor no private faith obſerved. Cruel ſacking on one ſide, fatal ſieges on the other: More than hoſtile violence and fury every where: And in fine, the ſucceſſes in theſe revolutions of affairs will prove ſuch and ſo ſtrange, as will doubtleſly move great curioſity here in the expectations of them, but much greater compaſſion towards *Flanders* hereafter, when they ſhall be come and ſeen. One of the greateſt miſchiefs which the affairs of *Flanders* ſuffered by the death of *Recheſens* was, that he died without declaring who ſhould ſucceed him in his Government: He had a Patent from the King to that purpoſe, with a blank left for the name. But he was ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed with the violence of his ſickneſs, as he could not do it. It was notwithſtanding diſcovered by ſome appearances, that he would have left the Military Government to Count *Peter Erneſtus Mansfield*, and the Civil Government to Count *Barlemonte*, which two of all the Lords in the Country, were thoſe the King did moſt confide in, and from whoſe Valour and Wiſedome moſt might be expected. The Commendador failing thus, the Council of State took upon them the Government, who preſently diſpatcht away an expreſs for *Spain*, to give the King an account of what had happened, and to repreſent unto him at full the preſent condition of the affairs of *Flanders*.

The King approved of the proviſional reſolution taken by the Council, and declared therewithal that he would forthwith ſend a new Governour, and ſuch a one as ſhould be fully to the mind of thoſe Provinces. The adminiſtration this mean while began by the hands of the Flemiſh themſelves. But nothing is more to be deſpiſed in Government, than wavering and divided authority. Nor doth any thing hurt more than intereſſed and diſagreeing Counſels. And it is ſeen in the Government of Kingdoms, that State-Miniſters by their private paſſions do uſually ruin the common cauſe. The Council of State had no ſooner taken upon them the Government, but great troubles began to be ſeen in all things; for their orders were not obſerved as they ought to have been; and the orders themſelves were given with aparent diſcord, which appeared much more in their minds than in their votes. *Philip de Croy* Duke of *Ariſcot*, Governour of the Province of *Flanders*, did for his Nobility, riches and adherence, hold the chief place among thoſe of the Council. And with him the greateſt part of the Council did go along in their Votes. All theſe leaned towards the liberty of the Country; as well out of their own nature, as out of a particular alienation which they had to the Spaniards. *Orange* was not this mean time idle neither; but ſeconding by his lively wit the favourable conjuncture, from the very day that the Commendador died, he incited all his followers in all the parts of the Country, to imprint ſuch opinions in the people as might draw them moſt to be of his mind. Alleadging,

That this was the time to re-unite all Flanders *in one Will. That by fortune and more by juſtice the Government was now in the hands of the native Flemiſh, and therefore it was not to be ſuffered to paſs any more into the Spaniards hands. That the yoke of ſo ſore a ſervitude had laſted too long already; impriſonments, confiſcations, deaths, ſackings, firings, and ſo many other deplorable calamities, too long. That*

Liberty



Philip Croy Duke of Areschot Kt. of the Golden Fleece Governour of Flanders.

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III

Liberty would notwithſtanding be ſo much the more welcome, by how much it was formerly more deſired. Then let the Flemiſh reſolve unanimouſly to recover it, and ſo to enjoy it with the greater contentment. That the Cauſe could not be juſter in it ſelf, nor of greater applauſe both within the Provinces and in all other places. Finally to what worſer end could affairs be brought? ſince, though the deſign ſhould not ſucceed, the preſent miſeries were ſo great, as greater were not at any time to be expected.

Theſe paſſions of the Prince of *Orange*, were eaſily kindled in the minds of others, nor was it long ere immenſe troubles burſt forth every where. And to make them ariſe the ſooner, the Spaniards themſelves gave ſuch an occaſion by a new mutiny of theirs, as thoſe very Flemiſh, who till then had ſhewed themſelves better addicted to the Kings ſervice, did at laſt concur thereunto. Part of the Cavalry as we told you before, were mutinied, during the life of the Commendador, but they were quickly quieted; as well for that Horſe cannot eſtabliſh a mutiny without foot; as for that the Commandador had quickly procured them ſatisfaction. The Town of *Zurikzee* being afterwards taken, and having compounded for 20000 *l.* to ſave it ſelf from being ſack'd, it is not to be believed, how much the Spaniards were moved hereat; who, for default of their pay, and in recompence of their pains, had in their hopes ſwallowed up the plunder of that place; or at leaſt expected that the whole compoſition ſhould be theirs. Nor were they long in ſhewing their reſentment. Without any regard either to their own danger, or to the peril they occaſioned to the Kings affairs in ſuch a conjuncture of time: all delay laid aſide, they preſently ran to their arms, and in manner as we have before fully deſcribed, mutinied: and depoſing of their former Commanders, choſe new ones, and an Elect above them all. They forthwith forſook *Zealand*, and re-entred into *Brabant*, intending to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome good Town or City, and there to fortifie themſelves; that they might afterwards with large conſideration receive ſatisfaction for their pretended labours. They firſt endeavoured to enter *Bruſſels*, but could not enter thereinto, as neither into *Malines*.

Count

Count *Mansfield* ſpake and treated with them as they were upon their march, in the Council of States name, to bring them to ſome agreement. And to this purpoſe he offered them ten thouſand pound of that twenty thouſand, which the Town of *Zurickzee* was to pay, and three payes of the firſt monies that were to be ſent from *Spain*; but this did no good, nor any other future Treaty. Still more incenſed with anger and rage, not being able to prevail in *Brabant*, they turned to the very Province of *Flanders*, and on the ſudden took the Town of *Alſt*, one of the beſt in all that Province. The place is rather convenient than ſtrong; it lies in the midſt as it were between *Bruſſels* and *Gaunt*, and much at the ſame diſtance from *Antwerp*. No ſooner was the Colours of this new Mutiny diſplayed, but almoſt all the reſt of the Spaniards came in unto it from all places. They fell with all diligence to fortifie *Alſt*, and began to treat thoſe of the Town bitterly, and with like Cruelty to over-run the territories thereof, and all the neighbouring Country, to get the greater Contribution. The Council of State, much ſcandalized thereat, gave order, that the People ſhould arm themſelves every where, and imployed many men to hinder the incurſions of the Mutineers. *Jerolimo Rhodes*, a Spaniſh Lawyer, was Preſident of the Particular Council or Committee for Mutinies, which was inſtituted by the Duke of *Alva*, and was therefore the more deteſted by the Flemiſh. His very perſon made the Office be the more hated, and the Office his perſon. Which occaſioned ſo great a Commotion in *Bruſſels* by reaſon of the mutiny, as that a great tumult aroſe inevitably amongſt the people, againſt the ſaid *Rhodes*, againſt *Julian Romero*, the Camp-maſter, and againſt *Alonzo Vargas*, who commanded the Kings Horſe: in ſo much as they were all three in great danger, and much ado to ſave themſelves in the Kings Palace; and notwithſtanding *Rhodes* had a Son ſlain in that popular uproar, and he himſelf was afterwards made Priſoner. The Spaniards on the contrary finding ſo univerſal abhorition againſt them in the Country, they likewiſe reſolved to do what they could for their own ſafeties. *Sancio d' Avila* was the chiefeſt among them, by the prerogative of his years, places, and their opinions: He therefore deferred no longer; but aſſembling ſome other Commanders, particularly ſome German Collonels, fell to conſider what was beſt to be done for their men, and for the Kings ſervice, and reſolved to muſter all their Souldiers in one body, before they ſhould be hindred by thoſe which the States gathered together. The whole Flemiſh Militia, which took up arms againſt the Spaniards, was called by this name of States. And on the contrary they were termed Spaniards, not only who really were ſo, but all thoſe who appeared for them againſt the Flemiſh. The ſpecious name of the Kings ſervice did equally reſound on all ſides, and each party would attribute unto themſelves greateſt fidelity. A uſual confuſion in Civil Wars, which affords matter to honeſt the worſt Cauſe as well as the better; and which very often makes the falſe pretences of the one, prevail over the juſt reaſons of the other. Great difficulty was met withal in effecting the reſolution taken by the Spaniſh and German Commanders: for a great part both of their Horſe and Foot were diſtributed in divers quarters and Garriſons, much remote one from another. They were not to deprive the Towns of them; and therefore their men being to be reduced into a very ſmall number and to march divided before they could meet, this doubtleſly aſſiſted the Flemiſh much to hinder their meeting. The Caſtles of *Antwerp*, *Gaunt*, *Valenciennes*, *Utrecht*, and ſome other leſs conſiderable were in the Spaniards hands. That of *Antwerp* was in the cuſtody of *Sancio d' Avila*, and that of *Gaunt* in *Chriſtopher Mandragones*, who was then in *Zealand*. *Julian Romero* kept in *Lier*, a Town of very great conſequence in the very heart of *Brabant*: and in *Maſtrick* (a place of ſuch moment as hath been experienced upon ſo many ſeveral occaſions) ſome German Companies of Foot were in Garriſon. The Spaniards did notwithſtanding draw out as many men as they could from out the reſt; and their deſign was, when they ſhould have made a ſtrong body of them, to bring them into *Antwerp*, and to ſecure that City chiefly, which was ſo conveniently ſituated, ſo rich, and ſo great. They hoped to receive powerful forces there from *Spain*; and by the way of *Maſtrick*, good ſuccours from *Germany* and *Italy*. But all theſe proviſions required time. The States were likewiſe in the ſame ſtraits: So as both ſides ſtrove to gain it. To this end Letters paſt between the Council of State. and *Sancio d' Avila*, equally complaining of the preſent mutiny, and ſeeming deſirous to come to ſome accommodation. They met to this purpoſe in the Village of *Villebruck*, two leagues diſtant from *Bruſſels*; ſome of the Council of State on one part, and *Sancio d' Avila*, together with the above ſaid German Collonels on the other. But their reſolutions came not to much: Only *Jerolimo Rhodes* was ſet at liberty, and *Romero* and *Vergas* were likewiſe ſuffered to go free out of *Bruſſels*. Jealouſies increaſing thus rather than diminiſhing on all ſides, the States haſted their proviſions every day more and more: which they might much eaſilier do than the Spaniards; for all the Provinces, except it were that of *Lucemburg*, did already openly joyn in one and the ſame ſenſe, which was, Not to ſuffer any Spaniards, or other Forreigners to tarry amongſt them. Signior *Champigni* a Burgonian, brother to Cardinal *Granville* was Governor of *Antwerp*; and the Baron *Erbeſtine*, a German Collonel, was there in Garriſon with his Regiment. The States wrought ſo as they drew them both privately over to be at their command; though in publique both of them were bound to *Sancio d' Avila*

d' Avila, and the other German Collonels, not to admit any of the States Souldiers into *Antwerp*, as *Avila* was likewiſe bound to call in no more *Spaniards* thither. By another ſecret intelligence they had likewiſe gained over the Captains of the other German Companies which were in *Maſtrick*, who likewiſe were of *Erbeſtens* Regiment. Having theſe advantages, the Council of State reſolved to temporiſe no longer. As ſoon as they had placed good ſtore of Horſe and Foot near *Bruſſels*, they treated of proclaiming all the *Spaniards*, which were in *Flanders*, Rebels, and to purſue them every where with their Arms as ſuch. The two Counts of *Mansfield* and *Barlemont* appeared mightily againſt this; and *Vighilo* yet more, who was Preſident of the Council; A man, who as he did advance in yeares, ſo did his zeal for the good of *Flanders* ſtill increaſe. He ſaid,

Out of what fault ſhall we declare this Rebellion? If the Spaniards *have fallen thereinto by mutinying, this is not the firſt time they have done ſo, nor will it peradventure be the laſt. War cauſeth expence; Expence, want of Pay; Want of Pay, the Souldiers anger; and the Souldiers anger, Mutiny. As long as the wars continue theſe diſorders will fall out: other Countries have had experience of it, as well as ours hath now. But when was it ever heard that in ſuch a caſe the Mutineers were eſteemed Rebels? nay, how often have whole Armies rather commended than condemned their cauſe? inſomuch as at laſt it hath been thought the beſt courſe to ſuffer ſomething in accommodating them, than to run hazard of greater dangers, by going about to puniſh them too ſeverely. I heartily wiſh that in the like caſes, as alſo in divers others of the world, Neceſſity prevailed not too much above Reaſon. Kingdoms give way, and Empires bow to this force: To this we muſt now likewiſe ſubmit. The* Spaniards *are too much incenſed to ſee* Flanders *every where ſo hatefully bent againſt them: they ſtorm already for being declared Enemies; how much more will they doe ſo when they ſhall be declared Rebels? The other* Spaniards *will flock to defend the Mutineers, and will make this a common intereſt. And with whom is it that we ſhall contend? What Nation is there to be found which hath been longer trained up in Arms, more acquainted with blood, and more accuſtomed to fight and overcome? To what a rage will deſpair carry them? I therefore am of opinion, that this wound is to be cured by the accuſtomed ways. Armies, as well as humane bodies, are liable to infirmities: And if this may be eaſily cured, we ought not by danger of ſo great an impairment make it our ſelves incurable.*

The Reaſons alleadged by *Vighilo*, and divers other Conſiderations offered by the two Counts, did no whit avail to alter the opinion of the oppoſite part of the Council, which was the more numerous, and the more powerful. But theſe accuſing the other of perfidiouſneſs, injuriouſly ſaid that they were *Spaniards*, and no longer *Flemings*, and broke forth into open threats againſt them. Nor were they long in putting them in execution, taking new pretences, and ſtill palliating the appearances thereof, the more, they impriſoned the three above-named Councellors, as alſo Signior *d' Aſonville*, and made the Duke of *Ariſcot* Preſident of the Councel. They then proclaimed an Edict of Rebellion againſt the *Spaniards*, the Contents whereof was in ſubſtance this.

That all the miſchiefs of Flanders *had proceeded from the* Spaniards. *That to have the total domination thereof, they had taken away the government from the Dutcheſs of* Parma, *and given it to the Duke of* Alva. *That from that time forward the Country was oppreſt in all parts by ſad and fatal chances: Amongſt which that of Mutinies was to be accounted among the moſt fatal. That one of theſe was now on foot in the very heart of the Provinces; and that under pretence of having their Pay, the* Spaniards *deſign was generally to devour the ſubſtances, and to drink the bloud of all the* Flemiſh. *That therefore the Council of State, which by order from the King did now govern, judging it neceſſary to withſtand with Arms this threatening ruine, had therefore put on the moſt convenient reſolutions. That notwithſtanding in this ſo great neceſſity, there were ſome Councellors who ſhewed themſelves averſe to the common good, ſo as the reſt had thought fit to ſecure them. That the* Spaniards *deſired now more then ever to bring in the Inquiſition into* Flanders. *That out of their zeal to the Kings ſervice, the Council of State had publiſhed this Edict, whereby the aforenamed* Spaniards *were declared Rebels to the King, and whereby it was ordered that they ſhould be purſued every where and ſlain as Enemies. The Edict concluded with an invitation to all the Provinces to joyn in the ſame ſenſe and opinion, ſince the ſame was the cauſe amongſt them all.*

It is not to be believed how much the minds of the *Flemiſh* were moved after this publication; and how, as if the Edict had been a general Trumpet which had ſummoned them, they ſtrove who ſhould ſhew themſelves readieſt to go againſt the *Spaniards*, and drive them out of the Country. The Council of States chief intention was to call together the States General; to the end that the reſolutions which they had already taken might be of greater authority, as alſo thoſe which they ſhould hereafter take. Nor was there need of any great trouble herein. At the very firſt invitation, every Province (except that of *Lucemburg*, as hath been ſaid) ſhewed themſelves willing to meet in this General Aſſembly, either by expreſs Deputies, or by open conſent. In Governments where the Kings Prerogative and the Subjects Priviledge doe interfere, the one ſide is uſually glad to get the advantage of the other. And therefore in *Flanders*, Princes have alwayes been unwilling to have the General Aſſembly of the Provin-

ces

ces meet, it being a time wherein they pretend rather to give Laws than to receive them: And on the contrary the Provinces have always imbraced ſuch occaſions, wherein by the meeting of their whole body together they might keep the power of Princes within its precincts. And the *Flemiſh* did this now the more readily, for that they thought it a fit conjuncture of time having no Kingly Governour amongſt them, who might oppoſe them, or at leaſt be over them When then the Edict againſt the *Spainards* was publiſhed, and the Convocation of the States General made, Hoſtility began ſuddenly on all ſides: The chief deſign of the States was, to have *Maſtrick*, and the Citadels of *Antwerp*, and *Gaunt* in their poſſeſſion; hoping that by their examples other Caſtles would ſoon do the like. On the other ſide, the *Spaniards* ſtudied chiefly how to keep all the aforeſaid ſtrong Holds and Towns, but eſpecially *Maſtrick* and the Citadel of *Antwerp*, for the reaſons abovementioned. Many Souldiers were muſtered together in *Gaunt* to beſiege that Caſtle: and a greater number were gathered together in *Antwerp*, becauſe they thought that would prove the harder work. The Governour *Champigny* and Collonel *Erbeſtine* had already diſcovered themſelves to be for the States, and received all that came into the City, who were ſent from them. But the States chief endeavour was, to keep the *Spaniards*, and alſo ſuch *Germans* as adhered to them, from meeting together. The Walloons, as natives of the Country, did already intirely obey the orders of the Flemiſh. Nay after the ſurrender of *Zuriekſee*, thoſe Walloons who were at the taking thereof, ſiezed upon their Collonel *Mandragone*, and kept him forth-coming. The Flemiſh Commanders did then to the aforementioned end, ſhut up all the Paſſes, and fortified them, and placed many men about them in ſundry parts. The Spaniards on the contrary were very diligent in geting together as many of their Forces as they could, and to quarter themſelves in ſome of the moſt commodious parts in *Brabant*. From this oppoſition of deſigns, they came quickly to the like of arms: and the firſt effect thereof fell out about *Lovain*. The Spaniards had aſſembled together a good ſtrength of horſe in the parts about *Maſtrick*, towards the Country of *Liege*; and came towards *Lovain*, that they might get to *Alſt*, and by new endeavours try whether they could get the mutiners from thence or no, and make them joyn with the other Spaniards. Which they refuſed to do till they ſhould have received their full pretended pay. The Council of State had notice of this their moving; and ſpeedily diſpatched away the *Seignior di Glimes*, with 2000 foot and 600 horſe to hinder them, the Spaniards had 800 horſe, but came without any foot at all. Both parties met in the Village of *Viſenack*, not far from *Lovain*. The Spainards, whoſe chief Commander was *Vargas*, endeavoured firſt to paſs friendly by, which they ſignified by a Trumpet to the contrary party. Who being more in number, returned a negative anſwer; and forced the Spaniards to open their way with their ſwords. They were all choice men; whereas the others horſe conſiſted moſt of the old Companies of *Flanders*, and uſually but little exerciſed; and amongſt their foot there were many new ſouldiers but than raiſed by the Councils Authority. The Spaniards, ſeeing neceſſity of fighting, ſupplyed their want of foot, by putting a Company of Burgonian horſe on foot, and took the beſt advantage they could of place, whereby they might receive the leſs offence from the adverſe foot. Here they came to blows. The Flemiſh charged violently at firſt; but ths Spaniards knew ſo weſl both how to evade them, and how to ſtand them, as turning furiouſly upon the Flemiſh they eaſily broke them, and cut almoſt all their foot in peeces. The horſe ſuffered but little harm; for not intending to fight, they ſoon ran all away. Thoſe Burgonians who were on foot behaved themſelves gallantly: with whom *John Baptiſta del Monte*, leaving his Company of Lanciers, and fighting on foot gave great teſtimony of his courage and ſtoutneſs in that action. Amongſt the other Captains of Lances, *George Baſti*, *Barnerdine Mendoſa*, and *Peter Taſſis*, fought likewiſe very valiantly: perticularly *Baſti*, upon occaſion of charging the enemy in the moſt dangerous flank; and in the firſt heat of the combate, *Rafael Berberino* was dangerouſly hurt. The Paſs being won, *Vergas* went to treat with the mutiners in *Alſt*: where he met *Sancio d' Avila*, and the Camp-maſters, *Romero* and *Toledo*. All theſe indeavoured very much to get thoſe other to joyn with the reſt who followed the ſame Colours. They repreſented unto them in what danger the Caſtle of *Antwerp* and *Gaunt* were, and the Town of *Maſtrick*; by reaſon of the intelligence that the States held there. And they concluded, that their men, if they would joyn together, might hope to overcome, but being divided, they were ſure to be all loſt. But all this was in vain: for the mutiners appeared more deaf in their minds then in their ears, with a greater ſenſe of rage than reaſon, remained firm in their reſolution of not quitting *Alſt*, till they were fully paid. So *Vargas* and the reſt returned from whence they came. It was not long ere *Vargas*, with whom the Toledan was joyned, met with a new occaſion of fighting. They were not gone far from *Alſt*, when they heard the German Garriſon, together with the Townſmen in *Maſtrick* were ready to riſe, in favour of the States. That City (as we ſaid in the beginning) is divided by the *Mauſe*: the greateſt part thereof lies towards *Brabant*; and on the other ſhore towards the Country of *Liege* doth the leſſer part ſtand, called by the name of *Vieb*. There were here ſome few Spaniards; and ſome few others in a gate placed between two great Towers on the other

greater ſide of the City, which was therefore chiefly in the Germans cuſtody. *Monteſdock*, a Spaniard, was Governour of the Town, who when he found the contrivings of the garriſon with the Townſmen, he endeavoured by ſundry ways to remedy it, but the iſſue was, he himſelf was impriſoned. They then took up arms to drive out the Spaniards, and to put the City abſolutely into the hands of the Flemiſh. This news was ſuddenly brought to *Vargas*, and he in great haſte ran to aſſiſt his companions. He forthwith aſſembled together many of the neareſt Spaniſh foot; and paſſing over the *Mauſe*, gave ſuch ſuccour as was needful to the part called *Vich*. And this hapened ſo opportunely, as that the enemy were driven from the bridge which joyns the two parts of the Town together, and purſued into the Town with great ſlaughter. The others had the like ſucceſs alſo at the fighting of the aforementioned gate; for the Spaniards that were within having ſtill manfully defended it, at laſt let thoſe in that were without, who ſecured the City; which in revenge was afterwards ſackt by both parties.

The States indeavoured this mean while by all means poſſible, to have the two Caſtles of *Antwerp* and *Gaunt* in their poſſeſſion. They had already laid ſiege to the latter, and begirt it with many men, which were commanded by *John Croy*, Count of *Roulx*, ſubordinate to the Duke of *Ariſcot*, who was Governour of the Province. The Emperour *Charls* the fifth made the Caſtle to be built in that year 1540. upon the occaſion of the riſing of thoſe of *Gaunt*, ſo to curb their contumacy the more for the future. It conſiſts of four Baſtions which look on one ſide upon the City, on the other ſide towards the fields. The Governour of the Caſtle was at this time ill provided of all things, and had not above 200 men to defend it. It was commanded by a Lieutenant of *Mandragone*'s (in lieu of him) who notwithſtanding all his wants, prepared manfully to defend it. Count *Roulx* raiſed a platform on the ſide which was neareſt the City; and began to open his Trenches on the ſame ſide, to fall as ſoon as he might into the ditch. He placed ſome pieces of Artillery upon the platform, which commanded the Caſtle: and did ſo ſtraighten it on all ſides, as thoſe within could receive no relief from thoſe without. At the ſame time a great many of the States men were gone likewiſe to *Antwerp*, to beſiege that Caſtle; the foot, which conſiſted all of old Walloons, and new raiſed men, were accompanied by a good body of horſe; and the States did not omit any other ſort of proviſions which were requiſite, ſuddenly to come by their deſires in both places. The Citadel of *Antwerp* lies upon the banks of the *Scheld*, upon the South ſide of the City. It is a *Pentagon*, compoſed of five Royal Baſtions. Of all modern fortifications, it hath been eſteemed ſo famous, as it hath ſerved for a pattern to almoſt as many Citadels as have been built in any Country ſince. Some of her flanks lies towards the City; and the reſt lean towards the Champion. Reſpect being had, as in all other Caſtles, to be able on one ſide to command the City, and on the other to receive neceſſary ſuccours upon all occaſions from without. There lies good ſpace of ground between the Caſtle and the City: The Flemiſh reſolved to ſtraighten the ſiege on this ſide, which they began to do with two Cavalliers of a great hieght, upon which they placed ſome pieces of great Artillery. From hence they began to play upon them within; and imployed a great number of men in making their Trenches. The Cannon-ſhot which played upon both the Caſtles were heard in *Alſt*: at the hearing whereof the mutiniers began to reſent themſelves, and to be inraged both with anger and ſhame. *John de Navareſe* was their head under the title of Elect: who had alwayes uſed his beſt indeavours (though ſtill in vain) to make them joyn with the other ſouldiers. He did not let ſlip this occaſion; but calling the multitude into the *Piazza*, ſaid thus unto them.

And what ſhall we expect more? you hear the ſound of the ſhot that are made againſt the Caſtles of Gaunt *and* Antwerp. *Shall we ſuffer theſe that are really rebels to God and the King, boaſt that they have (though falſely) laid the imputation of rebels upon us? ſhall we ſuffer them to bereave us of two ſuch important ſtrengths? and which keep their perfidious necks under ſo juſt a yoke? will it not be in their power afterwards to puniſh us? and ſhall not we then receive correction inſtead of inflicting it? What will our pretinaciouſneſs of not joyning with the reſt, ſerve us for then. So inſtead of getting our payin monies, we ſhall be paid ſhamefully with blood. But we have yet time enough to revenge us, if we can but know our own ſtrength, and manfully make uſe of our hands. I am then of opinion that without any delay, we depart from hence, and that we haſten to relieve the Caſtle of* Antwerp, *which is of greater importance then that of* Gaunt: *And that when we ſhall have ſecured that Fort, we may with the ſame fervor ſuddenly aſſault the City. I do not any wayes doubt the Succour, and I hope for all good ſucceſs in the Aſſault: We know that the Beſiegers are almoſt all of them Townſmen; who aſtoniſhed at our arrival, and much more at our aſſault, will immediately run to their houſes, and to their Magazine of Merchandiſe. Here we ſhall quench our juſt thirſts with their blood, and our no leſs juſt longing after their wealth.* Antwerp *alone will put us into poſſeſſion of all the Northern wealth, and by the Plunder of one City we ſhall enjoy the ſpoils of many Provinces. But this is an opinion (my Companions) which would be ſooner put in execution, then given: the worth thereof conſiſts in expedition: For if we ſhall put off time, and that the Caſtle be the mean time well begirt, what it will avail us then to have taken ſuch a reſolution, when meeting with inſuperable difficulties we ſhall not be able to effect it.*

The Elect would have ſaid more, when the Mutineers violently interrupting him; and with

a loud voice, as if it proceeded but from one mouth, began to cry out *To Arms! To Arms!* And running from all parts rather to ſnatch them, than to take them up, they reſolved to march immediately toward the Citadel of *Antwerp*. There were not many hours of day-light left; and 'twas upon the third of *November* 1576. Having then taken up their Arms, and each of them commanding rather than obeying, they haſtily left *Aiſt*; intending to enter the Citadel the next morning, and then ſuddenly to aſſault the City. They could not notwithſtanding get thither till afternoon, becauſe they were longer in paſſing the *Scheld* than they had thought: which while they were paſſing over, *Vargas* and *Romero* came luckily to the ſame place with four hundred Horſe and ſome Foot; and being joyned together, they quickly entred the Caſtle by the Relief Gate. *Sancio d' Avila* would have had thoſe that had come from abroad to have taken ſome refreſhment before they ſhould have fallen upon the Enemies Trenches: but all of them ſhewing the eagerneſs of their minds by their eyes cryed out, *We muſt immediately go out, and either die, or ſup this night in* Antwerp. The number of thoſe that came from without, and thoſe that were in the Caſtle, came to ſomewhat more than three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. They made not any long delay: The Foot being put in order, they went out of the Citadel, and were divided into two parts; The one under Camp Maſter *Romero*, the boldeſt and moſt fortunate at execution, that peradventure come ever out of the Spaniſh Nation; and the other, to do that honour to the Mutineers, under *Navareſe*. The Souldiers of both parts, being of Companions become Rivals, marched with ſuch violence againſt the Enemies Trenches, and aſſaulted them with ſuch reſolution, as the Flemiſh began at the very firſt to be troubled, and to ſhew manifeſt ſigns of fear, and of running away. The failing of courage in the one, increaſed the like in the other; ſo as redoubling their force, they quickly put the Enemy in ſuch diſorder and confuſion, as not being able longer to make good their Trenches, they were forced to retreat and forſake them. The *Antwerpians*, who were come to defend them, fled immediately away never looking back: but the Walloons and Germans ſometimes facing about, retreated leſs ſhamefully. This mean while the Spaniſh Foot perſued the more hotly by the two cheif wayes which lead from the Citadel to the City; and being followed by the Horſe, and beating down whatſoever withſtood them, they came to the *Piazza*, where the Town-Houſe ſtands; which was very ſumptuouſly built, and to which the whole North might very well give then the precedency and honour of Merchandize. This *Piazza* was built about with many noble ſtructures. Here the *Antwerpians* made a ſtand; and ſome Dutch and Walloons joyning with them, endeavoured with new Forces to make head: but being again broken and routed, a good many of them got into the Town-Houſe, and into the Houſes about the *Piazza*; and ſtriking the Spaniards, who were below, with much advantage from the windows above, they forced them to finiſh their Victory by fire, ſince it would be either too hard, or require too much time to do it by the ſword. Thus on a ſudden was a fire kindled, which in a ſhort time devoured the goodlieſt part of ſo gallant a City. All the *Piazza*'s, ſtreets, and nooks fell into their abſolute power; who confounding Impriſonments with Death, had not hands enough to do both. Many Flemiſh of good quality did notwithſtanding ſave themſelves; and amongſt others the Marquiſs of *Haure*, brother to the Duke of *Ariſcot*, ſaved himſelf, and fled over the *Scheld*, as did alſo *Champigni* the Governour of the Town. The Baron *Erbeſtin* had not the like good fortune; for the boat, wherein he was with his Arms on, overturned in the water, ſo as he was drowned. Infinite others ſought to ſhun the Enemies rage by the ſame way: but either not finding boats ſo ready at hand, or not being able to get ſo many thereinto, they were made a miſerable prey, either to the water or to the ſword. Others in a blind madneſs threw themſelves over the Walls, and periſhed in the City ditches. Others more adviſedly hiding themſelves in the ſecreteſt places of their Houſes, truſted Fortune with their ſafety. And many in a generous deſpair, rather ſeeking out danger than ſhunning it, choſe ſooner to die, than to out-live ſo ſore a misfortune, both private and publick. Count *Egmont*, the Lord of *Capres* and *Goyigni*, and divers others conſiderable perſons, together with almoſt all the chief Citizens and Merchants, were taken priſoners. The number of the dead was ſaid to be about ſeven thouſand, the moſt of them Townſmen; not above two hundred of the Spaniards were ſlain, and one of theſe was the Mutineers Elect, *John de Navareſe*. As ſoon as they had glutted themſelves with blood, the Spaniards fell preſently to plunder the City. *Antwerp* by the concourſe of forreigners did at this time wonderfully flouriſh in Merchandiſe; the City abounded in riches, and in all thoſe happy accommodations as were to be wiſhed for in ſo luxurious a juncture of time. Amongſt other Foreigners great were the number of the Engliſh, and Eaſterlings, which are thoſe of the Hans Towns upon the Baltick Sea. Theſe two Nations had two Houſes in *Antwerp* of ſuch a largeneſs and capacity, as they rather ſeemed to be Plantations than Warehouſes. Luxury the conſtant companion of Riches, made the Merchants not onely live handſomely, but with a great deal of ſumptuouſneſs; many of which abandoning all parcimony, lived like ſo many Kings: they had got together great ſtore of Jewels, Pearls, Gold, and Silver, and their Houſes were full of all other ſort of Merchandiſe. How great the gain was

which the Spaniards got in theſe *Indies* of one City, may ſooner be conjectured, than ſaid. The Plunder laſted three dayes. And notwithſtanding, ſo great Riches not being able to ſatisfie the inſatiable Souldier, the houſes were heard to ſound with outcries, and the Streets were full of people that ran away, by reaſon of the violences committed by the Souldiers againſt the Inhabitants, to make them confeſs where their moſt precious things were hid, and to make them produce them. Thus they proceeded from Avarice to Cruelty, and from Cruelty again to Rapine; and thus they continued, till weary rather than ſatisfied, and matter to plunder wanting rather than will, they reduced themſelves to the obedience of their Commanders. Thus did *Antwerps* miſery end; the Town remaining ſo afflicted, as if that decay of Commerce had been then prognoſticated, which fell out unto her in the inſuing years, by reaſon of the War, and other Calamities. At the news of this whole *Flanders* was incredibly aſtoniſhed. The meeting of the States General was already appointed, and to this purpoſe the Deputies of almoſt all the Provinces were in *Gaunt*. Whereupon the deſire of driving out the Forreigners exceedingly increaſing; the Flemiſh did again bend all their endeavours to repoſſeſs themſelves of the Citadel of that City. Which at laſt they did without any great difficulty. There were but very few people in it, and there was ſcarcity of all things elſe, as we have formerly ſaid, ſo as the Siege was not rendred famous by any important action. But that which the Flemiſh did chiefly aim at, was to make a general Union of all the Provinces; and that the Government being eſtabliſht in men of their own Country, all forreign Government might be excluded. To this purpoſe the Deputies of *Holland* and *Zealand* met with the other Deputies. Nor was it hard for the Prince of *Orange* (who was the Cheif Leader, and layer of all theſe practiſes) in this preſent criſis of time, to agree the diverſity of Intereſts, which were between theſe two Provinces infected with Hereſie, and the others, which kept yet Catholick; and to make them afterwards joyn in one opinion. The former Treaty at *Breda* was reaſſumed; and the propoſitions which were then made by the Rebels, were almoſt all of them aſſented unto, by a joynt reſolution taken at *Gaunt*, many Articles of agreement were eſtabliſhed between the one and the other Provinces; and peace and Union was agreed upon by them all, ſave that of *Lucemburg*. To which the Kings Authority was alſo fully made uſe of by the Council of State. Theſe were the chief things agreed upon:

That there ſhould be peace, friendſhip, and confederacy for the time to come, between the Catholick Provinces on the one part, and Holland *and* Zealand *together with the Prince of* Orange *on the other part; and that all paſt injuries and offences ſhould for ever be forgotten by all their Inhabitants. That from that time forward their people ſhould return to joyn the liberty of the former commerce, and their reſpective correſpondency. That all the Provinces ſhould with a joynt conſent drive all the Spaniards and their adherents immediately out of the Country, and take ſuch courſe as ſhould be needful for that purpoſe. That the Provinces being freed from this oppreſſion, they ſhould all immediately meet in a General Aſſembly, as was done the laſt time, in the dayes of the Emperour* Charles *the fifth; and that then ſuch reſolutions ſhould be taken as ſhould be thought beſt for the re-ordering of the Government, and for the reducing of it to its primary, true and natural form. That in the mean time the ſo many Laws come forth with ſo much rigour by the Duke of* Alva *for the puniſhment of Hereſie and Tumults, ſhould be ſuſpended, but that no other Religion, ſave the Roman Catholick ſhould be uſed in the Roman Catholick Provinces; and as far the other two of* Holland *and* Zealand, *they ſhould expect what the States General would determine in that point. That concerning the reſtitution of Cities, Places, Strong holds, Ammunition and Arms which was to be made unto the King; that ſhould likewiſe be done which ſhould be reſolved on by them. That all Priſoners, particularly Count* Boſſu, *ſhould be ſet at liberty without any manner of ranſome. That all goods ſhould be likewiſe reſtored to their former poſſeſſors: reſpect being had to many irrepairable impoſſibilities, which the War had produced.*

Theſe were briefly the contents of the chiefeſt Articles which were agreed upon between the one and the other Provinces, many others being by us omited, which related to matter of Juſtice, and touching the reſtitution of goods; ſo to ſhun the tediouſneſs of relating every little matter; and not to detain you with ſuperfluous prolixities. This peace and Union being concluded in manner aforeſaid, the Provinces would begin to put them in execution, upon thoſe few Spaniards which were in the Caſtle of *Gaunt*: the which was ſurrendred at the ſame time that the peace was agreed upon: and therefore they conducted thoſe Spaniards to the Frontiers of *France*, and ſo ſent them out of the Country; and prepared with very great reſolution to drive out all the reſt alſo, as ſoon as poſſibly they could, by force.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK X.

THE CONTENTS.

Don John *of* Auſtria *comes to the Government of* Flanders. *Much diffidence ariſeth among the Flemiſh touching his perſon. He endeavours as much as he can to remove them* : *and* Orange *labours to nouriſh them. An agreement is at laſt made between* Don John *and the States. But the Prince of* Orange *with the two Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand *oppoſe it.* Don John *is received into the Government. He uſeth all means again to bring all the Provinces to be of one mind* : *but fails therein. Hence ſuſpitions ariſeth on all ſides*; *and from thence troubles. The Queen of* Navar *paſſeth by the Frontiers of* Flanders *towards* France. Don John *goes himſelf in perſon to receive her, and to carry her to* Namures. *Upon which occaſion he makes himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of that City. The States complain hereof unto the King. They reſolve to call the Prince of* Orange *into* Brabant, *and receive him with unuſual honours. Which cauſes jealouſies in the reſt of the chief Nobility* : *who therefore determine to offer the Government of* Flanders *to the Archduke* Mathias. *He accepts of the offer, and comes thither privately.* Orange *his opinion, and the opinion of the States General, touching his coming. They reſolve to accept him for the Governour of the Country. The Flemiſh take up Arms on all ſides againſt* Don John. *And endeavour to beſiege* Namures. *The Kings men return ſpeedily into* Flanders: *A Battel enſues thereupon near* Gebleurs; *wherein they have the Victory. The Proceedings of the Kings Forces. Preparations on the behalf of the Flemiſh do encreaſe continually more againſt them. To this end an Army is raiſed in* Germany, *by the Palatine* John Caſimere, *And the Duke of* Alanſon *prepares another in* France. John Caſimere *moves firſt, and being come to* Brabant, *takes* Diſte. *The Flemiſh quarter themſelves ſtrongly in the Fields, to expect the arrival of all the forreign forces.* Don John *marches with all his men towards them* : *but cannot draw them forth to Battel. His hopes of ſeeing the enemies Foot ſoon diſſolve. By favour of the Heretical Aids, the Flemiſh Sectariſts demand a general liberty of Conſcience*; *and obtain it. The Catholicks are much ſcandalized hereat. A new action of the Malecontents. Some accommodation of the affairs of* Flanders *is again indeavoured by the Emperour, the King of* France, *and by the Queen of* England : *but in vain.* Alanſon *enters the Country with his Army.* Orange *doth all he can that the Flemiſh and the Forreign Forces may joyn.* Don John *falls ſick*; *dies and leaves the Prince of* Parma *in the adminiſtration of the Government.*

WHILST *Flanders* was thus agitated with tempeſtuous troubles, and that a new Governour ſeemed to be moſt neceſſary; news came that *Don John* of *Auſtria*, the Kings baſtard brother, was unexpectedly arrived in the Province of *Lucemburg*. In his journey he had paſſed through *France* in diſguiſe; and had made ſuch haſte by Poſt, as he was the firſt man that brought news of his arrival. *Don John* was then in the prime of his age, and in the height of his glory. Whilſt he was yet very young, he was imployed by the King to allay the inſurrection of the Moors, with which *Spain* was then very much moleſted, and won very great renown in the ſucceſs thereof. Being from thence ſent into *Italy*, upon occaſion of that memorable league againſt the Turk, it is not to be expreſt how gallantly he made the valour of his own perſon, correſpond with the ſupream authority of his command throughout the whole carriage of the enterpriſe: in ſo much as the ſo famous naval Victory of *Lepanto*, whereby



Don Iohn of Austria
Son to Charles ye 5th
Governour of the Low countreys
1570

whereby Chriſtendom was ſo happily freed from ſo eminent danger, was chiefly attributed to him. Being returned to *Spain*, he kept near the King in very great eſteem; and by the publique votes of his whole Nation, was cried up to whatſoever greateſt imployment that Monarchy could beſtow. Whereupon occaſion ariſing of ſending him to be Governour of *Flanders*; the King readily imbraced it; joyning in opinion himſelf with the like of others, that *Don John* by reaſon of his ſo great endowments, might better than any other, both keep the obedient Provinces in their Loyalty, and reduce thoſe that were in Rebellion, in a ſhort time by his forces. He departed from *Spain* unknown, and made the aforeſaid haſte, to the end that his arrival in *Flanders* might be the ſooner, and the ſafer. With him was *Octavius Gonzaga*, ſon to *Ferrante*, ſo famous formerly in Arms, who was Viceroy of *Sicily*, and afterwards under *Charles* the fifth, Governour of *Milan*. He paſſed every where in diſguiſe, as a ſervant to this *Octavius*, though he tarried ſome dayes in *Paris*, out of a curioſity of ſeeing the King, as he did, and to treat with the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, who was then Reſident there. When he was come to the Town of *Lucemburg*, which denominates the whole Province, he underſtood in what a troubleſome condition thoſe Countries were. And his coming fell out to be juſt then, when *Antwerp* was ſo miſerably plundred. He was very much diſpleaſed thereat, and ſoon foreſaw how much the peoples minds would be thereby every where exaſperated, and what difficulties he ſhould meet withal, in the firſt introducing of his Government. To make uſe of arms, neither had he ſufficient wherewithal, neither was it a fitting time. To boot that at his departure from *Spain*, he had received particular inſtructions from the King, that by all means he ſhould firſt try what good was to be done upon the Flemiſh by fair means, before he ſhould uſe any force. He therefore did not delay to give the Council of State, which was at *Bruſſels*, notice in all civil manner of his arrival in the Province of *Lucemburg*. He told them that the King deſired nothing more than to ſee *Flanders* in peace

and

and quiet. That he had brought with him very large Commiſſions to this purpoſe; and that he for his part would be ready to execute them with all ſpeed and alacrity. He ſhewed himſelf to be highly diſpleaſed at the Tumults and Diſorders, that had lately happned; to witneſs which, he ſaid, he would give ſudden order to the Spaniards, that they ſhould deſiſt from all hoſtility: and that he ſhould endeavour fully to aſſure the Provinces, that through his Government, they ſhould receive all the juſt ſatisfaction from the King which they could deſire. The Deputies of the States General were gone from *Gaunt* to *Bruſſels*; and the Council of State went with them, ſtill adhereing with them in opinion. They were all of them greatly aſtoniſhed at the ſudden coming of *Don John*: for they ſaw it was impoſſible he could bring ſuch reſolutions from the King as could ſtand with their deſign. Yet after a while, they diſpatched away the Vicount of *Gaunt*, the Lord of *Raſſenghein*, and Lord *Vigliernel*, to preſent their ſervices to *Don John*; but indeed to dive into his moſt inward thoughts. *Don John* failed not to receive them with all ſhew of Civility, and acquainted them at full with the Kings exceeding good intentions towards thoſe Provinces. He aſſured them in particular, that the King would by all means have all the Spaniards, and forreign Souldiers to depart from thence; and that he would grant a very ample pardon to all thoſe, who by reaſon of the late revolts, might have any need thereof. Theſe tidings being brought to *Bruſſels*, they muſt needs very much pleaſe one ſide; ſince in the point concerning Forreigners, the Flemiſh had what they ſo much deſired. But then again, they did ſo diſtruſt all the Spaniards actions; and ſo freſh and deteſtable was the memory of the calamities, which they had ſuffered by them, as the more favourable the offers were, which were made by *Don John*, the more deceitful they thought them to be.

The Prince of *Orange* was the Oracle of the Provinces, after the agreement made between them: ſo as he was the main wheel upon which all their reſolutions were turned: wherefore the Council of State, and Deputies of the States General, deſired to know his opinion concerning the coming of *Don John*; and in what manner he would have him received into the Government, before they would take any reſolution therein. Whereupon *Orange* began a long diſcourſe, the ſubſtance whereof was this,

That the larger Don Johns *promiſes were, the more they were to be ſuſpected. That it was apparent the Spaniards end was to cheat the Flemiſh, and to lull them a ſleep, that they might the more eaſily oppreſs them. That* Don John *was not to be received any otherwiſe than upon ſuch terms, as (their obedience alwayes preſerved unto the King) the former Government might be reſtored unto the Provinces. That therefore in the firſt place, all the Spaniards ſhould be expelled: That the Citadels ſhould be all demoliſhed, and put into the hands of the Flemiſh. That no Authority at all ſhould be granted to* Don John, *not ſo much as over the Militia of the Country. That the States General ſhould retain the Prerogatives due unto them. That to this purpoſe they might have a power to meet once or or twice a year, to preſerve the priviledges of the Provinces. And that* Don John *ſhould reſolve on nothing without the authority of the ſaid States General. That it better behoved him to truſt the Flemiſh, than the Flemiſh him. And that howſoever it was not to be believed, that the King would ever pardon them, ſince he held himſelf too much injured by them: That therefore they ought to conſider his anger together with his forces; and to put themſelves into ſuch a poſture, as ſince they could never ſecure themſelves from the one, they might not at leaſt be oppreſt by the other.*

This was *Orange* his opinion, which he deſired to diſtill into all the Flemiſh. And this was the foundation which he even then laid of that Commonwealth of the United Provinces, which have been ſince ſo formed and eſtabliſhed in theſe our times by powerful forces: and of which we formerly ſent a particular Relation from *Bruſſels* to *Rome*; which together with ſome other Writings of ours, touching the affairs of *Flanders* were afterwards publiſhed by *Ericio Pateano*, our very good friend, and the worthy Succeſſor of *Juſtus Lipſius*, no leſs in learning, than in place, and in the Inheritance of his fame, no leſs than of his labours. *Orange* hoped by this means to make himſelf Moderator, and Arbitrator of the Government; and aſſiſted by the preſent conjuncture of time, to make himſelf at leaſt as good as Prince of *Holland* and *Zealand*, if he ſhould not arrive at the Principality of all the Provinces, joyned together in one body. And peradventure he would not have miſſed his deſign, had he not been ſlain (as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place) and ſo had the thread of his life, as well as that of his hopes cut off. This anſwer encreaſed ſuch jealouſies in the Flemiſh, as not thinking themſelves ſufficiently united by the agreement made at *Gaunt*, they reſolved to make another Union, which ſhould be more ſtrict and more efficacious. They therefore drew up a Declaration in the name and Authority of the States General; wherein repeating the calamities ſuffered by the Spaniards, they did again confirm the confederation of *Gaunt*, promiſed to obſerve it inviolably, and declared all ſuch to be Traitors and infamous perſons, who ſhould in any whatſoever manner countervene it. This Writing or Declaration was afterwards ſigned and ſealed in every Province, by every Magiſtrate and Governour; and was embraced with great applauſe in the whole Country. And becauſe *Orange* had chiefly minded them, that the States ſhould put themſelves

ſelves in Arms, ſhewing what danger they were again to expect from the Spaniards, therefore the States General betook themſelves to raiſe new men, which they brought together in a good body, under the command of Count *Di Saleigne*, of the Vicecount of *Gaunt*, and Monſieur *de la Mota*, to *Vaures*, a Town between *Bruſſels* and *Namures*, very opportunely ſeated, eſpecially to withſtand *Don John*. The States General made likwiſe divers expeditions into *Germany*, *France*, and *England*, to pray aid in all thoſe parts, and to make the cauſe of the Flemiſh common with all their neighbours. A conſiderable ſum of money was ſent from the Queen of *England*; who under hand ſhewed her ſelf well inclined to greater demonſtrations. On the part of *Germany* the greateſt confederacy was had with *John Caſimere*, one of the Count Palatines of *Rheine*; and the thing deſired was to furniſh him with monies, whereby to raiſe men in that Nation, and lead them into *Flanders*. On *France*'s ſide, they did not only endeavour to raiſe the Hugonet Faction, but to draw likewiſe the Catholick party to be of the ſame mind, under the Duke of *Alanſon*, brother to the King: particularly inviting the Duke to endeavour to raiſe a fortune worthy of himſelf in *Flanders*, now that he had little hopes of finding any in *France*.

Don John was eaſily acquainted with all theſe practices; who notwithſtanding patiently bearing with them, and willing to take away all pretences which the diſcontented Flemiſh could make uſe of, confirmed the aforeſaid offers in ſatisfaction to the Provinces; and concluded, that obedience being rendred by them to the Church, and to the King, he would in all things elſe accept of ſuch Propoſitions as they ſhould propound unto him. The Vicecount of *Gaunt*, and Lords of *Raſſenghien* and *Vigliernal* went ſundry times to and fro between the States and *Don John*; and the eaſilier to agree upon what was fitting for the receit of *Don John* into the Government, a Truce was made for 15 days, which was afterwards prolonged for ſome few days longer. All the difficulties ariſed from diffidence: For the States would, that in the firſt place, all the Spaniards, and whatſoever other forreign ſouldiers, ſhould go out; which *Don John* ſeemed to agree unto; but then he thought it a juſt demand, that at the ſame time the States forreign Militia ſhould likewiſe go out. And becauſe the States appeared very obſtinate againſt this, it was propounded, that at leaſt for ſecurity ſake, ſome conſiderable men of theirs might be put as Hoſtages into the Caſtle of *Huy*, a Town in *Liege*, under the cuſtody of the Biſhop of that City, till ſuch time as the Spaniſh forces being firſt ſent out, their forreign Militia might likewiſe be made depart. And 'twas added, that at the ſame time a Guard ſhould be given to *Don John* under ſome Captain of that Country, who ſhould ſwear due loyalty to him. He chiefly deſired to know what form of obedience ſhould be obſerved to the Church and King; and inſtanced that the conditions of his being received into the Government might be ſuch, as Religion might not thereby receive too much prejudice, nor the Royal Dignity be too much offended. The Town of *Huy*, as neutral place, was likewiſe propounded for a place of ſecurity, where the agreement which was managed on both ſides, might be made between *Don John* and the States. But divers difficulties aroſe in all theſe points; which *Orange* particularly fomented with all his might, becauſe his end was either that *Don John* might not at all be received: or at leaſt that he might only have the bare title of Governour; and that the Government might remain abſolutely in the States hands, which was almoſt as much as to ſay, abſolutely in his own power. The Emperour *Maximilian* was dead a little before this. And the Flemiſh having had recourſe to him for protection before he died, they therefore made the ſame application to his ſon *Rodolphus*, who ſucceeded him in the Imperial dignity. Nor could the King of *Spain* be hereat offended. *Rodolphus* had therefore made choice of *Gerard Grosbeck*, Biſhop of *Liege*, together with two other of his Councellors, to mediate ſome agreement between *Don John* and the States. *Cæſar* thought it likewiſe fitting, and herein the King did likewiſe agree with him, that the Duke of *Cleves*, as a Prince ſo nearly intereſſed in the neighbourhood of *Flanders*, might likewiſe ſend ſome expreſs perſonages in his behalf to facilitate the accommodation.

In the beginning of the year 1577, theſe Ambaſſadors went to the Town called *Marcha in Famines*, which is in the Province of *Lucemburg*, towards the Country of *Liege*; where *Don John* was himſelf in perſon, that he might be nearer *Huy*, where the Commiſſioners were, which the States made uſe of in the aboveſaid Treaty. The States ſtood inflexable to two points: The one was, That firſt of all, the Spaniards together with all the other forreign ſouldiers ſhould be ſent away. The other, That this new agreement with *Don John*, ſhould in no ways prejudice the union made between the Provinces at *Gaunt*. Very great were the difficulties which were met withal, in theſe and divers other points; and *Don John* knew very well how much the Kings Authority and his would at laſt ſuffer by this accommodation. But rather then return to arms, he being deſirous to try all means of accommodation, and being much preſt thereunto by the Imperial Ambaſſadors, and by thoſe of the Duke of *Cleves*, who were perſwaded that when the Spaniards ſhould be ſent away, *Don John* ſhould receive all manner of ſatisfaction from the Flemiſh in all things elſe; he at laſt condeſcended to the agreement in ſuch manner as the Ambaſſadors thought fit. Which was:

That

That all the Spaniſh ſouldiers, as alſo the German, Italian, and Burgonian, ſhould effectually depart out of the Low-Countries within forty days; That the Towns and Caſtles ſhould forthwith be delivered up into the hands of the Flemiſh; *That all priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty; particulary Count* Buren *who was priſoner in Spain; upon condition that his father the Prince of* Orange *ſhould after the meeting of the States General, make good on his ſide whatſoever they ſhould determine. That the King ſhould permit the Provinces to enjoy all their former priviledges and immunities. That on the contrary, the Catholick Religion ſhould be by them maintained in all places: That they ſhould likewiſe diſmiſs all their forreign ſouldiers, and ſhould renounce all forreign confederacies and leagues. That they ſhould preſently pay down 60000 pound ſterling, for ſatisfaction to the Spaniards who were to be gone; and ſhould take upon them alſo to ſatisfie the Germans.*

Theſe were in ſubſtance the chief Articles of the agreement; and upon theſe conditions the States obliged themſelves to receive *Don John* for their Governor. This agreement being made, order was immediately given by *Don John* for the departure of the Spaniards, and all the other forreign Souldiers; and he ſent *Octavius Gonzaga*, and the Secretary *Eſcovedo* a Spaniard, to ſee it effected. But *Orange* hearing the Agreement, declared publickly that they were not ſuch as did ſatisfie him, nor yet the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*.

He complained, *That his ſon was not freely reſtored unto him; that ſufficient proviſion was not had for the ſafety of the Provinces; ſince there was no order for the demoliſhing of the new erected Caſtles: That it was an unworthy action to pay the Spaniards, the great wealth conſidered which they had got by plunder from the Flemiſh. That convenient reſpect was not given to thoſe Princes whoſe favour and aſſiſtance had been ſo advantageous to the Flemiſh. That by this agreement, that other of* Gaunt *was not ſufficiently made good: from which he and the Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand *did not intend to recede, nor run ſuch hazards as the reſt were quickly like to do.*

The States replyed unto theſe Objections, and endeavoured to make it appear that the agreement of *Gaunt* was not any ways altered; and that howſoever they would ſee it obſerved. But *Orange* by cavils or ſubterfuges, continued ſtill of the ſame mind; ſo as it was impoſſible to get him, nor the other two Provinces, which depended abſolutely upon his arbitrament, to approve of this agreement. *Don John* was this mean while gone from the Town of *Mark* to *Lovain*, to ſee the Spaniards depart, and that the Citadels ſhould be put into the Flemiſh hands; that then he might make his ſolemn entrance into *Bruſſels*, and begin his Government. A great many of the Nobility came preſently to *Louain* to viſit him, who received them with all the civility the Country could expect, and with ſuch dignity as became his perſon. He from thence ſent Doctor *Leonino* into *Holland* to acquaint the Prince of *Orange*, and the State of *Holland* and *Zealand* with the agreement made between him and the other Provinces, and to uſe all means to draw thoſe two Provinces and *Orange* to be of the ſame mind. But this brought forth nothing elſe, but the greater diſcovery of the obſtinacy of thoſe parts, and of *Orange* his induſtry in fomenting them therein. *Don John* had this mean while made the Citadel of *Antwerp* be delivered up to the Duke of *Ariſcot*. And all the other Caſtles which were in the Spaniards hands were delivered up to the Flemiſh. Whereupon all the forreign ſouldiers being aſſembled together at *Maſtrick* (except the Germans who for want of their pay had little longer time allowed them for their departure) betook themſelves to leave the Low-Countries; and ſo they did according to the agreement. It is not to be expreſt what joy, and what demonſtrations thereof, this cauſed throughout all *Flanders*. In all Cities, Towns, and in the meaneſt Villages, all the people ran to hear the news, and then to tell it; as if this were the greateſt happineſs which they could have expected or deſired. *Sancio d' Avila* the then Governour of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, would not be preſent at the delivery up of the Citadel into the hands of *Ariſcot*; but left it to be done by his Lieutenant: publickly ſhewing by the freedom of his demeanor and words, that he would have no part in an action which he thought to be very prejudicial to the King, and not anſwerable to ſo many other acts which his Nation had ſo gloriouſly performed in *Flanders*. Nay 'tis ſaid, that in his taking leave of *Don John*, he with the like freedome of ſpeech ſaid unto him,

Your Highneſs makes us go out of Flanders: *but remember that I tell you, you will quickly be forced to call us back again.*

And ſo it fell out, as in its place ſhall be told. A Garriſon of Walloons was put into the Caſtle of *Antwerp*, and the States were as diligent as they could be, in gathering together the monies, wherewith to ſend away the Germans alſo; wherein they found much difficulty, by reaſon of the great expences the Country had already been at, as alſo in thoſe of ſending away the Spaniards. *Don John* came at laſt from *Lovain* to *Bruſſels*, where he made his publick entry on *May*-day; which was done with ſuch ſolemnity, as well by reaſon of the ſo many Nobility, and other inferior people; as for the acclamations of joy, which his firſt receiving was accompanied withal, as there is hardly the memory of any the like, at the reception of any abſolute Prince of *Flanders*, much leſs at that of a bare Governour. But it was not long ere this ſcene of joy was changed into others, full of ſorrow, and horrour: as we ſhall by degrees make known unto you.

When *Don John* had taken upon him the adminiſtration of the Government, he ſoon found his part was rather to obey than to command. No Order could iſſue forth from him, which was not to be ſubordained by the Council of State; who unwilling to quit the Government, which till then they had proviſionally exerciſed, ſought in an indirect way to keep it ſtill by the prerogative of Authority. They alleadged ſometimes the common priviledges of their whole Country, ſometimes the particular priviledges of this or that Province; and ſometimes by one pretence, ſometimes by another, they endeavoured ſtill to increaſe their own Authority, and to leſſen *Don Johns* Government as much as they could; and *Orange* was ſure not to be wanting upon all occaſions. He had for his Architecture of ſedition, *Philip Marnice*, Lord of *Alidegonda*, and the Lord *Heez*, particular Governor of *Bruſſels*, was likewiſe a great follower of his. The firſt was more wary, the other more zealous; and therefore both of them of a better mixture to do evil. Theſe two in *Bruſſels*, and divers others in other parts, who depended upon *Orange*, did continually diſperſe ſeditious ſpeeches, to incite the Flemiſh to novelties more than ever. They gave out that *Jerolimo Rhodes*, *Sancio d' Avila*, and other Spaniſh Commanders who were gone into *Spain*, after their departure from *Flanders*, had been very gratiouſly received by the King, and by his Court, with promiſes of new and greater imployments.

Was not this (ſaid they) *a manifeſt declaration of the Kings, wherein he gave ſentence in favour of the Spaniards againſt the Flemiſh in the laſt troubles which the Country had ſuffered? Was it not an accuſing of the Council of State of infidelity? did not the Kings intention touching the affairs of* Flanders *appear plainly in this? and what could he fancy elſe to himſelf, but to expect that the Flemiſh ſhould be diſarmed, to the end that he might again the eaſilyer oppreſs them; That the example of paſt things did prognoſticate future ſucceſſes. That ſo in the Dutcheſs of* Parma's *time the Country did truſt, and about the end of her Government, did expect much better treatment; when loe the Duke of* Alva *came at unawares armed, and brought with him that cruel and miſerable ſlavery which they had till this day experienced. That in fine*, Don John *was a Spaniard; that he brought conceal'd Counſel from* Spain, *and that he had* John Eſcovedo *for his chief Councellor, one of that Nation, and to whoſe ſecrecy the King had truſted the moſt myſterious ſecrets of the affairs of* Flanders. *That then unleſs the Flemiſh would again periſh miſerable, they were not in any ways to lay down their preſent Authority. That the Council of State ſhould preſerve their prerogative. That the States General ſhould keep their ſuperintendency; but above all things that the Provinces ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be lull'd aſleep by too much quiet: for the Spaniards would be ſure, quickly to make uſe thereof. That the King could at once both raiſe and bring in an Army; in which caſe, what would the tediouſneſs of their meetings avail the Flemiſh, to muſter together their Forces? and what good would the yet more ſlower hopes doe of being aſſiſted by Forreigners?*

Thus they endeavoured to corrupt the minds of the Flemiſh, and to imprint ſuch affections in them, as might alienate them from *Don John*, and ſtill more from the Spaniards, and make them fall again into yet greater troubles. Fraud reigns in the South, and Candor in the North. But this ſo candid proceeding degenerates too eaſily into credulity; ſo as it is no wonder if any wary Weaver of novelties wind the people in thoſe parts as he pleaſeth: and make them ſenſible of the evil of deceit, before they can diſcover that they are deceived. Flemiſh natures uſe to erre on this hand: which if they ever did at any time, 'twas when they ſo eaſily believed what was ſuggeſted to them at this time in prejudice of *Don John*, and to make the *Spaniards* ſeem hateful to them. *Don John* was rather abandoned, then put into the Government of the Country: he enjoyed the bare name of Governour, but not any authority at all. The *Spaniards* were gone, the *Germans* were to be gone; and which imported moſt, all the Caſtles were already in the cuſtody of the natural Flemiſh; and yet they returned as eaſily to their ſuſpitions, as if the Duke of *Alva* had been again at their gates with a more powerful Army than before. *Don John* endeavoured notwithſtanding diligently to free them of them; he made uſe of the aboveſaid reaſons, and many others which he repreſented in confirmation of the Kings good will, and his own towards the Nation. But ſuch endeavours availed but a little, for there were too many deceits woven to the contrary, and thoſe who wove them wrought their end too eaſily. One of the chiefeſt Articles which was eſtabliſhed at *Gaunt*, and afterwards confirmed at *Marks*, was, that as ſoon as the Forreign Souldiers ſhould be gone, the States General ſhould be aſſembled with all ſolemnity, juſt as they were the laſt time in the reign of *Charles* the 5. and that then it ſhould be determined what ſhould be thought moſt convenient in point of the Catholick Religion in *Holland* and *Zealand*. When *Don John* was admitted into the Government, he preſt the execution of that Article; and the Council of State ſeemed as if they would do the beſt they could with *Orange*. But were it either that the endeavors were too cold on the one ſide, or that the anſwers were more obdurate than uſual on the other, there could be nothing concluded therein. The States did then reſolve, and did therein particularly requeſt *Don John* to ſend the Duke of *Ariſcot* in their name into *Holland*, as alſo the Lords *Hierges* and *Viglierval*; and Doctor *Leonino*, and the Treaſurer *Schets* Lord of *Grobendorick*, in the name of *Don-John*, to endeavour again to perſwade *Orange*, and the two aforeſaid Provinces to joyn in one and

the

the ſame opinion with the reſt. Which if it ſhould not ſucceed, *Don John* thought their obſtinacy and pertinacioufneſs would the more evidently appear. Upon this occaſion *Orange* and the Deputies of *Holland* and *Zealand* came to a more determinate anſwer. They ſaid, thoſe two Provinces could not change the Reformed Religion, which was now received throughout them both. They complained, with various interpretations, that the Agreement made at *Gaunt* was not obſerved, as it ought to be; that the new Forts ſhould of right be demoliſhed, and particularly that of *Antwerp*, thereby to take away all occaſion from the *Spaniards* of re-entring there. *Orange* demanded the free redelivery of his Son: And pretending complaints upon complaints, they could not be ſatisfied becauſe they would not be ſatisfied. *Ariſcot* returned to *Bruſſels* with a *Non eſt inventus*; the States did not ſo much reſent it as *Don John* expected they ſhould. But *Orange* his faction growing ſtill more ſtrong, his adherents endeavoured to juſtifie boldly, and to the very teeth of *Don John*, every action that came from that Party. *Heez* walked through the ſtreets of *Bruſſels* with a particular Guard, as if he acknowledged no other Command but his own in that Town; and the People laying aſide all reverence to *Don John*, committed divers misbecoming actions to his Family; the moſt hair-brain'd of all the meaneſt ſort of people not ſticking to give out inſolent ſpeeches tending to ſedition. For all this *Don John* diſſembled, and in many things ſeemed as if he either did not take notice of them, or did not regard them. He endeavoured all he could to win *Ariſcot*, and the other chief men, and to divide them and *Orange*, and to make them aware of his artificial deſigns; ſhewing,

That they tended apparently to aggrandiſe himſelf with popular Authority, by the abaſing of all the other States of the Country. That being already become an Heretick, he had conſequently made himſelf an Enemy to Church-men: and did he not by making himſelf the Peoples prime Protector, declare himſelf to be the cheif againſt the Nobility?

To ſhew his greater confidence in *Ariſcot*, the King had put the Caſtle of *Antwerp* into his hands, and given him his eldeſt ſon the Prince of *Chimai* for his Lieutennant. And doubtleſly there was great emulation between *Ariſcot* and *Orange*, who ſhould be the greater. But the former was of an open and voluble nature; whereas the other being a man of great knowledge, and deeply ſubtile, and already of ſo great repute both in *Flanders* and elſewhere, had too great advantage on his ſide in all things. To this was added, That the Popularity enjoying ſo great a part in the Government of *Flanders*; eſpecially in Towns and Cities, (for that the Monaſtical Abbots, and the Nobles did uſually live in the Country) *Ariſcot*, nor no other Governour of any Province would diſtaſte that ſort of people upon which their chief attendance and authority in the Country did depend. To boot that all the Nobility, and amongſt them thoſe that were the greateſt, deſirous to ſhew their zeal in favouring the welfare of the Country, they could not vary much from thoſe opinions which *Orange* appeared to be of, ſince they were too ſpeciouſly coloured over to that purpoſe. The Vicount *Gaunt* was likewiſe then in great eſteem, who was afterwards Marquis of *Rubais*; and who in the diviſions which fell out between the Provinces, did afterwards ſerve the King very faithfully in military imployments of very great weight. *Don John* deſired likewiſe to make him his friend: So as to ſhew his confidence in him, he ſent him into *England*, to give account to the Queen of his being received into the Government, and to keep all fair correſpondency with her, at leaſt in appearance; ſince for other things he could not be ignorant, that the Rebels in *Flanders* had in former times ever been moſt fomented from thence, and were likely to be ſo more then ever in the future. The States this mean while ſollicited the payment of the German Souldiers, that they might rid the Country likewiſe of that ſort of Forreigners that yet remained there. But the buſineſs proved very difficult; for the States knew not where to find the mony, which were greatly exhauſted by reaſon of the ſo many paſt expences, and for what they had lately diſburſed for the ſending of the *Spaniards* away. They liked therefore very well the Vicount of *Gaunts* being ſent into *England*, and thought to have intreated the Queen by him, that ſhe would furniſh them with ſome monies to that purpoſe: They owed her other ſums of money before, and peradventure ſhe would not have been unwilling to have thrown in this. But *Don John* thinking it not fitting to pawn more of the Countries revenues to the Queen, then what was already pawned, and knowing that this was one of *Orange* his plots, he would not ſuffer the Vicount to move any thing in it. The States complained much hereof, and began from hence to ſuſpect that *Don John* would be unwilling to ſee the *Germans* depart. This ſuſpition increaſed very much afterwards upon another occaſion. The Collonels and Officers of that Nation were by orders from the States come to *Malines* to audit up the monies which were due unto them: And their pretenſions reaching very high, the buſineſs met with great difficulties. To overcome the which the States ſent the Duke of *Ariſcot* to *Malines*, and to that purpoſe *Don John* went thither himſelf in perſon. But all was in vain: which afforded new occaſion of ſuſpition that *Don John* was gone to *Malines* rather to nouriſh than to remove the difficulties which aroſe in that buſineſs; and that his deſign was to keep the *Germans* from departing, to the end that by their force he might retain that Authority amongſt the *Flemiſh* which otherwiſe he could not get. But the wiſer ſort thought that this difficulty was rather fomented by *Orange* his Faction, that they

might lay the fault upon *Don John*; and to the end that the *Germans* not going away, there might be ſome colour of raiſing new troubles. The Truth is, that when *Don John* returned to *Bruſſels*, jealouſies grew ſo faſt on his part, as he could no longer diſſemble as before. He was received by the people of that City with manifeſt ſigns of averſion, *Heez* deſpiſed him inſufferably; he found by divers things that there was treachery plotted againſt his perſon: And that which troubled him moſt was, to ſee how ſtraight correſpondency the States kept with *Orange*, and that he was as it were the Arbitrator of whatſoever they did. *Don John*'s ſuſpition of treachery againſt his perſon was afterwards confirmed in him by very good Authors; the one was the Duke of *Ariſcot*, who ſeemed to know that there was a conſpiracy either to kill him, or to impriſon him: And the other was the Viſcount of *Gaunt*, who parting in great haſte from that City, came to *Bruſſels*, and acquainted *Don John* with the eminent danger he was in. Yet *Don John* ſeemed not to truſt theſe reports, doubting leſt there might be ſome cunning mixt among them, to make him fall upon ſome deſperate reſolution, by which the accuſations laid unto his charge might be the better juſtified. But his occaſions of fear ſtill increaſing, he at laſt reſolved to ſend the Secretary *Eſcovedo* into *Spain*; and for a pretence, told the States, that he would do his utmoſt endeavour to get the King of *Spain* to ſend ſome good ſtore of money wherewith the ſooner to ſatisfie the German ſouldiers. But his true intention in ſending him was, to advertiſe the King at full in what condition the affairs of *Flanders* ſtood, and to let him know what evident neceſſity he *Don John* had ſuddenly to ſecure his own perſon. *Eſcovedo* being gone, *Don John* came to the knowledge how that the Prince of *Orange* his faction did in ſeveral places tamper with the chief German Commanders, to draw them over to this ſide. He then delayed no longer; he called the Counts of *Mansfield* and *Barlemont* (in whom he knew he might boldly confide) into private Councel, and acquainted them with what ſtraits he was in. *Mansfield* was Governour of the Dukedome of *Lucemburg*, and for his great fidelity to the King did afterwards (as ſhall be ſaid) divers times govern the Low-Countreys, and continued his particular government of that Province till he dyed a very old man of above fourſcore and ten years old. *Barlemont*, who together with his Sons was likewiſe very faithful to the King, had the government of the County of *Namures*; which Province together with the other lay neareſt to *Lorrain*, and conſequently neareſt *Italy*. The *Mauſe* runs through the midſt of the City of *Namures*, and into this River doth another River fall, called *Sambra* which joyns with it in the ſeat of the ſame City. The paſſage over both theſe Rivers is always free by two Stone-bridges, which makes the place both more commodious, and more beautiful. The ground in one ſide of the City lies high, upon the top whereof there ſtands an ancient Caſtle, but naturally ſtrong enough. *Barlemonts* opinion was therefore, that *Don John* ſhould take ſome pretence to go to *Namures*, and ſhould make that City and Caſtle ſure for his own ſafety; for from thence he might at any time paſs freely into *Lucemburg*, and there ſuch Forces might eaſily be received from *Italy*, which of neceſſity were again to be recalled into *Flanders*. But above all things he was of opinion, That all diligence was to be uſed to win the *Germans*, and break the practiſe which the contrary party held with them. And doubtleſly this was an important point: For to boot with the conditions of the Souldiers, many of the chief Towns might be ſaid to be in their hands, they being therein quartered. *Mansfield* leaned likewiſe to the ſame opinion: But being a grave man, and one that did naturally rather imbrace wary than hazardous councels, he would willingly have tarried till *Eſcovedo* might have been arrived from *Spain*, and have more clearly diſcovered the Kings mind, for then *Don John* might with more ſafety effect his. He ſaid,

It was not to be doubted but that the poſſeſſing himſelf of the Caſtle of Namures *would be like a general Alarm, which would make the* Flemiſh *flie to their Arms in all places. And what elſe could* Orange *his faction deſire? how would they rejoyce to ſee that* Don John *ſhould be the firſt that ſhould uſe violence? and how hard would it be to be juſtified? To boot that Juſtification would peradventure be more needful in* Spain *than in* Flanders. *That Principality had miſeries mixt with its happineſs; one of the greateſt whereof was, That conſpiracies were not credited till compaſſed. That then it was better to wait for anſwer from* Eſcovedo, *and in the mean time to be very vigilant in the ſhunning of all danger. That God doth protect good cauſes, as it was aſſuredly to believe he would do in this, which might be ſaid to be more his than the Kings.*

Theſe reaſons of *Mansfields* bore ſuch force with them as *Don John* did for a few days ſuſpend the reſolution which he has adviſed unto by *Barlemont*. But knowing that preparations to troubles increaſed every day more and more in *Holland*, and the dangers againſt his perſon ſtill more and more in *Bruſſels*, he would no longer expect the perfecting thereof, and therefore reſolved to go to *Namures* as ſoon as he could. Being thus reſolved, the greateſt difficulty was to find a pretence for his going thither: For the City of *Namures* was not ſo near *Bruſſels*, as that under a pretence of hunting, or any other colour, it could handſomely be done. Theſe two Towns are diſtant almoſt two days journey one from another. In ſo much as it would be a great remove for *Don John* to go with all his Court to *Namures*, and 'twould afford great occaſion of diſcourſe. But it is not to be believed how much the blind Will of Fortune rules in humane

mane chances. *Margaret* of *Vallois*, Queen of *Navar* paſſed at this time about the beginning of *July* towards *France*, by thoſe Frontiers of *Flanders*, upon occaſion of going to the *Spaw*. This was given out for the end of her journey, but the true meaning thereof was, that ſhe might be nearer at hand to help the practiſes on foot on the behalf of her brother, the Duke of *Alanſon*, as we gave you a former inkling. The Duke received but little contentment in the King his brothers Court; there was a great correſpondency of affection between the Queen and Duke, to boot with their alliance in bloud, wherefore to advantage the Dukes Intereſt, the Queen paſſed by *Cambray*, and there endeavoured to win the Archbiſhop of that City, and the Governour of that Caſtle. She afterwards uſed the like diligence to the Count of *Lalleyn*, Governour of the Province of *Haynault*, and to divers other chief perſonages of thoſe parts. Nor were her endeavours of ſmall avail; for *Margaret* was a Lady of a high ſpirit; and in her Book of Memorials which came forth in Print, elegantly written after her death, the ſucceſſe of what ſhe Treated of in *Flanders*, in the behalf of her Brother, is by her ſelf told. This buſineſs was therefore mannaged with great ſecrecy, in ſo much as *Don John* was not then aware thereof. Fortune having offered him ſo good an occaſion, he preſently laid hold of it, and gave out the neceſſity he was in, of receiving, and lodging the Queen in *Namures*, which was the place neareſt *Bruſſels* that ſhe came to. To boot with the conſiderations of her ſo much greatneſs, 'twas known that an elder ſiſter of hers many years before was married to the King of *Spain*, by whom ſhe had two daughters: wherefore *Don Johns* Journey there was thought ſo juſt, as there was no ſiniſter interpretation to be given to it. Nay many of the Nobility offered to wait upon him on that occaſion, whoſe offers he excepted of; The Duke of *Ariſcot*, and his ſon the Prince of *Chimay*, the Marquis of *Haure*, brother to the Duke, and divers other principal perſonages went along with him. When he had received the Queen, and waited upon her as long as ſhe tarryed there, he was not long in executing his deſign of making himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle. The Governour of the Caſtle depended upon the States, ſo as it behoved *Don John* to uſe induſtry; the buſineſs was thus carryed: He feigned one morning to go a hunting, and took his way towards the Gate to which the Caſtle leads: and feigning that a deſire took him at that inſtant of ſeeing the Caſtle out of meer curioſity, he ſent for the Governour, and freely gave him his hand, and went with him to go into the Caſtle. *Don John* was accompanied by the Count *Barlemont*, and four of the ſaid Counts ſons, which proved all of them valiant men, and got very good Military imployment. One was the Lord *Hierges*, of whom we had formerly occaſion to give very honourable teſtimony. The others was the Count *Mega*, the Lord *Floyon*, and Lord of *Altapenna*. Together with theſe *Don John* had provided divers others who followed aloof off, and were all of them furniſhed in ſecret with arms, to make uſe of as occaſion ſhould ſerve. But the Governour of the Caſtle partly raviſhed with the favour he had received from *Don John*, and partly moved out of the reſpect he bore him, made no difficulty of letting him in, but ſeemed to take it for a very great honour that he would vouchſafe to come into his Caſtle. *Don John* ſtaying then a little to attend the coming up of the reſt who were partakers in the deſign, poſſeſt himſelf ſuddenly of the Gate, and made the uſual guard go out; they were but very few that were there in garriſon, wherefore the Governour durſt not do any thing to the contrary. Many were of opinion that *Don John* was adviſed hereunto by *Orange* his artifice, that he might make him be the leſs believed in by the Flemiſh. But the buſineſs was carried as we have here told you; and ſo it hath oft been related to us by Count *Barlemont*, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and ſon to the beforementioned Count, who ſucceeded his father in the Government of *Namures*, and who in the time of our being in *Flanders* paſt to the Government of *Lucemburg*? and who together with his father and brethren, was preſent at this action. *Don John* having made himſelf ſure of the Caſtle, (and the Governour *Barlemont* having already made all obedience be given unto him by the Town) ſent preſently for *Ariſcot*, and the reſt of the chief men who were at *Namures*, and endeavoured to juſtifie this his action. He ſhewed them the expreſs neceſſity he had of ſecuring his own perſon, which he ſaid he had miraculouſly ſaved till now. He added, that he received advertiſement from all ſides of new treacheries; and that he knew for certain that the Counts, *Egmont*, *Laleigne*, and *Hees*, together with divers others unquiet and treacherouſly minded people, had laid ſnares for him about *Namures*, expecting when he ſhould return for *Bruſſels*. And finally, he ſaid, he would make the States acquainted with the whole matter; aſſuring himſelf that they would reſent his injuries according to the demerits thereof: as he for his part would remain conſtant to all things agreed upon with them; and would endeavour all peace and proſperity to the Country. He preſently diſpatched away *Signior di Raſſenghien* to *Bruſſels*, and by a Letter written to the States; endeavoured to juſtifie what he had done, repreſenting what made moſt for that purpoſe. He deſired them that they would ſee to the remedying of diſorders, and declared that being neceſſitated to retire into the Caſtle of *Namures*, he would out of the ſame neceſſity ſtay there, till his ſafety might be by them provided for in ſuch manner as was fitting. Great was the commotion that this accident occaſioned amongſt the States.

They

They immediately ſent away three of their members to *Namures*; the Abbot of *Maroles*, the Archdeacon of *Ipry*, and *Signior di Brus*, by whom they writ unto *Don John*, and earneſtly deſired him that he would lay aſide all jealouſies, and return to *Bruſſels*. But he, who would not return thither unleſs it were in a more honourable and ſafe way than before, ſent the Lord *Gravendon*, the Treaſurer-General back with them to *Bruſſels*, and by him demanded divers things of the States, which he thought he very well might do, by virtue of the agreement made with them. The cheif of them were theſe.

That he might uſe ſuch Authority as became his place of Governour and Captain General: That he might have ſuch a guard as he might truſt in; and the neceſſary command over the Officers of War; That he might confer the Offices of the Country, as the precedent Governours had done; and above all, he required, that in caſe the Prince of Orange, *and the two Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand, *ſhould not perform to do what became them on their parts; that then the States ſhould break off from holding any intelligence with them, and ſhould joyn with him to uſe ſuch remedies therein as ſhould be requiſite.*

The States reply'd, That in the firſt place *Don John* ſhould return to *Bruſſels*, where he ſhould receive all fitting ſatisfaction. But he perſiſting in the reſolution he had taken, and they on the other ſide being no leſs firm in their reſolves, jealouſies increaſed ſuddenly on all ſides. It was this mean while every where known that *Don John* was retired to *Namures*, wherat *Orange* (you will eaſily believe) was not any whit diſpleaſed, thinking that from this novelty many others might ſuddenly ariſe, which might make for his purpoſe. Yet he appeared in publick to be very much grieved for it, and complained very much of it in all parts. He inflamed the States to reſentment: and to aggravate *Don Johns* offences, he divulged certain Letters, which (as his Aſſociates ſaid) were come into his hands by the King of *Navars* means, who they affirmed had intercepted them in *Gaſcony* upon occaſion of their being ſent by *Don John* and *Eſcovedo* through thoſe parts into *Spain*. Theſe Letters contained divers particulars, which not without reaſon might render *Don John* ſuſpected, if they had been true, as *Don John* affirmed them to be falſe. The Contents thereof were chiefly this; That he exhorted the King to make himſelf be obeyed by Arms in *Flanders*, for that otherwiſe he would loſe all authority there. Theſe Letters were held to be very true by the States, and as ſuch, were by them diſperſt throughout all the whole Country, and were tranſlated into divers languages, that they might be the better underſtood by every one. *Orange* growing hereupon daily into more credit with them, he ſtrongly perſwaded them to Arm, repreſenting the danger which might inſue, if any delay were made. Affirming,

That aſſuredly Don Johns *actions in* Namures *were anticipately plotted in* Spain: *and that therefore it was to be preſuppoſed that the Kings forces, brought but a little before into* Italy, *would ſuddenly be led back to* Flanders. *That therefore they muſt be prevented.* Don John *muſt ſuddenly be driven from* Namures: *A paſſage of ſuch importance muſt be taken from him; let him then go into his ſo faithful Province of* Lucemburg, *and let him try how much he would be bettered by that Provinces not joyning in uniform conſent with all the reſt.*

This counſel was ſoon imbraced, and with equal readineſs executed. The States gave out divers Commiſſions to raiſe men, and prepared to uſe force againſt *Don John*, unleſs he would return to *Bruſſels* in his former condition. The mean while they wrote a long Letter unto the King, laying all the accuſations they were able upon *Don John*, and offered to juſtifie the cauſe which they would by all means maintain on their ſides: They did inlarge themſelves particularly in the buſineſs concerning the *Germans*, in that of *Namures*, and upon the Letters which had fallen into their hands.

'That *Don John* by artificial practiſes had hindred the auditing of the Pay with thoſe of that 'Nation; that under falſe pretences he was gone to *Namures*, and upon falſer ſuggeſtions of 'fear had made himſelf Maſter of that Caſtle. That doubtleſly the aforeſaid Letters were 'written by him and *Eſcovedo*, he not being able to deny his own Characters which were found 'in ſome of them. That his evil mind to the Country did hereby appear, his intention of not 'ſtanding to the Agreement made between him and the States: and that his deſire of bring-'ing all things again to Arms, was thereby manifeſtly diſcovered. That *Eſcovedo* had nou-'riſhed this opinion in him; and that being a Spaniard, he did ſtrangely maligne and hate the 'Flemiſh. They therefore deſired the King that he would ſhew his heavy reſentment by his 'proceding againſt him; and that he ſhould enjoyn *Don John* duely to obſerve what with ſo 'many circumſtances he had ſolemnly agreed upon with them. Otherwiſe they ſhould be in-'forced to proteſt, that he failing on his behalf, the miſchief and diſorders which would neceſ-'ſarily inſue, to the prejudice of the King, Religion, and of the Countries welfare, were not to 'be imputed to them.

Don John writ likewiſe into *Spain*, endeavouring to clear himſelf of the imputations laid upon him in that Letter; adding what was moſt needful to what had formerly been repreſented by *Eſcovedo*. He ſhewed,

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'That the difficulty in the German buſineſs riſe from *Orange* his Faction, who endeavour-'ed to gain that Souldiery to themſelves. That having miraculouſly ſaved himſelf from ſo 'many Treacheries and Conſpiracies, he, with much ado, had got, with ſome of his truſtieſt 'friends, into the Caſtle of *Namures*. That thoſe Letters which were aſcribed to be written 'by him, or by *Eſcovedo*, were certainly to be judged as either wholly feigned, or in a great part 'by the ſame faction. And what greater contradiction could there be, than that he ſhould firſt 'ſend the Spaniards away, and afterwards adviſe the King to proceed with violence againſt 'the Flemiſh? That at that time ſuch an advice would have been very much contrary to the 'ſeaſon, to reaſon, and to his Majeſties ſervice. But that now inſtead of giving it, he did 'avow it was very requiſite to do it: for that if his Majeſty did not ſuddenly by his Forces pre-'vent thoſe dangers, which did ſo eminently threaten *Flanders*, all the Provinces would re-'volt; which when they ſhould once be loſt, they would not be ſo eaſily regotten.

This was the oppoſition between *Don Johns* Letter and thoſe of the States: but neither of them forbore this mean while to advantage themſelves by preparing Arms; for it was almoſt impoſſible ever to return to a new agreement. *Don John* endeavoured to get the chiefeſt places of the Country of *Namures* into his hands, and in particular ſecured himſelf of *Charlemonts* and *Mariamburg*, both of them very well fortified; and which had taken their names, the one of them from the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, and the other from his Siſter Queen *Mary*. He likewiſe held very ſecret intelligence in the Citadel of *Antwerp*, to draw over the Walloones, who had the keeping of it, to ſide with him, and ſo to become maſter of that ſo important ſtrength. He dealt likewiſe with ſome German Companies, who were in the Town, and which were of *Fromsberg* and *Fouchero's* Regiments, and did the like with other Officers of that Nation, which were in *Bergen ap Zome*, in *Tolen*, in *Breda*, in *Balduke*, and in other places. But in the government of theſe negotiations, the event ſhewed that Fortune did favour the States much more than ſhe did *Don John*. The practice in the Citadel of *Antwerp* was diſcovered and prevented. And the Flemiſh having a vigilant eye every where, and having better conveniency to uſe either monies or force with the Germans, they forbear not uſing either of them, as occaſion did beſt ſerve: ſo as in a ſhort time they ſent them out of all the aboveſaid places. And in *Bergen ap Zome*, where Colonel *Fonchero* was quartered, and in *Breda*, where *Fromsberg* was in garriſon, their Forces proved ſo perfidious as that they put both the Towns into the States hands. They then fell to demoliſh the Caſtles. That of *Antwerp* was firſt ſlighted, but only on that ſide which lay toward the City; the reſt was left in its former ſtrength. The people ran with great joy to this buſineſs, ſtriving who ſhould out do one another in the pulling down thereof; and expreſſing ſuch rage againſt thoſe inſenſible Platforms and Walls, as they could not have ſhewed greater againſt the Authors of them. By the example of the *Antwerpians* thoſe of *Gaunt* did the like to their Caſtle: and ſo where all the reſt diſmantled, except the Caſtle of *Cambray*, which the States durſt not meddle with, for that it was in a City which was ſubject to the Empire, and to Archepiſcopal juriſdiction. Yet they wrought ſo, as they got Signior *d' Inſy* to be put into it, and to keep it for their ſervice; cauſing Signior *di Lich* to be put out of it, who kept it formerly under the Kings protection. *Don John* was now all alone in *Namures*, the Duke of *Ariſcot* and almoſt all the reſt of the Nobility, which had waited upon him thither, being under ſeveral pretences gone: ſo as no perſons of any quality remained with him ſave *Barlemont* and his Sons, and *Maurſfield* in the contiguous Province of *Lucemburg*. He was not failing in the repreſenting to the life his dangers and his neceſſities to the Court of *Spain*; and notwithſtanding kept ſtill fair with the States, telling them that he had deſired the King to ſend another Governor into *Flanders*, who might be more acceptable to the Country: He offered to withdraw himſelf into the Province of *Lucemburg*, and there to expect the Kings orders; and propounded that the States in this interim might not come to any act of hoſtility, nor make any innovation. But they ſuſpecting, that *Don Johns* end was to make them foreſlow their preparations, and ſo allow more time to the King to make his, did not any whit cool in their former reſolutions. They therefore ſignified unto *Don John*, that in the firſt place he ſhould cauſe the City and Caſtle of *Namures* to be put into their hands, together with other Towns, which he had taken in that Province. Which he abſolutely refuſed to do, unleſs ſuch proviſion were firſt had, as was requiſite for his dignity and ſafety. Thus were the minds on all ſides daily more and more exaſperated. The States General gave preſent order that *Orange* ſhould come himſelf in Perſon to *Bruſſels*; and to this purpoſe they ſent four of their Deputies to him. There was nothing which he did more deſire than this. Wherefore he came quickly to *Breda*, a Town of his own, and which he had then recovered, after having been many years deprived of it. From thence he went to *Antwerp*, and ſo to *Bruſſels*. It is not to be ſaid with what concourſe of people, and with what Jubile he was received in both thoſe Cities. The multitude, being impatient to ſee him within their Walls, went to meet him whole miles off in the fields, and following him with great acclamations of joy, called him the Father, the Protector, and the Upholder of the Belgick Liberty. Nor were the demonſtrations of gladneſs leſs in all the more civil orders; in ſuch ſort as his entry and re-

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ceiving, looked much more like the absolute Lord of the two abovesaid Provinces, than of the Vassal of a Prince who had just and soveraign power over him and them. Hardly was he well settled in *Brussels*, when to witness the great respect they bore him, he was by the general Orders created Governour of *Brabant*: an honour altogether unaccustomed. For the General Governour residing usually in that Province, there needs no other particular Government. 'Tis true that nothing is more pernitious in States than faction: but from this evil, this good doth sometimes arise, That whilst the one beats down the other, the lawful Prince may the more easily subdue them both. *Orange* his Faction was grounded upon the favour of the people, and of the new Sects, as may sufficiently be comprehended by what hath been already said. Wherefore when 'twas seen that his Authority grew to that hight not only in *Holland* and in *Zealand*, but even elsewhere; and that his design was every day seen of lessening the King Authority, as also that of the Church; high disdain arose in the the Chief Nobles of *Brabant*, of the Province of *Flanders*, and of the Walloon Provinces, and from this disdain did a practice proceed of framing another Faction, which might at least counterpoise this.

The Duke of *Arischot*, as we have told you before, had a particular emulation to the Prince of *Orange*: and many in *Flanders* being of opinion, that after the death of *Requesens*, the King would have sent some of the Emperours brothers to be Governour of *Flanders*, and especially the Archduke *Mathias*, *Arischot* had therefore from that very time endeavoured more then any other, to insinuate himself into the favour of that Prince. *Mathias* was not then above 22 years old; his fortune was not answerable to this birth; for he had many brothers, wherefore his house was rather oppress by them than upheld. He was therefore very desirous of this imployment in *Flanders*, thinking he could not find another like it in all *Germany*. *Arischot* making himself head of this faction, and judging that nothing could make more for the advantage thereof, than to have a Governour chosen by their Authority, he sent an express Messenger Privately away to *Vienna*, and alleadging all the reasons which might most perswade him thereunto, he endeavoured to make him take upon him the Government of *Flanders*. In this proposal it was questionable whether the arrogancy of the propounder was greater, or the easiness of the accepter thereof. And to say truth, there could not well any more rash action been undertaken, then for the abovesaid Nobles to appoint a Governour over *Flanders*, of their own Authority. And on the other side, the Archduke appeared too easie in accepting the offer, not weighing as he ought to have done, how the King, to whom he was so nearly ally'd, would be thereat offended, and upon whose Supreme and lawful Authority that election did of right depend. But *Mathias* being perswaded that the King would approve of it, and that in effect he could not wish more then to have an Austrian Prince of *Germany* at the Helm of Government in *Flanders*, by reason of the conformity of the two Nations; especially a Prince who was invited thereunto by the chief Nobility of the Countrey, he did not any longer dispute the businesse.

This action was of such a nature as it was to be executed ere it were divulged. Wherefore *Mathias* in the silentest hours of the night, took Post, and with all speed made towards *Cullen*, and passing over the *Rhine* there, entered the Low-Countries within a few days, and came into *Brabant*. When this was known in *Vienna*, the Emperour was exceedingly troubled at it. He sent speedily to stay his brother; and to this purpose wrote very effectual Letters to all those Princes, through whose States he was to pass. But no good insuing thereupon, he justified himself unto the King as it became him to do; chiefly accusing his brother, and shewing himself ready to resent it. When *Mathias* was come into *Flanders*, he soon perceived how much *Orange* his faction prevalled over that of *Arischot*; and that he was to compass his desired end much rather by the means of that, then of the other. *Orange* was not inwardly displeased at the resolution taken concerning *Mathias*. He saw nothing could make more for his desires than to see *Mathias* and *Don John* opposite one to another. That this might occasion great jealousies between the two Austrian Houses of *Germany* and *Spain*: and above all, that such an action would make *Don John* irreconcilable to the Nobility, who had herein so heinously offended him. For what remained, be doubted not but to be soon able to make the Archduke throw himself wholly into his hands. He therefore first exhorted the States to dissemble the injury they received, by *Mathias* his being brought in without their authority or knowlodg, and went about with some of his trustiest friends amongst them to discredit *Arischot*. *Arischot* was Governour of the Province of *Flanders*, and prepared to go from *Gaunt*, the chiefest City of that Province, nobly accompanied to *Lyre*, where the Archduke by order from the States stayed, till some resolution should be taken touching his person. *Orange* had a great many of followers throughout all that whole Province, and chiefly in the Town of *Gaunt*: and of all the people of *Flanders*, those of *Gaunt* were always readiest to revolt. *Orange* therefore handled the matter so, as to make *Arischot* be held amongst them for the Author of this novelty; in so much as a great tumult arising in that City amongst some of the most seditious, the whole storm fell finally upon *Arischots* own self; as if he, contrary to the order of the States General, would arrogate that unto himself which did not belong unto him touching *Mathias*: Whereupon he was with great



Mathias Arch-Duke of Austria
Duke of Burgundy & Governour
of the Vnited Provinces. / 162

great ſcorn impriſoned, and of a Governour made a Captive. Some others of quality were impriſoned with him. His impriſonment laſted ſix dayes; after which time he was reſtored to his liberty and former place; but ſo, as he was to acknowledge *Orange* for the ſole author of it. Indeavours where had afterwards to reconcile them; but ere this muſt be done, *Orange* muſt ſhew his Authority in *Ariſcots* own Government, to be the ſame, which he with unuſual demonſtrations enjoyed throughout the whole Country. He to this purpoſe effected an occaſion of going to *Gaunt*, cauſing himſelf to be invited thereunto by the publick deſire of that City, as alſo of the whole Province. And he was ſo received by the Gaunteſes, as they could not have ſhewn greater demonſtrations of gladneſs, if the King himſelf had come unto their City. When *Orange* had diſcredited *Ariſcots* faction as much as he thought good, and having made ſufficient Oſtentation of his own; the States reſolved to make the Archduke *Mathias* the General Governour. The reaſon they gave for it was this, That *Don John* having failed in his duty, and by the example of the former Spaniſh Governours, having endeavoured rather to oppreſs *Flanders* than to govern it, it was thought fit to have ſuch a Governour, as might be ſatisfactory to the Country: That the Archduke *Mathias* was thought to be ſuch a one; both for his own condition, and for that he was ſo near ally'd in blood unto the King. And that the States had pitcht upon his Election, particular to avoid the danger of any other Prince his entrance into *Flanders*, and fixing himſelf there.

Mathias paſt on to this purpoſe to *Antwerp*, where he was ſolemnly received, and with him was *Orange*, who treated with him at large in that City; and many Articles were agreed upon, by which he bound himſelf to govern.

The firſt was, That the Prince of *Orange* ſhould be given unto him for his Lieutenant. All the reſt tended to make his Authority ſubordinate to that of the States General, ſo as he could not in any whatſoever manner do any publick action without their will and conſent. The

States and the ſaid *Mathias* did afterwards by their Letters to the King, endeavour to procure his approbation of that Election, endeavouring to honeſt it in manner aforeſaid, and by divers other colourable pretences. But this mean while the States forbare not to prepare forces, and they turned them chiefly towards *Vaures* a Town between *Bruſſels* and *Namures* as hath been elſewhere ſaid; here they reſolved to make their Rendezvous, reſolving to beſiege *Namures*, So as when they ſhould have poſſeſt that Paſs towards *Italy*, as they had already done the other of *Maſtrick* towards *Germany*, there might be no paſſage left for the Kings men, who were to enter into *Flanders* either by the one or the other in an hoſtile manner. This was the reſolution of the States General; and this was *Orange* his perticular opinion, who governed all things then according to his own will.

But when *Eſcovedo* was come to *Spain*, and the other news of the novelties happened in *Flanders* being likewiſe advertiſed, continual conſultations was had there touching what was to be done in the affairs of that Country. The King conſidered on the one ſide, that to return to arms again, would be to return to the former vaſt expences, and exceſſive difficulties; and that his enemies, and thoſe that envied his greatneſs, deſired nothing more, then that he might re-enter upon a War of which he ſhould never have an end, and wherein he was to ſpend the flower of his Militia. There were not wanting ſome in his Council, who did not approve of *Don Johns* retreat to *Namures*, and of his ſurpriſing that Caſtle; as if he had done it not ſo much out of neceſſity, as out of choice, that he might have Forces in his hands, and gather thereout more advantage to himſelf, then to the Kings ſervice. But on the other ſide it was conſidered, that if *Don John* ſhould not be preſently ſuccoured, and that with powerful forces, the Kings affairs in *Flanders* would be utterly loſt; the plots which were practiſed to that purpoſe, both within and without, being too apparent. To boot that there was no way ſeen whereby to come to a peaceable agreement, but by preparing with all poſſible power for a new War.

Theſe opinions being then juſtly weighed, it was reſolved in *Spain*, that Orders ſhould be given to all the Kings officers in *Italy*, immediately to ſend back thoſe forces into *Flanders*, who were ſome months before come from thence: and who were now almoſt all of them in the State of *Milan*, or in the Kingdom of *Naples*. At the ſame time Commiſſions for the raiſing of horſe and foot were ſent from the King into *Burgony*, *Lorain*, and the neareſt parts of *Germany*. And it fell out luckily that Count *Charls Mansfield*, ſon to Count *Erneſtus*, did then lead back a body of 4000 foot from *France*, which he had formerly brought into that Kingdom for the ſervice of that Crown. So as the Kings Forces began to ſound aloud in divers places, which afforded the Flemiſh ſufficient matter to think upon. Their chief deſign was (as we have a little before ſaid) to beſiege *Namures*, and to be Maſters of that Paſs, which was of ſuch importance. Wherefore the States endeavoured with all diligence to bring their men to the Rendezvous in *Vaures*. And Commanders were already provided for the Army which was a gathering. They had made the Lord *Goygni* Camp-maſter-general; the Count *de Laleigne* General of the foot, Vicecount of *Gaunt* General of the horſe; and Mr. *de la Motte* Maſter of the Artillery. But the ſtrength of their forces did not as yet anſwer to the eagerneſs of their deſign: and therefore they labour'd very hard to get potent ſuccours from their neighbours abroad, and to advantage their Cauſe as much as they might. Theſe endeavors were had (as we have formerly ſaid) in *Germany*, *France*, and *England*. From *Germany* the Palatine *John Caſimire*, promiſed to bring a great ſtrength of men, if they would ſend him mony to pay them. In *France*, that King would not meddle with the revolt of *Flanders*, they having been too buſie in the Domeſtical troubles of his own Kingdom. Nor could the Duke of *Alanſon* much favour the Flemiſh by his own Forces. They therefore placed all their chiefeſt hopes in the Queen of *England*. And doubtleſly they might be better helpt from thence than from any other part, both with men and mony. Wherefore they turned their chiefeſt endeavours thither: and to give it the greater weight and reputation, they ſent a ſolemn Ambaſſy to the Queen, the head whereof was the Marquis of *Haure*. The Queen her ſelf deſired that this clamorous appearance might be made, to the end that ſhe might the better honeſt unto the King of *Spain* any aid that ſhe ſhould give them, through the publick complaints of the Flemiſh.

A firm Confederacy was by this means made without much difficulty between the Queen and the Belgick States; the ſubſtance whereof was, That each ſide ſhould aſſiſt other interchangeably, with proportionable Forces by Sea and Land. The Queen obliged her ſelf thereunto with preſent effects, and with declaring that ſhe would not ſuffer *Flanders* to be oppreſt. And on the contrary, the States promiſed to aſſiſt the Queen whenſoever ſhe ſhould be moleſted by the common enemy. She ſuddenly ſent an expreſs Ambaſſador into *Spain* to juſtifie this action of hers unto the King, and ſought to honeſt it, by making known how much her intereſt was concerned in not ſuffering her Neighbours to be oppreſt, eſpecially the *Femiſh*, with whom the *Engliſh* had alwayes kept good correſpondence. She ſhewed the King, that he ought rather to be well pleaſed than offended with what ſhe had done in their aſſiſtance; for that otherwiſe they might peradventure through deſpair have thrown

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themſelves into the hands of ſome other neighbouring Prince. She exhorted him, ſpeedily to ſend ſome other Governor of his own blood, in ſtead of *Don John*: but chiefly to comply with the *Flemiſh* in their ſo juſt demands, and fairly to compound the affairs of thoſe Countries; to which purpoſe ſhe offered on her ſide to uſe her beſt and moſt powerful mediation. When ſhe had ſatisfied this her palliated reſpect to *Spain*, ſhe failed not readily to perform her true deſigns on the behalf of *Flanders*; ſhe ſuddenly raiſed the monies which were needful to raiſe the intended Forces in *Germany*, under *John Caſimire*, which were to be moſt of them Horſe, and gave order that a good number of Foot ſhould be ſent out of her own Kingdom. The monies being received, *John Caſimire* was not ſlack in uſing ſuch diligence as was behoveful: Nor was the Duke of *Alanſon* wanting in nouriſhing all hopes of good aſſiſtance from his ſide. The noiſe of theſe ſuccours where greatly amplified by *Orange* and his faction, to make the States General ſtill the more reſolute in not liſtening to any accommodation with *Don John*. The Biſhop of *Liege* now become Cardinal, had by Commiſſion from the Emperour endeavoured to begin a new Treaty of Agreement; and though the difficulties grew daily greater, yet he would never give over the Negotiation, hoping that it might one day prove more ſucceſsful. On the contrary, that it might be the harder to effect, *Orange* cauſed the States to publiſh an Edict againſt *Don John*, wherein in bitter terms they declared him to be a Violator of the Peace, and made all thoſe that followed him ſubject to the puniſhment of Rebellion, if within 15 dayes they did not reſolve to leave him. *Don John* this mean while, leaving a ſufficient garriſon in *Namures*, was gone into the Province of *Lucemburg*, that he might be the readier to receive the Forces which were to come to him from *Italy*, and which were raiſed in the other neighbouring parts. And mightily encouraged by reaſon of the reſolutions which were put on in *Spain*, according to his deſire, he had deſigned the Town of *Marks* for his Rendezvous, that he might be the nearer to relieve *Namures*, if need ſhould be, and afterward to enter with all his Forces more into the heart of the Country. This deſign, which was ſoon known by the Flemiſh Commanders, made them haſten the more to beſiege *Namures*, and to keep *Don John* from re-entring into *Brabant*. They therefore approached the City on divers ſides, and poſſeſt themſelves of divers places, that they might begin to begirt it. But neither had they as then men enough, nor did their condition correſpond with the imployment. Their men were almoſt all of them of their own Country, taken up where they could find them, and the moſt of them ill provided; and their Horſe conſiſted of the old Trained-bands of *Flanders*, which were but ſeldom wont to go into the field, and to be imployed in war. They not withſtanding made ſome progreſs. For *Bovigni*, a Town upon the *Mauſe*, and not far from *Namures*, fell by Treaty into their hands; and in ſome skirmiſhes which hapned between their men and thoſe of *Namures* they had ſomewhat the better. But all theſe were but petty buſineſſes in reſpect of what they had propoſed unto themſelves as their chief deſign.

The year 1578. now followed. In the beginning whereof all the men being arrived which *Don John* expected from *Italy*, and thoſe being added unto them, which he had raiſed in the neighbouring Countries, he would no longer defer drawing near the Enemy. At firſt he temporiſed, till he was better provided of Forces: but now that he was ſo well furniſhed, he thought it made much for his advantage to fall upon the Enemy as ſoon as he could, and fight them before they ſhould have received the forreign Forces which they expected. The Flemiſh Commanders changed likewiſe their deſigns: For whereas before they thought to have beſieged *Namures*, they now determined to retreat to *Brabant*, and to put themſelves into ſome ſafe quarter, till ſtrengthened by forreign forces they might face *Don John*. They had about 10000 Foot, the moſt of them *Walloons*, the reſt *Flemiſh*, unleſs it were one *Engliſh* Regiment, wherein were ſome *Scots* and *French*: They had not above 1500 Horſe, compoſed of the Train'd-Bands of *Flanders*; of 300 Rutters, and as many Dragoons. In the King Army there was about 5000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, the moſt of which were *Spaniards* and *Italians*, all of them choiſe men, and all of them long practiſed in military affairs in *Flanders*. At the Kings firſt reſolution of taking up Arms, *Alexander Ferneſe* Prince of *Parma* appeared in *Flanders*, being deſired ſo to do by the King himſelf, and *Don John* having very much deſired it. *Don John* had had ſufficient experience of this Prince his valour, in the memorable Leagure againſt the *Turks*, and perticularly in the Battel at *Lepanto*: wherefore he aſſured himſelf he would prove as valiant now in *Flanders*. Nor was he deceived in his expectation. *Ferneſe* was no ſooner come, then laying aſide all prerogative of blood, wherein he was ſo nearly allied to the King, and to *Don John*, he applied himſelf wholly to thoſe military actions, which were to make him appear as much ſuperior to others in merit, as he was in quality. None could be more careful them he in providing for all things from time to time; in receiving of the Kings men, as they came into the Province of *Lucemburg*, in quartering of them, in bringing them to the rendezvous, and in all other imployments of the Army. He applied himſelf to thoſe of every Nation; he ſpoke almoſt all their languages: He was the firſt in undertaking any labour, the laſt in giving it over: He was no wayes curious in his diet, nor ſleep; in his apparel more a Souldier than a Prince; and alwayes more intent upon the Kings ſervice than his own. The Vigour of his body was



Alexander Farneze Prince of Parma & Piacenza Governour of ye Low countreys.
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no whit inferiour to that of his mind; and his martial aſpect did promiſe Victory before it was won. When the Army was come to its Rendezvous, *Don John*, deſirous to make the juſtice of the Kings cauſe appear, and thereby the more enflame the Souldiers to defend it, he with a chearful countenance ſpake thus unto them.

After ſo many treaties of Peace in vain, at laſt (valiant Souldiers?) Fortune hath pleaſed or rather Juſtice, to put into your hands an opportunity of eſtabliſhing the Kings authority again in Flanders *by Arms. For what concerned Treaties of Accomodation, what hath not been done? What hath not the King condeſcended unto? I am aſhamed to remember how I arrived in theſe Provinces. When I was come, (I cannot ſay whether more unarm'd, or more unknown) I ſhewed my ſelf totally diſpoſed to Peace, and endeavoured by all means I could to take away thoſe rubs, which might hinder the effecting of it. Let the truth be ſaid, and let the true manner of proceedings be known; which on the behalf of the Flemiſh, in the handling and concluding of all their Treaties, was much rather to give Laws, than to receive them, and to proceed rather like Soveraigns than Subjects. Would they firſt of all have the Peace of* Gaunt *confirmed? I confirmed that peace. Would they have all the Forts in their own hands? I put them into their hands. Would they have all Forreigners depart? I was contented to be without any Forreign Souldiers. Would they laſtly have an abſolute Flemiſh Government? I did likewiſe ſo far ſatiſfie them in that, as retaining hardly the bare and naked Title of Governour to my ſelf, all affairs were done by the Council of State, and all Authority lay in the intire will of the Provinces, ſo exceeding willing was the King to ſhew his goodneſs, and his particular affection towards them. But all would do no good. And truely clemency in Princes ſerves to little purpoſe, when the obſtinacy and diſloyalty of the Subjects is thereby made the greater. What was not plotted, even from the beginning, to keep me from being received into the Government; and afterwards to drive me out of it? What contempt hath not been ſhewed againſt my perſon? what ſnares, have they not laid to take away my life? My retreat or rather my flight to* Namures; *doth ſufficiently*

ficiently witneſs it. I confeſs I did not ſo much ſhun death, as the danger of being ſo ſhamefully led to death: For to loſe a mans life in mutinacy by the hands of murtherers, ought to be reputed as miſerable, as it ought to be eſteemed fortunate to loſe it whilſt one is valiantly fighting amidſt Armies and Battels. After their private, they having ſtirred up publick tumultuations. The whole Country roſe up againſt me on a ſudden; and ſhortly after were called in the reſt their home-forces. And who muſt be the author of theſe troubles, but he that was the ſtirrer up of the former? Orange! that ſeducer of the people; that firſt author of Rebellion: He who firſt invented treaſon firſt againſt the Church, and then againſt the King: though to ſay truth, he could not fall into the firſt fault, without falling neceſſarily into the ſecond: for the King hath always made the Churches cauſe his own. No Forces can be then more juſt than are theſe of the Kings: ſince it is apparantly ſeen he cannot be more juſtly called to maintain the obedience which is due unto the Church, and that which is due unto his Crown. Every one knows how requiſite a good cauſe is to bring a bloody war to a good end. Wherefore ſhould not we then in this behalf augurate good ſucceſs to our undertakings? But our Forces ſhall not prevail more through their cauſe then through their valour. Let every one of you interrogate your ſelves, and call to mind your Military actions, and then let him doubt if he can whether future victories be not largely to correſpond with thoſe that are paſt. What one ſouldier is there here amongſt you who cannot boaſt of ſome egregious action, upon ſo many occaſions, of either having routed the enemy in parties, or overcome them in battels, or quell'd them in ſieges, or forced by ſome other feat of loſt to make your victory ſtill the more illuſtrious? On the contrary, the enemies are ſtill the ſame; to wit, tumultuouſly gathered up; governed without any manner of order; without money; full of diſtruſts within themſelves; and with ſuch variety of ends, as branching one cauſe into many, they will not long imbrace or make good any of them. They are now pitched here about Namures; and with hardly the name of a ſiege, they keep quiet within their quarters; ſhewing clearly that they put all their truſt in forreign ſuccours, ſince they perceive they can have none from within their ſelves. My purpoſe therefore is to ſet upon them at unawares, and to cruſh them before they ſhall receive their expected ſuccours. This firſt victory will make the reſt more eaſie to us: and which of you is it that have not already dyed your ſwords in the bloud of theſe very forreigners, which will now again re-enter Flanders? *Deſperate hereticks who cannot be at quiet within themſelves, and much leſs amongſt their neighbours: and who not content to make war upon God at their own homes, carry it with all ſort of violence, and execrable impiety abroad to others. Buckle your ſelves then my ſouldiers in the Battel: I aſk no more of you then your former performances; and am confident to make mine own actions appear ſuch, as that, as my paſt enterpriſes have proved fortunate againſt the* Turks *and* Moors, *they ſhall now be as ſucceſsfull againſt the Hereticks, in this my preſent expedition, and againſt thoſe other rebels that joyns with them.*

Hardly had *Don John* done ſpeaking, when the whole Army filled the air with ſhouts of joy; and gave all ſuch ſigns as might ſhew both will to fight, and hopes to overcome. The The Kings Camp marched from their Rendezvous towards *Namures*; and *Don John* advancing himſelf, was the firſt that came to that City; egg'd on by his deſire of knowing the enemies proceedings. To this purpoſe he ſent *Mut. Pagano*, an old ſouldier, towards them with his Company of Dragoons? who brought him certain tidings, that the enemy did already quit their quarters, and did depart from about *Namures*. That nevertheleſs they ſeemed as if they would make an orderly retreat; and that their intention was to fortifie themſelves at *Gebleurs*, a Town upon the Confines of *Brabant*, towards *Bruſſels*; towards which place they had already ſent their Baggage. When Armies are near at hand, retreats prove uſually dangerous; and Fortune makes the Commanders vie moſt for valour and induſtry then, whilſt the one ſeeks to retire with honour and ſafety, and the others to beat up their quarters with ignomy and loſs. But the latter have ſtill great advantage upon the former. *Don John* would not therefore let ſlip the occaſion. Count *Peter Ernſtus Mansfield* was Camp-maſter-general of the Army; and *Octavius Gonzaga* General of the Horſe. He ordered *Mansfield* to haſten his march towards *Namures*; and *Gonzaga* to come up ſpeedily with the flowre of his horſe; that he might advance, at leaſt ſome of them, againſt the enemy, and entertain them in the rear whilſt the reſt of the Army might come time enough to give battel, and fare therein according to their hopes. *Gonzaga* readily obeyed; he advanced towards the Enemy with nine Companies of Lanciers, and four of Dragoons. At the ſame time came 1500 Foot, moſt of them Spaniards, which *Mansfield* had with all diligence diſpatcht away.

The *Flemiſh* were gathered together in S. *Martins*, a Village between *Namures* and *Gebleurs*, where they ordered their retreat with all diligence, that they might not allow the Kings men time to joyn, and to come upon them with the more advange. They roſe with their whole Camp from that Village the laſt of *January*, and ordered their march thus. They divided their Foot into three bodies, and left the Horſe in the rear, the better to ſecure them behind, and to beat back the Kings horſe in caſe they ſhould fall upon them in their rear as they retreated, as they feared they would. When *Don John* underſtood that they were on their march, he furniſhed ſome advantagious places with Foot, which lay betwixt him and the Enemy;

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to ſecure the retreat likewiſe of his Horſe, if need ſhould require. He then ſet forward; and they were not gone far when they overtook the enemy, whoſe Foot could not haſten ſo faſt as did the Kings Horſe. All their Leaders were men of valour and experience: The Lanciers were commanded by *Bernardino de Mendoza*, *Curtio Martiningo*, the two brothers *John Baptiſta*, and *Camillo del Monte*, *Nicolo Baſti*, *Alfonſo di Vargas*, *Ernando di Toledo*, *Aurelio Palermo*, and *George Macura*: And the Dragoons by *Antonio Oliviero* Commiſſary-General of the Horſe, *Antonio d' Avalos*, *Mutio Pagano*, and *John Alconeta*. The Dragoons came up firſt, and galled the Enemy when they were not far from *Geblures*; and when they had diſcharged their ſhot, they gave way to the Lanciers, who charged them more cloſe and more home. The Enemies Horſe faced about; and boldly receiving the firſt onſet of the Harquebuſiers, they ſeemed as if they would with the like ſtoutneſs ſtand the ſecond aſſault of the Spear-men; but the effect proved otherwiſe. The Prince of *Parma* would be on the head of the Kings Lanciers, and one of the firſt that ſhould charge the Enemy: which he ſo couragiouſly did, and was ſo well followed by the reſt, as the Flemiſh Horſe after having made ſome appearing reſiſtance, gave manifeſt ſigns of yielding. *Don John* came up this mean while with ſome few Foot, for it was impoſſible to have many time enough to fight. But the enemy believeing that all the Kings men were come up, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, turned their retreat into a downright running away, and ſought onely how to ſave themſelves. The Horſe, throwing away their Arms began to run; and being cloſely purſued by the Kings Horſe, they fell foul upon the rear of their own Foot. They charge, and therewithal confuſion paſt into the body of the Battel, which was likewiſe ſoon diſordered and routed: the Van, which had much advantaged themſelves in their march, received no harm at all. The Enemy being routed, the Kings men fell to execution; but they were ſo few in number, as they could not draw ſo much blood from the Enemy as they would have done. The Enemy fled ſundry wayes, and could not be equally purſued by the Kings men; inſomuch as many of them ſaved their heads by their heels. The report was notwithſtanding, that about 3000 of them were ſlain, and many of them taken priſoners, amongſt which *Il Signor di Goigny*, who was the Enemies moſt conſiderable Commander. There was hardly any of the Kings men ſlain, very few hurt: And truely the Victory was ſuch, as it was doubted whether it were more to be aſcribed to fortune or to valour. *Don John* having got the better of the buſineſs, purſued his victory. He preſently turned towards the Town of *Geblures*, near unto which the battel was fought: And putting the Enemy to flight a ſecond time; a good many whereof, after their defeat, were got under thoſe walls, and ſeemed as if they would re-order themſelves, he eaſily perſwaded the Townſmen to ſubmit to the Kings obedience. The Kings Camp meeting all here together, the greateſt part whereof, as hath been ſaid, could not be at the battel; *Don John* ſent *Octavia Gonzaga* to take in *Lovain*, and the Lord *Hierges* to recover *Bovigne*. *Gonzaga* met with no oppoſition; and *Hierges* preſenting his Artillery before the walls, he with ſmall reſiſtance reduced that Town likewiſe. But the Prince of *Parma* found harder work at the Town of *Sichen*, to the taking whereof *Don John* had ſent him apart by himſelf. The Town was not ſtrong by nature, nor was it made ſo by induſtry, there was alſo but a weak garriſon in it: And yet the Townſmen and the Souldiers being obſtinate in the defence thereof, the Prince was forced to batter the walls divers times, and to make many fierce aſſaults; in the laſt whereof the Kings men falling with the Townſmen into the Town, they made great ſlaughter of them, and afterwards plundred the City in hoſtile manner. The Captain of the Garriſon, and ſome of the Souldiers ſaved themſelves in a little Caſtle within the Town, but were forced ſoon after to yield upon diſcretion, and all of them were put to death by the Hangman, for having been more fool-hardy than ſtout, and for having choſen force before clemency. By the example of *Sichen*, *Diſte*, *Ariſcot*, *Leuve*, *Telemone* and divers other leſs conſiderable places of *Brabant* on the ſide thereof which lies towards *Namures*, came without any diſpute into *Don Johns* hands. *Neville*, one of the beſt Towns in all *Brabant*, lay nearer *Bruſſels*. *Don John* would have taken it by force; but he met with ſuch oppoſition, as he was forced to tarry longer about it then he had thought: He came therefore to battery, and from thence to aſſaults, which coſt much blood. Monſieur *de Villiers* commanded in chief within the Town, who egregiouſly performed his part, as did alſo all his Souldiers. The Town was not ſtrong notwithſtanding, nor could it hold out long: whereupon the Kings men being much incenſed, and threatning to deal with *Neville* as they had but lately done with *Sichen*, the Townſmen upon better conſideration came to Articles, and reſolved to yield the Town, when the Garriſon ſhould be marcht out with their Arms and baggage. From hence the Army entred into the Province of *Henault*, and without much oppoſition took the Towns of *Reus*, *Gogni*, *Bins*, and *Mabuge*, with divers others of the like condition, which were all but very weak. So as theſe petty victories ſeemed to correſpond but badly with that ſo noble a one which *Don John* had but a little before got at *Geblures*. After the taking of *Nivelle*, *Don John* would willingly have ſtraitned *Bruſſels*, from whence

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the Archduke *Mathias* and the Prince of *Orange*, with evident ſigns of fear, where gone to *Antwerp*, to ſecure that City, wherein lay the greateſt conſequence of all the affairs of *Flanders*. But the beſieging of *Bruſſels* would not have been a buſineſs of ſuch diſpatch: for it was a place of large circuit, and greatly peopled, and which might have ſtood out long. Wherefore the Council of War were of opinion, that it were better firſt to poſſeſs all the Country, which lay about *Namures*, to ſecure themſelves ſtill the more of that paſſage, which lay ſo opportunely for the receiving of ſuccours from *Italy*, and which would make the other paſs over the *Mauſe* at *Maſtrick* the more eaſie; by which aid, in aſſiſtance of the King, might likewiſe be brought from the neighbouring parts of *Germany*. Wherefore *Don John* enlarging his quarters in the two Provinces of *Brabant* and *Heynault*, that he might receive his victuals with more eaſe, and in the greater abundance, re-entred into the Country of *Namures*, and reſolved to to encamp before *Philippaville*. This is a Town of five Royal Bulwarks, which the King fortified, the better to ſecure that Frontier towards *France*, and did therefore honour it with his own name. The quarters being diſtributed according to the diverſity of the Nations they began to make Trenches on one ſide: and *Don John* willing to ſhew his ſuperiority as well in pains-taking, as in command, applied himſelf with great fervor to ſuch works as were of greateſt importance. The Prince of *Parma* was alwayes by his ſide: ſo as by their example every particular Souldier gave himſelf to labour hard in the Siege. When the Trenches were advanced, ſome Canon, and peeces of leſſer bore were planted on that ſide, to bereave the enemy of defence; and the Kings men coming at laſt into the ditch, began to lodge there. But thoſe within were not leſs ready in making reſiſtance. *Signor di Glimes* was chief Commander over them, and with him were five foot colours, and one Troop of Carbines on Horſe back: the people were but few in reſpect of the need, and they wanted many things within the Town for their defence. Yet the enemy ſeeming as if they would maintain it; and encouraged by *Orange*, who promiſed they ſhould within a ſhort time be relieved, they began at firſt to annoy the Kings Camp with frequent ſhot, and by ſome ſallies endeavoured to hinder the working of the Trenches, at leaſt to keep them further off. Being come to fight at nearer diſtance, the actions grew hotter; the aſſailants ſaught how to get nearer the Walls, and the aſſailed how to keep them further off. But the Kings men did ſo well ſhelter themſelves, and did ſo advance with their Trenches and Earth-works, and by their batteries threw down ſo great a part of the Wall, as they prepared to come boldly on to the Aſſault, when the Governour reſolved to ſurrender the Town to *Don John*. Some ſuccour was indeavoured to have been brought in, but that failing, the beſieged were much diſcouraged. It was notwithſtanding thought, that the Governour was too eaſily perſwaded to ſurrender, being more wrought upon by promiſes from *Don John*, than by any neceſſity. And his going over ſoon after to the Kings ſide, turned this opinion into a believed certainty.

When *Don John* was rid of this enterpriſe; he reſolved to leave *Gonzaga* with a good part of the horſe, and ſome foot upon thoſe Frontiers of *Heynault* and *Artois*, to withſtand ſome preparations, which the Duke of *Alanſon* was making in *France*, againſt *Flanders* on thoſe parts. And *Gonzaga* did luckily defeat ſome Companies of Foot, who were already entred the Country. After this he endeavoured to endamage the Territories thereabouts which were in the hands of the Flemiſh Rebels, by frequent inroads, and eſpecially by deſtroying the Corn upon the ground, which was then a ripening. *Don John* ſent the Prince of *Parma* at the ſame time with other forces to ſtreighten *Limburg*, a Town which gives the name to that Province, and lies near the Country of *Namures*, being very commodious for the receiving of aid from *Germany*. At the firſt battery the Town ſurrendred to *Ferneſe*; from whence the Governour retired himſelf into the Caſtle, which is very ſtrong, by reaſon of its ſituation, ſtanding upon a very ſteep rock; wherefore he reſolutely prepared to ſtand out. But his ſouldiers were of another mind; for being but very few in number, and having but ſmall or no hopes of being relieved; they would not run the hazard of puniſhment: aſſuring themſelves, that they ſhould eaſily obtain pardon: as they did: for *Ferneſe*, ſuffering the Governour to go out free, did not onely pardon the other ſouldiers, but took them almoſt all into the Kings ſervice. This was the proceedings of the Kings Army after the battel of *Gebleurs*. This mean while *Norchermes*, Lord of *Selle*, was come from *Spain*: by whom the King had by his Letters ſignified his pleaſure touching the novelties which had happened in *Flanders*. The Contents whereof were, That he would not have the Flemiſh acknowledge any other Governour than *Don John*. For what remain'd, in a language, which reliſht both of the ſower and ſweet, he commended the States in ſtanding ſo firm in their obedience to him, and to the Church, and aſſured them, that whilſt they ſhould perſevere in ſo doing, they ſhould receive all fair uſage from him. And he referr'd himſelf, to what the ſaid Lord of *Selle* ſhould repreſent more particularly in his name, touching the compoſing of the new Commotions, which were raiſed in thoſe Provinces. But from the time, that the States had written unto the King, complaining ſo bitterly againſt *Don John* (as we then told you) the affairs on all ſides were ſo imbittered, as there was no means left for any peaceable accommodation. For

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the States declared themſelves fully reſolved never to acknowledge *Don John* for their Governour. That they had choſen the Archduke *Mathias* to govern them; that therefore they deſired the Government might be left to him; which if otherwiſe the fault was not theirs, if the ſervice of the Church and King did daily ſuffer detriment. *Selle* procured a Treaty between both parties; but to no end. He then endeavoured that the Prince of *Parma* might negotiate with the States: believing that he, as Son to the Lady *Margaret*, toward whom the Flemiſh had ſhewed ſo great affection, might well be received by them, and might more eaſily overcome the difficulties which lay on that ſide. But he propoſed, that for the Prince his ſecurity, the Prince of *Orange* ſhould the mean while be put into the hands of *Don John*, which made them abſolutely refuſe the Treaty. And for this particular, which had encouraged *Orange* and ſome others, they grew very jealous of the Treaty mentioned by *Selle*. At this time the Emperour had likewiſe interceeded with the Flemiſh, to bring them to ſome good agreement with the King. He had joyned complaints with his exhortations, ſaying, that they had ſtoln the Archduke *Mathias* from him; which action of theirs the King had great reaſon to reſent. But this interceſſion of the Emperours did no good neither; for the Flemiſh lent but little ear to his exhortations; and as for his complaints, they had formerly anſwered them in their juſtifying themſelves in that point. This mean while neither ſide omitted the re-inforcing of their Armies: and the States had in particular much ſollicited the haſtening of thoſe Forces which were to come to them from *Germany* and *France*. At this time a Diet of the Empire was aſſembled in the City of *Worms*. Whereupon the States took occaſion, being chiefly counſelled thereunto by *Orange*, to ſend the Lord Saint *Aldegonde* to move the Diet to favour their cauſe. He ſpake publickly to this purpoſe, and ſaught by all means to exaſperate the Germans againſt the Spaniards, and particularly againſt ſuch actions as had proceeded from the Duke of *Alva*, and which were now deſcried in *Don John*. He demanded aid of the Diet as in a common cauſe: or at leaſt as they would make ſome favourable Declaration in behalf of the Flemiſh. But not being able to impetrate any conſiderable advantage from that Aſſembly; all their expectations on that ſide lay in the Forces, which the Palatine *Caſimire* raiſed by means of the monies, which the Queen of *England* ſubminiſtred unto him to that purpoſe. Other preparations were at the ſame time making in *France*. But theſe went more ſlowly on; either for that really they met with more difficulties, or that the King, and the Queen his Mother, did cunningly hinder them under hand. *Henry* the third was then King: who in the time of his Brother *Charls* the ninth, was called Duke of *Anjou*; and *Charls* dying without ſons; ſucceeded him in the Crown. *France* had not had a King for many former ages, of greater expectation, and who afterwards made it leſs good. For whilſt the Duke of *Anjou*, being made Lieutenant General by his Father *Charls* (he being then ſo young as he was hardly able to bear arms) he with ſingular valour had led Armies won Battels, taken Towns, and by a thouſand other teſtimonies of Military worth, raiſed firm hopes that he was ordained to be the onely rooter out of all Hereſie: and that chiefly through his means that Kingdom would return to its former ſplendor and greatneſs. And his fame was already ſo ſpread abroad, not only throughout all the Corners of *France*, but even throughout all *Europe*, as whilſt he was at the Siege of *Rochel*, he was with incredible applauſe choſen King of *Poland*. But afterwards leaving that forreign Crown, to ſucceed in his own of *France*, it is not to be believed how much he differed from himſelf on a ſudden; and how ſoon *France* wiſht for the formerly glorious Duke of *Anjou* in their new King. It was then generally held that he with more fervency than ever, would have apply'd himſelf to ſuppreſs the Hugonet Faction by Arms; which occaſioned the greateſt misfortunes and calamities to his Kingdom. Nor was there any doubt that the fury of the Hereticks being quell'd (as it was well hoped it would be) by that way, he might likewiſe eaſily have curbed the ambition of the Catholicks. But inſtead of perſuing War, greedily imbracing peace, and turning that peace into a ſoft and effeminate idleneſs, he ſaw Factions grow greater in his Kingdom; and his own Authority leſs. One of the chiefeſt evils which afflicted *France* at that time, was the variance and diſcord which aroſe in the Royal Blood. There was none to ſucceed the King but the Duke of *Alanſon*, who was the laſt of four Sons left behind him by *Henry* the ſecond. The Queen Mother did notwithſtanding ſtill live, a woman of a reaching wit, and who long accuſtomed to the ſubtleties of the Court, had no leſs by her induſtry than by her valour, gotten unto herſelf the chief power of Government. But neither was her cunning, nor the Kings diligence ſufficient to keep the Duke of *Alanſon* from making himſelf ſtill head of ſome one or other innovation, which ſtill moſt troubled the Kingdom. He was but indifferently indued with parts, either of mind or body; yet his prerogative of being the only brother to the King, and the Kings having no other Succeſſor, added Authority to his weakneſs, and was ſufficient to give advantage to unquiet minds; that they had ſuch a Head for their party.

During the ſo many, and ſo great troubles in *France*, the Flemiſh Rebels could never ingage the King thereof, to ſhew any manifeſt demonſtration of favour towards them. Nay, when



Francis Hercules de Valois Duke of Anjou Alençon Brabant and Protector of the Netherlandes.

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when they offered to put themſelves into his protection, he would not be perſwaded to accept thereof. Applying themſelves afterwards in the ſame kind to the Duke of *Alanſon*, the King did not only not ſhew himſelf averſe thereunto, but thinking it might make much for his advantage, he was tacitely content his Brother ſhould accept thereof; to the end that going out of the Kingdom himſelf, he might likewiſe take many others with him, who were raiſers of novelties. This deſign being afterwards publiſhed, the Catholick King complained very much thereof, upbraiding the moſt Chriſtian King how ill this did correſpond to the ſo many aſſiſtances which were given by *Spain* to *France* ſince that from thence ſo great a fomentation was now preparing to his Rebels in *Flanders*. But *Henry* partly diſſembling, and partly not being indeed able to hinder it, excuſed himſelf, ſaying it was not in his power to withhold his Brother; and that ſince he was not permitted to uſe force to others, he could much leſs uſe it to him. The Duke of *Alanſon* then reſolving to aſſiſt the Flemiſh openly by Arms, he had already, (as hath been ſaid) ſent ſome ſouldiers into thoſe Frontiers of *Flanders* which lie neareſt *France*, and was raiſing as many more as he could thereabouts to that purpoſe. But before he ſhould proceed further in matter of Arms, he thought it neceſſary to juſtifie his action, publickly in writing. He therefore publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, the Contents whereof were,

That being oftentimes very much preſt by the Provinces of Flanders *to eaſe them of the oppreſſion, which they daily ſuffered more and more by the Spaniſh State Miniſters, He could no longer refuſe ſo juſt entreaties, nor abandon ſo honeſt a cauſe. That thoſe Princes of the Houſe of* Burgony, *who had for ſo many years governed thoſe Provinces, were deſcended from the Blood Royal of* France: *That many of thoſe Provinces had been alſo poſſeſt formerly by the Houſe of* France, *and had from thence upon divers occaſions enjoyed thoſe Rights and Priviledges, which have ſince with infinite violence been taken from them by the Spaniards. That the intereſt of* Flanders *with that of* France *was too much concerned in their neighbourhood. That it was the duty of true Princes to protect the innocent and the*

oppreſſed. That in taking upon him to defend this Cauſe, he was no leſs ſerviceable to the King of Spain, *than to the People of* Flanders: *ſince it was known, that they being already brought to the point of deſpair by the bad uſage of the Spaniſh State Miniſters, would at laſt put themſelves under ſome more moderate Dominion, and would by all means poſſible endeavour a more ſupportable condition.*

This mean while the Forces, which the Palatine *John Caſimire* had aſſembled together in *Germany*, were already upon the Borders thereof. For he, being fuller of Reſpect, and abounding more in monies by reaſon of thoſe the Queen of *England* had furniſht him withal, might eaſily raiſe an Army, and have it ready to enter *Flanders*. But he would likewiſe firſt honeſt his coming by ſome ſpecious pretence; which was, That he could not deny his aſſiſtance to the Flemiſh (who were ſo united to the Germans) in ſo juſt a cauſe, as not to ſuffer them to be oppreſt by the Spaniard. Having muſtered his men about the end of *June*, at the Rendezvous appointed to that purpoſe in the Territories of *Zutfen*, beyond the *Rhine*, 'twas ſaid they came to about ſixteen thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, being of divers Nations, but moſt of them Germans. The States endeavoured then to draw over unto them all that Country beyond the *Rhine*, eſpecially the Province of *Overiſel*, a good part whereof remained yet in the Kings obedience. The Count *Renenberg* bore Arms for the States there, who did every day ſomewhat advance their affairs, not meeting almoſt with any oppoſition, by reaſon the Kings forces were ſo far off. He had newly taken *Campen*, a place of great conſequence, where the *Yſel* falls into the Sea; and prepared to ſtraighten *Deventer*, which is the chief City of that Province: To facilitate the which, and to make the States Forces greater in thoſe parts, *John Caſimire* reſolved to leave ſome of his men with him. He marched from thence, and advancing with thoſe men that were fitteſt to travel he ſuddenly paſt over the *Rhine* and *Mauſe*, and within a few dayes entred *Brabant*. He encamped himſelf ſuddenly about *Diſte*, and finding the place but ill provided, made himſelf ſoon maſter thereof; and by the taking that Town got footing in that Province. The Conditions in this interim were agreed upon, by which the Duke of *Alanſon* and the Rebels of *Flanders* obliged themſelves together in endeavouring thoſe advantages, which in the Dukes expedition, the one part was interchangeably to receive from the other. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable Articles.

That the Duke of Alanſon, *under the Title of Protector of the Belgick States, ſhould be bound to warfare for a certain time in their ſervice with ten thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe: That as much as he ſhould get beyond the* Mauſe *towards* Flanders *ſhould belong to the States; and as much as he ſhould win on the other ſide of the River towards* France, *ſhould fall to his own ſhare. That for his greater ſecurity, and the better accommodation of his Army, the Town of* Landreſey *and* Quiſnoy *in the Province of* Heynault *ſhould be aſſigned over unto him, and* Bapalma *in* Artois? *all which places were after a certain time to be reſtored upon certain conditions. That the States ſhould not make any agreement with* Don John *without the Dukes conſent, and the like of the reſt that were joyned in league with them. That if there ſhould be occaſion of chooſing a new Prince, they ſhould prefer the Duke before all others: That in the mean while the Government ſhould remain wholly in the Authority of the States, and that the Duke ſhould not innovate any thing therein.*

This agreement being made, the Duke went preſently to the Town of *Mons*, which is the Chief Town in the Province of *Heynault*; and here in the name of the States he received a ſolemn Ambaſſie by the Duke of *Ariſcot*, who was attended by many other perſonages of quality. He was ſent particularly to ſollicite the Duke to move with his men, and to enter as ſoon as he could, to the end that the Forces of *Germany* and *France* joyning quickly with the ſelf-Forces of *Flanders*, *Don John* might be the ſooner and more eaſily driven out of the Country. The States had this mean while brought their men to their Randezvous about *Lira*, in the bowels of *Brabant*; and the Archduke *Mathias* was gone thither in perſon, next whom Count *Boſſu* commanded in chief, he being choſen Camp-maſter General of the Army. Their Souldiery was compoſed part of their own Flemiſh, part of Forreigners, and they were chiefly Engliſh and Scots: Nor were they as then above 8000 Foot and 2000 Horſe. Whilſt ſo great a Body of Arms were preparing againſt *Don John* on all ſides, he had likewiſe been diligent in making all neceſſary proviſions on his behalf: He had raiſed as many men in the neareſt part of *Germany*, and particularly in the County of *Burgony*, as the ſhortneſs of time, and his ſcarcity of mony would permit him to do: He expected freſh and powerful ſupplies ſpeedily from *Italy*, as the King had promiſed him, as alſo to furniſh him with monies to maintain the war gallantly. Having then aſſembled the body of an Army together, which might conſiſt of 12000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe, he made no longer delay. Having left the places of greateſt importance, which were in his poſſeſſion well provided for, he reſolved ſpeedily to fight the Flemiſh forces, and to do his utmoſt to break them before the Forreigners where come to them. The Flemiſh were come from their randezvous, to quarter in a ſtrong and very opportune ſituation near the Village *Rimenante*, not far from the City of *Malines*. *Brabant* is cut almoſt through the midſt by the River *Demer*, which having about the end of its courſe watred the City of *Malines*, fals afterwards into the *Scheld*. The Flemiſh were quartered between the River and the

Village

Village *Rimenante*; the River ſerved them for a rampire on one ſide, and they were covered on the other ſide by a Wood, which ſtood in the neighbouring fields not far from the Village; they were well fortified in all other parts by good Trenches, eſpecially on that ſide where they might be the eaſilieſt aſſaulted by the Kings men. Towards that place *Don John* bent his courſe, and being paſt the Town of *Ariſcot*, ſituated upon the ſame River, he approached orderly towards the Flemiſh quarters. His chiefeſt endeavour was to draw the Enemies out of their Trenches, and to engage them in ſome hot Skirmiſh, which might afterwards bring them to a downright Battel. To this purpoſe he ſent forth a good number of Horſe to provoke the Enemy; but they making only ſuch oppoſition as was needful, would not engage themſelves further. He laboured once more to provoke them, and facing them with his whole Army, boldly bade them battel, though ſtill with leſſer hopes to bring them to it; for the *Flemiſh* knew themſelves to be too inferior to the Kings men, both in numbers and in valour. There hapned notwithſtanding a bloody skirmiſh. The Enemy had a place of great conſequence without their Trenches, which was guarded by the *Engliſh* Foot, and who were commanded by Collonel *Norris*, a Gentleman of the ſame Nation, and a Souldier of great experience and courage. *Don John* would try to make himſelf maſter thereof; hoping ſtill, that when they ſhould be engaged in fight, all the reſt of the Flemiſh Camp would be drawn to battel. He therefore aſſaulted the Engliſh with a number of choice Spaniſh foot, and in their front were placed 200 yet more choice men, of a particular famous Company which *Alonzo Martines di Leva* had brought out of *Spain* to *Flanders* at his own coſt and charges. The ſame *Leva* had a little before quitted the place of General of the Spaniſh Gallies; and to ſhew his greater zeal and valour in the Kings ſervice, had by his own monies raiſed the aforeſaid 200 foot, and reſolved to lead them to the Kings Army in *Flanders*. There was not any one of them that was not either a Gentleman born, or a ſouldier of quality: for many that had formerly been Officers in *Flanders*, had put themſelves into this Company. The aſſault was exceeding fierce, but it was no leſs couragiouſly ſuſtained by the Engliſh, who were all of them likewiſe old ſouldiers, and who being favoured by the neighbouring Trenches covered by Artillery, did by the advantage of their ſhot make more lively and more ſtout reſiſtance. Here the conflict grew greater: according as hope or fear altered on either ſide, the ſuccours on both ſides did likewiſe alter. But the Kings men fought upon too great diſadvantage; for the enemy fighting in ſight of their own work, and under the ſhelter of their own Canon, might eaſily repreſs the violence of the Spaniſh ſouldiers: whereas the others not having any of thoſe helps, muſt truſt only to their courage, and to their ſwords. *Don John* knew this very well; and advancing with all his ſquadrons in order to give battel, he ſtaid a while to try again whether the enemy would accept of it. But failing in his deſign, he cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and withdrew his foot in good order from the fight. This action was on the firſt day of *Auguſt*; it laſted many hours with equal valour and ſlaughter; though the Flemiſh pretended to be victors, and that the Kings men not being able to compaſs their ends, were worſted. *Don John* departed then from thereabouts, and reſolved to put himſelf wholly upon the defenſive part, in ſome ſtrong ſituation, which might joyn his quarters with the City of *Namures*, hoping that the tempeſt of ſo many contrary Forces would ſoon vaniſh, and that then he might have his ſhare of the advantage. He conſidered that though the ends of *England*, *France* and *Germany* were the ſame in general, either to make the King of *Spain* loſe the Low-Countries, or at leaſt to keep them troubled with war; yet their ſeveral particular ends did very much differ. The Queen of *England* aimed at ſome particular conqueſt of her own, eſpecially in thoſe Maritine parts of *Holland* and *Zealand*: and ſhe could not any ways tollerate thoſe advantages which were to redound to *France* out of the ruining of *Flanders*. The French on the contrary were very jealous of thoſe aids which were lent unto the Flemiſh by the Engliſh. The Germans end were rather plunder then purchaſe; who when they ſhould have overrun the Country, wanting mony to maintain themſelves, they would ſoon be inforced to return to their own homes. Amongſt the Flemiſh themſelves *Orange* had likewiſe his particular ends. The Archduke *Mathias* had his ends alſo; and the whole body of the Provinces was greatly divided in its parts, as well in point of Religion, as in their obedience to the King. For thoſe parts which were infected with hereſie, ſeemed well inclined totally to throw off the Spaniſh Goverment; and thoſe which remained Catholicks, deſired to be rid of the Spaniards and other forreigners, but yet ſtill to remain in their obedince to the Crown of *Spain*. So as amongſt ſuch diverſity of ends, Paſſions and Opinions, *Don John* verily believed that this machination prepared and plotted againſt him, would ſoon diſſolve; and that he might afterwards meet with many happy occaſions whereby to maintain the cauſe of the Church and King with honour and advantage. And really at that time the two Provinces of *Heynault* and *Artois* began to fall out with the Province of *Flanders*, and particularly with the City of *Gaunt*, which is the chief Town thereof. The two aboveſaid Provinces had always kept firm to the Catholick Faith, together with the reſt of the Walloons Country, which contains all that large Frontier, which lies along the whole body of *Flanders*, towards *France*.

In the Peace of *Gaunt*, which was ſo ſolemnly concluded by the States General, and which was afterwards confirmed by *Don John* in his agreement with them, the Walloon Provinces had laboured more then all the reſt for all advantages to the Catholick Religion; nor were the people thereof ever inclined to forego their obedience to the King, ſo long as they might enjoy their ancient Priviledges, and live according to the form of their former Government. On the contrary, the two Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* had ſtill fomented the new Sects; and the more the Country was troubled, the more did they labour to make the evil thereof be felt every where. Theſe were *Orange* his inward drifts, and his efficacious Counſels. And to his induſtry in knowing how to give them, the favour of the times had added great Authority in him, to make them be received. Briefly his end was to increaſe the heretical faction, and ſtill to alienate the Flemiſh further from the Spaniards, out of thoſe reaſons that we have often mentioned. Wherefore minding the conjuncture of times, he thought it now a very fitting ſeaſon to bring together the two Armies which came from *Germany* and *France*; the one of which was compoſed almoſt altogether of Lutherans, and the other in a great part of Calviniſts. The Sectaries were not then idle in *Flanders*. Some of them joyned together, and preſented the States with a Petition in the names of them all, wherein under the moſt ſpecious pretences that they could find out, they deſired that liberty of Conſcience might be permitted throughout the Country. There wanted not thoſe who oppoſed this requeſt; but the contrary ſide prevailed. Nor had *Orange* forborn tacitly to infuſe a great fear, ſuggeſting, that upon the coming up of ſo many Forces, who profeſt the Reformed Religion, it was not good to deny that to the preſſures of intreaties, which might eaſily be afterwards gotten by force of arms. And becauſe the peace of *Gaunt* made againſt this, the ſenſe thereof was ſo wreſted, as that the peace was judged rather favourable, then contrary to this ſort of conceſſion. Yet the Provinces of *Heynault* and *Artois*, and the reſt of the Walloon Countries were firm for the ſole exerciſe of the Catholick Religion. But the Provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders* did for the moſt part give way to the liberty of Conſcience. This mean while the Palatine *John Caſimire* was come, as hath been ſaid, and *Alanſon* drew ſtill nearer on the other ſide. Whereupon the Sectaries boldneſs increaſing, not contented with many Churches which were aſſigned to them, but reſolute to have the beſt and the greater number, they brought affairs to that paſs, as on a ſudden there was hardly any Churches left for the Catholicks. And becauſe one preſumption uſually calls on another; after they had uſurped the Churches, they came ſoon after to the driving out the Votaries; and their fury and madneſs grew to be ſuch, as there was hardly any ſafety to be found for any Catholicks. Thoſe who had any zeal of true religion in them, were therefore highly ſcandalized hereat: and the Walloon Provinces fell particularly into ſuch commotion by reaſon of theſe novelties, as they began to ſeparate themſelvs from the reſt, firſt in their Councels, and then in their executions. The Flemiſh ſouldiery was maintained by the Countries contribution mony. And by the ſame moneys proviſion was to be had in a great part for the pay and other neceſſaries of the forreigners. The Provinces of *Heynault* and *Artois* becoming therefore refractory to this contribution, the States began to be in great ſtraits for money, and to foreſee the diſorders which would quickly inſue hereupon. They uſed all means, induſtry, and authority to overcome the aforeſaid difficulties; but they increaſed rather every day, for the occaſions thereof did ſo likewiſe. The Catholicks in thoſe parts ſtormed mightily, complaining,

That under falſe pretences of liberty, Flanders *was now faln into greater ſlavery then ever. That Arms were taken up for driving out the Spaniards, but not for that the Country ſhould be more tyrannized over by the Flemiſh themſelves. To what other end did* Orange *his ambition tend? what other deſign had his adherents? That Arms were at firſt taken up in* Holland *and* Zealand *under ſpecious pretences. And finally, it was not enough that the Inquiſition ſhould be hindred, but that in lieu thereof the new ſects of Hereſies ſhould have defuſed their venome throughout all thoſe parts, ſhould have alienated thoſe Provinces from the Church, and begun manifeſtly to alienate them alſo from the King. That the former diſobedience made way for the ſecond; the one not being to be ſeveral from the other. That in the interim,* Orange *under the name of Governour, did retain almoſt the whole authority of Prince. That by the ſame cunning he had rather forced then gotten the Government of* Brabant. *That now under falſe pretences liberty of conſcience was demanded throughout the whole Country. And with what intent? unleſs it were to make Liberty fight againſt Liberty: to wit, the unjuſt Liberty of Hereſie againſt the legitimate Liberty of the Church: to the end that the latter being oppreſt, the people might the eaſilyer withdraw themſelves from their Allegianee to the King. That it was time now to dive into the knowledge of ſuch ends; and not only to know them, but to break them. Let* Brabant *and* Flanders *be of another opinion, and let thoſe other Provinces joyn with them: the Country of* Walloons *would ſtill continue in the ſole Catholick Religion, and (with ſafety to its Priviledges) in their ſole Allegiance to the King of* Spain,

Theſe words full of indignation, were ſoon accompanied with acts as angerſome. For the two Provinces of *Heynault* and *Artois* would not aſſign over *Landreſy*, *Quiſnoy*, and *Balpema* to the Duke of *Alanſons* of men, as was ordered in the agreement made between him and the States,

and

and with the ſame reſolution denied to pay their ſhare for the Souldiety. This commotion of the *Walloons* made thoſe of *Gaunt* rage horridly, as thoſe who were naturally moſt given to revolt, and had more readily received Liberty of Conſcience, allowing all advantage to Hereſie amongſt them, and taking up Arms, they reſolved to uſe force againſt the *Walloons*. *John Caſimire*, after having ſpoken with the Archduke *Mathias*, was at this time gone to *Gaunt*. In this his coming his chief aim was to get money for his Souldiers; who not able to move for want of Pay, did not at all advance, but talked rather of mutinying then of fighting. The *Gaunteſes* did in part ſatisfie his deſires; and favoured by him, took ſo much heart againſt the *Walloons*, as they reſolved more than formerly to force them to joyn with them. The Province of *Flanders* is divided into two parts: The one, and which is the greater part, and wherein *Gaunt* and the other chief Towns and Cities are contained, is called by the name of *Flemicant*, becauſe nothing but *Flemiſh* is ſpoken there: The other, which is the leſſer but which hath in it likewiſe many good Towns, is called *Gallicant*, becauſe the French tongue is commonly uſed there. The former lies towards the Sea, and the other towards the *Walloons* Country. The *Flemicant* part of the Province went hand in hand in all things with the *Gaunteſes*, and the *Gallicant* inclined towards the *Walloons*, as being more addicted to the Catholick Religion than to Hereſie. As ſoon as the *Gaunteſes* had taken up Arms, the *Walloons* did the like, and divers acts of hoſtility were committed by both ſides; in partticular the *Walloons* entred the Town of *Menin*, ſituated upon the River *Liſa*, which divides the *Flemicant* part of *Flanders* from the *Gallicant*, and here they began to fortifie themſelves, and to prejudice the adverſe Country. The *Walloons* would not notwithſtanding, for all this their difference with the other *Flemiſh*, either acknowledge *Don John* for their Governour, nor any wayes adhere to the actions of the *Spaniards*: which cauſed ſome of them to take unto themſelves the name of *Malecontents*. This was a name taken at the firſt by ſome of the prime Nobility; from them it ſpread abroad into divers of meaner quality, and was finally uſed by every one of that Country. Many of them wore a Chaplet of *Pater-noſters*, and of *Ave-Maria*'s about their necks, to ſhew that they would keep good Catholicks; and all of them did generally declare, that they would continue loyal to the King when they ſhould be reſtored to their former Government. This was the ſo famous Faction of *Malecontents*, which afterwards proved very advantagious to the Kings affairs, as ſhall be ſeen in the purſuit of this Story. *Orange* was not this mean while ſo blinded in endeavouring his advantage by Hereſie, but that he clearly ſaw how great a prejudice ſuch a diviſion might work: He deſired the Heretick Army might prevail, but yet that the Catholicks ſhould have all their due rites for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that would not abandon them. Wherefore he failed not to uſe all poſſible means, as alſo his own and the States authority to compound the aforeſaid differences. To this purpoſe the Lord *S. Aldegonde* went with ſome other perſonages of quality to *Gaunt*: but the people there liſtening more to their Ringleaders, who were ſeditious, and for their own private intereſts more inclin'd to foment than to finiſh the begun differences, would by no means be brought to alter their reſolutions.

Thus ſtood the affairs of *Flanders* when the Duke of *Alanſon* came in with his Army, which was more expected then well received by *Orange* his own faction: for he brought not ſo many with him as he was tyed to do, and thoſe but ill provided of what was neceſſary for their own maintenance. *Alanſon* had found it more eaſie to raiſe men, then to raiſe money; for he had little or none of his own. And the King his brother being neither able, nor willing to aſſiſt him openly, for the reaſons touched upon before, his hopes fell very ſhort likewiſe on that ſide. And the King of *Spain* had again renewed his complaints to the King of *France* for this buſineſs of *Alanſon*. He had likewiſe done the like in very ſharp terms with the Queen of *England*, for the aſſiſtance ſhe had given the Rebels in *Flanders*. And for *Germany*, he complained likewiſe of the Emperour becauſe he had not uſed more effectual means to hinder *John Caſimires* expedition; and all theſe complaints wrought this effect, that expreſs perſonages were ſent from each of them to ſee if it were poſſible to bring the Affairs of *Flanders* to ſome good agreement. The King forbare not to make great preparation for War; but he would much more gladly have ſeen peace in *Flanders*, ſo as it might have been done without prejudice to Religion, or to his honour. Nor were there wanting ſome of his Councellours, who interpreting *Don Johns* actions worſe than before, thought him to be in a great part the cauſe of all the new Tumults which had happened ſince the ſo ſolemn agreement made between him and the Provinces: as if that he had deſired to govern rather armed, then unarmed; and that he believed he might compaſs ſome of his own ends eaſilyer by troubles then by quiet. So as by reaſon of theſe jealouſies which were had of *Don John*, and which had got a little rooting in *Spain*, peace in *Flanders* was the more deſired by the Spaniards. Wherefore about the end of *Auguſt* all theſe Ambaſſadors met in *Antwerp*: The Count *Zuarzemburg* from the Emperour, Preſident *Belliure* from the King of *France*; and from the Queen of *England*, *Walſingam*, her firſt Secretary, and with him another called *Cobham*. But it was ſoon ſeen that *Cæſars* endeavours wanted authority; and the reſt candidneſs: For both *England* and *France* did

did ſufficiently deſire to have the troubles and diſorders wherewith *Flanders* was afflicted, continue. Nor did this opinion prove vain. The meetings were more for ſhew than ſubſtance, and their endeavours ended almoſt as ſoon as they were begun; to boot that in very deed the difficulties which were met with on all ſides were very great. Each party would juſtifie all they had done, and all that they pretended to. Wherefore all treaty of Agreement being ſuddenly broken, they continued in the former heat in preparing for War. The Flemiſh regained *Ariſcot*, and *Nevile*; and tryed (but in vain) to recover *Lovain*. On the other ſide the French entring into the Province of *Heynault*, beſieged *Bins*, and after ſome aſſault took it, and put it to the plunder. But theſe were buſineſſes of ſmal importance, in reſpect of what the Rebels hoped for from the union of ſo many forces which they had received, to ſide with them from all parts. *Orange* laboured more than all the reſt to bring them together: and herein his adherents uſed likewiſe their beſt diligence.

Miſerable *Flanders*! every where full of Arms, and ſo lacerated, as it was queſtionable whether ſhe were more afflicted by her own, or by Forreign forces: and whether thoſe or theſe in ſeeming aſſiſtance bore the moſt ſpetious title? *Don John* this mean while kept with his men within his quarters which he had fortified without *Namures*, to withſtand the aſſaults of the Enemy. Theſe Fortifications were about two miles and a half in compaſs, and did ſo much the more ſhelter the City; ſo as that paſſage towards *Germany* and *Italy* was very well ſecured, and his Army very well provided of all things neceſſary for the maintenance thereof: Wherefore *Don John* hoped ſhortly both to receive powerful aid, and to ſee thoſe disband which the Enemy had aſſembled together for their ſervice. Theſe were his deſigns, theſe were his hopes; but when in the very hight he fell ſick, his malady ſo encreaſing as he dyed within a few dayes. When he was near his end, he ſent for the Duke of *Parma*, and after having in a very affectionate manner recommended the Kings ſervice to him, he ſubſtituted him in his own place; not any ways doubting, but that by the ſo many prerogatives both of blood and valour which met in him, the King would ſuddenly confirm him in that Government.

Thus dyed *Don John*, not being yet full thirty years old. The Emperour *Charls* the Fifth was his Father; and Madam *de Plombes* a Lady of noble birth in *Germany* his Mother. The Emperour before his death gave the King his Son great charge of him: who at firſt had in his private thoughts deſtin'd him to an Eccleſiaſtical life; but afterwards changing his mind, bred him up in the Military profeſſion. Wherein by three memorable enterpriſes he eterniz'd his name. In the firſt he bridled the Moors audacity; in the ſecond the *Ottoman* Pride; and in the third the fury of the Flemiſh. In each of theſe his ſucceſſes did much exceed his years: He overcame the Moors, when but yet a youth; he abated the edge of the Turk, at the very entrance into the flower of his Age; and he did ſo Maſterlike ſuppreſs the Belgicks, as greater skil could not have been ſhewn by any whatſoever ancient and perfect Commander. He had in him very excellent gifts both of body and mind. In his aſpect Majeſty and grace; ſtrength of Body to undergo labour: He was affable with the Souldiery, vigilant anſwerable to Command; wiſe in the greateſt difficulties, but having a heart much willinger to encounter than to ſhun them. Many could have deſired that he had been leſs amorous, and not ſo eaſily to believe reports. He was ſo greedy of glory, as many judged it to be an aſpiring after Empire. Which made him at laſt be envyed, and ſo far ſuſpected, as made his ſervice to the King doubtful; as if from being Governour, he had aſpired to be Prince of *Flanders*: and that to this Purpoſe he had held private correſpondency with the Queen of *England*, and proceeded more ſecretly to expreſs negotiations of marriage. Which was the cauſe why his death was thought to be rather procured, than natural. But whatſoever the buſineſs was, (wherein truth might be overclouded by calumny). He died with the fame of ſingular valour, and great applauſe: worthy aſſuredly to have lived longer, and not leſs worthy to have proceeded from a Conjugal bed; and to have commanded rather as abſolute Prince, than as a ſubordinate Officer.

Finis Partis Primæ.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

The Second Part.

BOOK I.

THE CONTENTS.

The Prince of Parma *is confirmed Governour of* Flanders *by the King. The Prince thought firſt to draw the* Walloon *Provinces to ſide with the King by the way of negotiation: but in the interim he applies himſelf with all ferver to the management of Arms. He ſtands at firſt upon his defence. The Forreign Forces vaniſh:* Alanſon *returns for* France, *and* John Caſimire *for* Germany. *The Prince hereupon paſſeth from the defenſive part to the offenſive. He reſolves to beſiege* Maſtrick. *The deſcription of that place. The Royaliſts endeavours in oppugning it, and the reſiſtance made by the Defendants. The Royaliſts at laſt prevail, and the Prince is Maſter of the Town. An Agreement between him and the* Walloon *Provinces. It is endeavoured to reconcile all the other Provinces likewiſe to the King; but in vain. Small ſucceſſes of War on all ſides. The Flemiſh think of chooſing a new Prince, and to caſt off their obedience to the King of* Spain. *This is chiefly fomented by* Orange. *Their deputies meet together in* Antwerp *to this purpoſe, and there is much conſultation about it. Some of the Hereticks are for the Queen* England, *other ſome for the Duke of* Alanſon. *The Catholicks opinion in this point. The Aſſembly leans much more to* Alanſon. *The Deputies depart, and return to their own Provinces, to make each of them ſeverally reſolve fully upon the choice. The War continues this mean while on both ſides. The King would have the Dutcheſs of* Parma *return to* Flanders, *and why. She is not well come thither, when ſhe earneſtly deſires to go back to* Italy: *which ſhe obtains leave to do. The whole Government of the Country remains therefore in the Prince her Son. The Flemiſh Rebels agree in their former reſolution of chuſing the Duke of* Alanſon *for their new Prince. What followes thereupon? and with what conditions.*

THE Kings Army was much afflicted for the Death of *Don John*; it is hardly to be believed what ſenſe of ſorrow was ſhewed for it, for many dayes throughout the whole Camp. The news thereof coming to *Spain*, the King ſtaid a while before he would confirm the Prince of *Parma* in the Government of *Flanders*. He very well knew the Prince his Military worth. But then again he feared, leaſt that his warlike Spirit might not rather make him deſire the continuance of the War, than to ſee thoſe Provinces reſtored to peace: which the King deſired above all things; alwayes provided (as hath been often ſaid) that all due obedience were given to the Church, and the like to his Crown. Moreover the King had had it often formerly in his thoughts to ſend the Dutcheſs of *Parma* back again into *Flanders*, if it ſhould prove needful to remove *Don John* from that Government. He called to mind what ſatisfaction her former Regency had given unto thoſe people; and to make it prove the better again, he thought to place her Son the Prince of *Parma* with her for the part of Arms, thinking that the Government being thus tempered, the people would be much better pleaſed, and his ſervice might on all ſides be better done. The King therefore was a while doubtful what to do in this caſe. But becauſe ſpeedy remedy was to be applyed to the evils of *Flanders*, and for that the King could not doubt but the Prince of *Parma* would with all Loyalty and devotion do, as he ſhould be by him directed; therefore without

more

more ado he approved of *Don Johns* Declaration, and confirmed the Prince in the Government of thoſe Provinces. The Kings Army was greatly rejoyced to hear of this choice; thinking that by the proximity of his bloud, and by his greater reſemblance in valour, *Don-John* might ſeem to live ſtill in the Prince. Wherefore *Ferneſe* applyed himſelf wholly to the Government committed to his charge. His firſt reſolution was, To endeavour by all means poſſible to draw the Walloon Provinces over to the Kings ſide. He conſidered of what importance it would be to have ſo great, and ſuch Catholick forces within the Country, ſide with the Church and with the King. And that on the contrary, Rebellion and Hereſie could not be weakened by any means better than by this. He therefore began to endeavour this by ſeveral ways. He treated chiefly with the Nobility, who enjoy particular prerogatives in the Walloon Provinces; and to whom the vulgar ſort do uſually adhere, when the States do meet. But notwithſtanding, this overture of a Treaty, did not at all allay his ardency to War. Putting on therefore *Don Johns* reſolution he determined likewiſe to keep within thoſe quarters wherein the Army was fortified about *Namures*; and to expect there, till the enemies forces ſhould vaniſh; eſpecially the forreign aids, which out of the reaſons formerly alleadged, he thought would not be long doing. Nay his hopes thereof were the more increaſed, for that the diſſentions grew every day greater amongſt the Flemiſh. He therefore attended the guarding of his quarters; the keeping of his ſouldiers in perfect good diſcipline; and did at the ſame time very much ſollicite the King, that he would ſpeedily provide moneys for the neceſſaries of the Army, and ſend over new men. This mean while the diſorders grew daily greater amongſt the Flemiſh Rebels. For, divided in divers ſorts amongſt themſelves, both in affairs of Religion, and in other things which reſpected the State, of one common cauſe, they had made many particular ones; and every Province, having its own particular ends, few of them joyned any longer in their reſolutions (as they ought to have done) with the reſt. The chiefeſt conteſtation were between the Walloons and Gaunteſes, as hath been ſaid; nor was it ever poſſible to find any means how to accord them. Whence falling from words to blows, neither of them paid their Contributions firſt agreed upon to the common Cauſe, being kept from doing ſo by the neceſſity of converting it to their own peculiar uſes.

The Faction of the *Malecontents* grew this mean while ſtill the ſtronger; for almoſt all the Nobility of *Heynault* and *Artois* had wound themſelves thereinto. The *Gaunteſes* and their adherents received their greateſt indamagements from this Faction; nor could there be a greater contrariety then was between them. The *Malecontents* ſeemed more reſolute then ever to continue in their Catholick purity, and their due Allegiance to the King; and the *Gaunteſes* ſhewed themſelves full as reſolute to have only the contrary exerciſe in point of Religion, and in all other things ſhewed their abhorrition of the Soveraignity of *Spain*. So as by reaſon of this variance between the Confederate Provinces, their firſt Union was mightily weakned. Together with their want of money, they began daily to be wanting in their Souldiers; and not being able to maintain their own home-Souldiers, much leſs able were they to maintain thoſe very many that they had received from abroad. Wherefore the *French* and *German* Aids did no more ſervice; but inſtead of eaſing the Country, ran out licentiouſly on this ſide and that ſide; and failing of their Pay, paid themſelves with large uſury by Rapine; inſomuch that it was doubted whether they might not fall from tumultuary Freebooting to ſome downright Mutiny. This neceſſity, and theſe dangers were re-preſented to the States by *Caſimire* and *Alanſon*, who deſired inſtant remedy. But ſuch evils could not be helped, unleſs proviſions were had firſt for the diſcords which were the occaſions thereof; which by reaſon of the aforeſaid difficulties were become irremediable; though the States, and in particular *Orange* uſed all poſſible care and diligence to compoſe them. It was clearly ſeen, that the greateſt novelties aroſe from the *Gaunteſes*: wherefore at the States deſire *John Caſimire* went again to *Gaunt*, and uſed all the moſt efficacious means he could to reduce the *Gaunteſes* to a more moderate ſenſe. But all was loſt labour, eſpecially by reaſon of the obduration of thoſe Ringleaders, who for their own ſelf-intereſt did the more willingly nouriſh ſedition in that City. This was the cauſe why *John Caſimire*, by *Orange* his adviſe reſolved to go himſelf to *England*, to perſwade the Queen to be more firm in favouring the *Flemiſh* with her aſſiſtance, eſpecially in point of monies. But the Queen, after having received him very honourable, were it either that ſhe would not further offend the King of *Spain*, or that ſhe could not really be at further expences, ſent him away with bare terms of good Intention, and with ambiguous hopes, which were ſoon after reſolved to the negative. *John Caſimire* being returned from *England* to *Flanders* without any good iſſue in his Negotiation, found many of his men already disbanded, and the reſt ready to doe the like, unleſs he would reconduct them to *Germany*. *Alanſon's* French forces were likewiſe much leſſened and the Commanders authority on either ſide did but little avail to retain the Souldiers in their due obedience, when once they failed of their Pay. Inſomuch as both of them were inforced to return almoſt at the ſame time, *Alanſon* to *France*, and *Caſimire* to *Germany*; leaving it queſtionable whether of them had with greater hopes undertaken the expedition, or ended it with leſs good. The Forreign Aids being thus vaniſht, the *Flemiſh* Forces

Forces were likewise ſuddenly diſperſed into ſundry parts. *Farneſe* dallied then no longer, but thinking that it was now time to paſs from the defenſive to the offenſive part, reſolved immediately to Take the Field, and to endeavour ſuch ſucceſs to the King Forces, as might moſt ſtrengthen his Cauſe. The Enemy had no more Forces to withſtand the Royaliſts in the Field; wherefore *Farneſe* was forced to betake himſelf to ſome of their chief Towns, by the gaining whereof greater advantages might derive unto the King. Conſideration being had hereupon in the Council of War, they pitched upon one of two important Sieges; either that of *Antwerp*, or that of *Maſtrick*. But there was great oppoſition in the Council concerning which of theſe they ſhould reſolve upon. To perſwade to the firſt, it was ſaid.

That the Acquiſition of Antwerp *was much to be preferr'd before that of* Maſtrick. *That* Antwerp *lay in the heart of the beſt Provinces of* Flanders, *and for its ſo many Prerogatives was eſteemed the known paramount of all the Country: that by it the* Scheld *was commanded in particular; ſo noble a River, and ſo ſeated, as having its Ebbs and Floods, it may ſeem to partake more of the Sea than of a River. That from thence a man may ſoon be in the heart of* Holland *and* Zealand, *in which two Provinces Rebellion was firſt radicated, and they were the firſt which ought to be reduced to their obedience. That* Antwerp *and the* Scheld *had abundantly furniſht Forces, which had ſo often been imployed by water againſt thoſe Provinces. That* Zealand *was the chief Sea-Port of* Flanders, *which was by all means to be opened for the receiving of ſuch Aids as were to come by Sea from* Spain. *And that though the ſiege of* Antwerp *was likely to coſt more time, more mony and more blood, yet all theſe were to be eſteemed but light loſſes, in reſpect of making ſo important and ſo deſireable an acquiſition.*

But it was ſaid on the contrary,

That firſt of all they were to ſecure the Paſs of Germany. *That from thence the Flemiſh Army had alwayes received their greateſt aids: And by what paſs, but by that, which by her Bridge over the* Mauſe *the City of* Maſtrick *doth ſo advantagiouſly open and ſhut? How oft had that place been made a Randezvous, not only to receive Aid from Friends, but to repulſe the Enemy. That in the ſiege of* Antwerp, *it would prove a very hard buſineſs to maſter the* Scheld *by any whatſoever Bridge, by reaſon of her breadth and depth, and by the force which the ebbing and flowing of the Sea would adde thereunto. And yet that was the firſt thing that was to be done, to cut off the relief which would be hourly brought to the beſieged by that way. That on the contrary, in the higher parts towards* Maſtrick, *the* Mauſe *was neither very large, nor very deep, nor held ſhe any commerce with the Sea: ſo as that River might be ſhut up above and beneath, whereby all ſuccour by water might be cut off from the City; and doubtleſs the Camp would hinder all relief by land. That when this Siege ſhould be ended, there would be much greater hopes of happily effecting the other. And that, finally, the preſent conjuncture of affairs did require, that the eaſieſt enterpriſe ſhould be firſt undertaken; and the Army ſo imployed within, as firſt to ſecure the Aids which might be received from abroad.*

This opinion at laſt prevailed, and was willingly imbraced by the Prince of *Parma*. He ſaw that really the Army was not ſufficiently furniſht with Arms and proviſions to beſiege *Antwerp:* wherefore he bent himſelf wholly againſt *Maſtrick*, reſolving to do his utmoſt to make himſelf Maſter thereof. This mean while the year 1579. was begun. When the ſharpeſt part of winter being over, the Prince began to aſſemble his Army, and about the end of *March*, marched two effect his premeditated deſign. The Kings Army conſiſted of about 15000 Foot and 4000 Horſe, all of them men trained up in war, and much more conſiderable for their quality then for their number. When the *Flemiſh* Rebels had diſcovered the Prince his reſolution, they failed not to provide with all dilligence for that City; being as reſolute to uſe all means for the defence thereof, as the others were for the taking it. Monſieur *de la Nue* was then in *Flanders*, with the title of Lieutenant under *Orange*. He was one of the chief Heads of the *Hugonot* Faction in *France*: But that Kingdom being at this time in ſome ſort of quiet, he was come into the Army of the Confederate *Flemiſh*, and had with great eſteem the aforeſaid place conferr'd upon him, and moreover was made Governour of *Maſtrick*. Wherefore he very much laboured the preſervation of that place, which he thought would chiefly conſiſt in procuring ſuccour from without: He therefore thought it not beſt to keep within the Town, believing he might be more ſerviceable abroad. But he did ſo order it, as ſuch Commanders were placed there, as queſtionleſs would make ſtout and manful reſiſtance: Theſe were *Suazemburg di Herle*, a Dutch-man, and *Sebaſtian Tapine*, a French-man; both of them adviſed and reſolute Souldiers, and who were to expect their fortunes only from the hazards of war. They had with them about 500 Foot, part *Flemiſh*, part *French*, part *Engliſh*; and to them were added a great number of Country-people, who were to be imployed in ſuch manual works as ſhould at any time be requiſite for defence of the Town, to which the Townſmen ſeemed very well diſpoſed. The Kings Army was this mean while drawn near *Maſtrick*; and when the Prince of *Parma* had diſtributed the Quarters, they began to fortifie them in ſuch order, and with ſuch advantages as are uſed in the beſt regulated and ſtraiteſt ſiege. We have for-

formerly in this our History, described the Situation of this City; but rather in general than in particular: wherefore that you may the better understand what is now treated on, it is requisite that we give you here more particular and more distinct knowledg thereof. The City of *Mastrick* lies on both sides of the *Mause*, but not in an equal proportion: it is larger on the left side of the River, and not so large on the right side. The one by reason of the largeness of its circuit retains the name of the City; and the other being of lesser compass is called *Vich*. The former loooks towards *Brabant*, the other towards the State of *Liege*. Yet both these sides are joyned together by so large and noble a Bridg, as it is not well discerned whether it be of greater beauty, or of greater advantage to the City. The whole compass thereof is about four English miles. But though much of it be inhabited, a great part of it is void ground, especially towards the Walls; which are not withstanding well provided with platforms, and may have all requisite commodity to make inward retreats, or to withstand outward assaults. According to the situation, so are the flanks; some of them being built more after the modern fashion; and some of them being of the more ancient form. Round about the Walls runs a deep ditch. The earth about it is every were maniable, so as Trenches may easily be made, or any thing else which the necessity of oppugning requires: yet it is not peopled answerable to the circumference of the walls. The people in general partake more of the warlike then of the weak, Though there be many Ecclesiasticks there, by reason of the great revenues which they enjoy in that City. The Government thereof in point of Justice, is equally divided between the King, as Duke of *Brabant*, and the Bishop of *Liege* as he is a Temporal Prince, who extends his Jurisdiction to within *Mastrick*. But for what concerns the custody of the City and Garrisons, the power lies wholly in the King: it being seen upon all occasions, that the Empire of Arms admits not of a companion; and that two several Forces cannot continue so long together, but that at last the weakest will be inforced to submit it self to the more powerful.

Now to pass to the description of the siege. The Quarters being given out by the Prince of *Parma*, the souldiers fell to fortifie them; especially towards the field-side to hinder the sending of aid into the City. The Prince encamped himself against the greatest incompassed precinct; and on that side were the other Commanders likewise quartered, who held the first places in the Army. The Lord *Hierges* in particular was quartered there (who was General of the Artillery) with a mighty Train of great Canon: for on that side were the Trenches to be opened, the Wals to be Play'd upon, and such assaults to be given as were requisite for the taking of the City. *Christopher Mandragone* was placed against the Burrow of *Vich*: and in a short space all the outward Fotifications towards the fields side were brought to so good a pass, as the Royalists had little reason to fear, that the besieged could be succoured on that side At the same time the *Mause* was likewise shut up both above and beneath with two Bridges of Boats in such sort as no relief could be brought to *Mastrick* by water neither. And this served for a double use, the better to unite the Army upon both the banks. Here did the Royalists begin to advance their Trenches: the besieged had no great store of men for their defence, wherefore they could not hazard many in making out sallies: yet did they not forbear to make some even from the beginning: and that with such courage, as they more than once retarded the Royalists from continuing their works: nor were they less diligent in disturbing them with their Artillery. The Trenches of the Camp opened on two sides, which were thought the fittest to fall into the Ditch, and batter the Wall. The one was towards the gate called *Tongres*; and the other over against a Curtain which runs between two Ports, called *Hostor* and the *Cross*. When the Trenches were advanced, the Lord *Hierges* placed two Batteries on each side, by which he annoyed the enemy. The Royalists were by this time come to the Ditches mouth; and the souldiers working as well as the pioneers, they endeavoured to get thereinto as soon as they could, that they might afterwards fill it up, and be the better able by their assaults to second the breaches which were to be made by the batteries. From the Fort *Tongres* there was a good Ravelin thrust out; and upon the top of the Platform a great Cavalier. The Kings men received most disturbance on this side from both these Works. Wherefore to be eased of this impediment, it was necessary to play upon those two places with some peeces of greater Canon; which was done, and those peeces plaid so furiously, as the Royalists might safely continue their working, and finally fall into the ditch. Here as the besieged's danger did increase, so did their courage. As fast as the Royalists strove to lodge themselves there, the others laboured to keep them out. The labours of the night equalled those of the day: they flock'd to every place, strove who should sooneſt incounter danger, and it was hard to discern whether the forreign souldiers, or those of the Town, or the Country people, who were come to defend the City, were more willing to work. Yet the Royalists did so far prevail, both with their working in the ditch and with the breaches which their batteries had made in the walls, as they thought they might now fall to assault. This resolution being taken, the Prince of *Parma*, appointed out so many souldiers as were requisite to do it. And he chose them out of every several Nation of those that were in the Army; desirous that each

of

of them ſhould equally partake both in the honour and danger of the imployment. In all new Governments the report goes, be it good or bad, according to the tenor of the firſt ſucceſſes, but eſpecially in the adminiſtration of war, it is not to be ſaid how much fortunate beginnings make for the progreſs of good ſucceſs. This was the firſt enterpriſe, which ſince his Government, the Prince of *Parma* undertook: wherefore to make the reſt which were to inſue the more ſucceſsful, he very much deſired he might be fortunate in this. He therefore incouraged his ſouldiers with lively exhortations to the aſſault: nor ſeemed they any whit leſs ready on their parts to fall on. The batteries had already made great breaches in the walls, and eſpecially upon one ſide: and the Kings men were already ſo far advanced in the ditch, as it was thought high time to come to this reſolution on that ſide. They did what could be deſired againſt the enemies: but they on the contrary made ſuch reſiſtance, as all the aſſailants endeavours proving vain, they were at laſt forced to retire with the loſs of much bloud. This firſt aſſault ſhewed that the breaches in the walls were not yet ſuch as they ought to be: and therefore the batteries were with much violence renewed on all ſides. The works in the ditch were ſtill increaſed; and to theſe were added mines, the ſooner to beat down ſuch repairs as the enemy ſtill renewed. They then prepared for a ſecond aſſault; and it was reſolved to make it on both ſides of the batteries at one and the ſame time: that the beſieged being divided in making their defence, might be the more diſabled to do it. When they came to it, the Royaliſts aſſaulted the enemy furiouſly, and ſtrove to get upon the breach and to make themſelves fully Maſters of the wall. But on the contrary, the enemy did ſo ſtoutly oppoſe, as it was not for a good while to be diſcerned to which ſide the fortune of of the day did incline. On the one ſide *Herle*, and on the other ſide *Tapine* ſhewed all manner of gallantry in their behaviour, and were no leſs ready to act than to order. They with their fervent ſpeeches encouraged the defendants; and ſhewing themſelves forwardeſt to encounter danger, made the reſt the more deſpiſe it. On the other ſide, the Royaliſts inraged to ſee the enemy ſo obſtinate in their reſiſtance, did their utmoſt to overcome them. There could not be a fiercer nor a more bloudy conflict. They did not fight a looſ off with Musket or Cannon ſhot, but in cloſe fight, oppoſing pike to pike, ſword to ſword, and ſouldier to ſouldier; the better or the worſe conſiſted and lay onely in their arms and breaſts. Bloud run down on all ſides where ere they fought: all places were full either of wounded or dead bodies; and of weapons either loſt or thrown away; and to theſe were added great ſtones, and inſtruments of artificial fire which thoſe within had powred down upon the aſſailants. And that the action might prove the more horrible, it ſo fell out, that at the ſame time fire took in the powder which both ſides had brought that they might have it nearer at had: which was the unfortunate loſs of a great many; the air reſounding with miſerable outcries, and the ground being covered with torn bodies: evidencing how many ſeveral ways fortune doth oftentimes vary the bitterneſs of war, and the tragical ſcenes on which the fatal ſucceſs of Arms are acted. The conflict laſted many hours, and great was the mortality on all ſides. But the Kings men were at laſt forced to retire, not having ever been able to advance ſo far as might ſuffice to make themſelves Maſters of the breach; or at leaſt to lodg themſelves, as was their deſign upon the walls, if they could not wholly drive the enemy from their new rampires raiſed more inwardly. Theſe two aſſaults, together with ſome other skirmiſhes that had preceded, bereft the Army of many Commanders, and of a great number of other valiant Officers and ſouldiers. Of thoſe of the better quality amongſt the Spaniards, there were loſt, *John Manrique*, *Blaſco di Acugna*, *Peter Guſman*, and *Peter Pacecco*: and of the Italians, *Fabio Ferneſe*, *Markantonio Simonetti*, *Guido St Georgio*, the Marquis *Conrado Malleſpina*, and *John Grimaldi*. Many Germans and Walloons of good account periſhed likewiſe. But the Spaniards ſuffered moſt, as thoſe, who both for numbers and place, had upon all occaſions had the chiefeſt imployments. Particularly in one of the aforeſaid actions the Lord *Hierges* was ſlain, which was a great loſs to the King: for of all the Flemiſh there was not a better ſouldier, nor a more Loyal Subject. The Kings Camp, by reaſon of ſo many and ſo bloudy conflicts, was much weakened, in ſomuch as it became the Prince of *Parma* to get new recruits of men. He therefore took as many as he could from all places where the King had any Garriſons; he increaſed the number of Pyoneers; and not willing to adventure the flowre of his Army any more in aſſaults, he reſolved hereafter to make more uſe of works than men: and to proceed more ſlowly, to the end it might prove more ſure. But this mean while the incommodities and wants of thoſe within the Town grew proportionably greater: For not having received any relief from without, they were now reduced to great ſcarcity of all things. The moſt of their forreign ſouldiers were loſt, and a good many of the Townſmen, and of thoſe Country people which ſerved for Pyoneers; they wanted Ammunition and Victuals; and to this was added ſickneſs, occaſioned by their inceſſant labour and watching. The Flemiſh Rebels had it often in their thoughts to gather together a good body of men which might be ſufficient to force the Kings Fortifications, and to bring in ſome conſiderable ſuccour into the City. The deſign was, that Monſieur *de la Nue* ſhould have been their Conductor, and that he ſhould

afterwards tarry himself in *Mastrick*, the better to maintain the siege. But the discords being still greater amongst the Rebels than their union, they could never raise men enough for such a business. Yet still they fed the besieged with new hopes, and with great cunning made the effects appear near at hand: wherein *Orange* and *La Nue* did chiefly labour. Wherefore the besieged seemed more resolute than ever to hold out. The Prince on the contrary still doubling his diligence, left nothing untry'd to bring his enterprise to a happy end. One of the chiefest disturbances, which the Royalists received in their works towards the Gate *Tongres*, proceeded chiefly from that Ravelin which hath formerly been spoken of. And though they had endeavoured to beat it down with their Canon, and by all other ways to bereave the enemy of that defence, yet could they never fully effect it. The Prince resolved notwithstanding howsoever to gain it. He therefore redoubled the mines, and all the other works in that place, which were requisite to effect it; but on the contrary, the besieged were no less fervent in their works against the besiegers. So as the others could advance but very slowly; for they must win what they would have by inchmeal, and lose bloud as well as time. Here therefore was the hottest doings, and hither was the greatest bulk of the oppugnation brought. But the besieged were at last inforced to yield; though the Royalists spent above a month in taking this Ravelin. The Prince raised the platform yet much higher, which was turned upon the enemy on that side, and began to beat down the City, to boot with the batteries which were every day made against the walls, in so much as the besieged could neither find rest nor safety any where: wherefore their hopes of holding out any longer were very small. Yet they seemed willing rather to lose their lives than their resolution of defence, though they were offered very honourable conditions: when fortune favoured the Royalists with an unexpected way how to end the siege sooner than they could have imagined. It was now about the end of *June*, and the great heats made the defendants labours and sufferings the more insupportable; so as they could not make good their Guards as was needful. The which being discovered by some *Spaniards*, they would not let slip the occasion; but stealing privately into one of those ill-guarded places, they found the Defendants to be very few, and those few, by reason of their continual labour and watching, fast asleep. Whereupon the *Spaniards* being encouraged, drew their swords and fell to slaughter. The noise occasioned hereby, made many flock speedily thither both from within and from without: And the Royalists having already forced the walls in some other parts, the City at last fell on all sides into their hands. The Town being taken thus as it were by assault, it was impossible for the Prince and the other Commanders to refrain the Souldiers fury, who fell with exceeding cruelty upon the conquered. Passing from anger into rage, and from rage almost to inhumanity, they put all to the sword, without respect of age, sex, or condition; and those who did not perish by the sword, perisht by the River, whereinto they desperately threw themselves, rather encountring thereby death than eschewing it. Nor was the Victors greediness of Prey lesser afterwards than their thirst after Blood had been before; for they so miserably plundered the City, as it was questionable whether avaritiousness or cruelty was therein the greater. Yet suffered they *Tapine* to live, out of the valuation they put upon the great valour which he had shewn. The City suffered so much calamity, as being almost altogether unpeopled, it was a long while ere it could be remitted into its former condition.

Whilst the Prince of *Parma* was thus diligent about *Mastrick*, he was not idle in the Agreement which was in treaty between him and the Walloon Provinces; and at last he came to a happy end therein, though he met with such difficulties as he oftentimes had but small hopes. All the other Provinces opposed themselves against this Treaty; and *Orange* in particular with all possible diligence endeavoured to cross it. But the difficulties arose no less from the self Walloon Provinces, and from the obstinacy of the Malcontents, they persisted more then ever in their resolution of having the Peace of *Gaunt* fully made good, and especially that the Forreigners should again be sent away; and they would have so bounded the Kings authority in other points also, as there should hardly have been any the least appearance thereof. They pretended among other things, 'That the King should send one of his Sons into *Flanders* 'to be bred up there, and to be the proper Prince of that Province. They would have it in 'their power to enter into confederacy again, both at home and abroad, if the King should fail 'on his part in performing the Agreement. And their end was in fine, so far to advance their 'own prerogatives, as they might never have reason to suspect such as should be left for the 'King to enjoy.

The Prince of *Parma* was chiefly troubled to think that he must deprive himself wholly of all his Forreign Forces, and be inforced to put himself into the hands of the *Walloons*. For though their Forces should prove never so faithful, they would hardly ever be sufficient to maintain the Kings cause so powerfully as it ought to be. But as in *Don Johns* time all the Provinces joyntly would have the same Covenant with him, before he should be admitted into the Government; so the *Walloons* were now inflexible in their desire to have the same thing done by the

the Prince in the firſt place; and that in all things elſe, as it was then, ſo now the peace of *Gaunt* ſhould be made good. The Prince was in a great ſtrait. On the one ſide he knew how requiſite it was to joyn the *Walloon* Provinces to the Kings party; and on the other ſide he feared leſt he might quickly run upon the ſame rocks as *Don John* had done. He therefore wrote to the King to know his direct pleaſure in a buſineſs of ſuch weight: Who after having weighed all things well, reſolved by all means to draw over the *Walloon* Provinces to joyn with him; not doubting but that time it ſelf, together with his good uſage, particularly towards the Nobility, would make the *Walloons* willing to receive again thoſe Forces into their company, which were now to be ſent out of the Country. The Prince this mean while ſtill ſweetned the Malcontents grievances. Amongſt others of their Faction, the Count *de Laleign* Governour of *Heynault*, and the Marquis of *Rubais* Governour of *Artois*, who was formerly called Viſcount of *Gaunt*, were in great authority with them. The Prince had endeavoured to win over theſe two, together with divers others of the Nobility who were in good eſteem with the *Walloon* Provinces, to the Kings ſervice; and the King himſelf was not wanting in doing the ſame by his Letters, and other carriages towards them. *Matthew Mulart* Biſhop of *Arras* had been very ſerviceable in all the Negotiation, eſpecially with the Eccleſiaſtical Orders of thoſe Provinces. So as coming at laſt to the concluſion of the Treaty, the Deputies of all ſides met in *Arras* about the end of *May*, and made up the Agreement. There were therein the Provinces of *Heynault* and *Artois* together with all the *Gallicant Flanders*, under which are particularly comprehended the Towns of *Dowa*, *Lina*, and *Orſies*. The reſt of the *Walloon* Country were not there, becauſe they were already at the Kings devotion. The chief Articles of the Agreement were theſe.

That the Peace of Gaunt *ſhould be fully performed. That according to the Articles of that Peace, all Forreign Souldiers ſhould be gone out of the Country within the ſpace of ſix weeks, and that they ſhould not return without the expreſs pleaſure of the Provinces. That the mean while an Army ſhould be raiſed out of their own Country by the Kings money, and by what the Provinces ſhould contribute on their behalf. That all the Magiſtrates and other Officers ſhould ſwear to profeſs onely the Catholick Religion. That the Country ſhould without any violation keep all its wonted priviledges, and that the Government in all other points ſhould be maintained in the ſame form as it was in the Emperour* Charles *the Fifth's time. That the King ſhould alwayes ſend a Prince of his own blood to be Governour; and ſhould be pleaſed, if it might be, to confirm for the preſent the Archduke* Matthias *in the Government. That he would be pleaſed to give ear unto their earneſt deſires, whereby they beſeeched him to ſend ſome one of his Sons, as ſoon as conveniently might be, to be bred up in thoſe Provinces, who might afterwards ſucceed his Father therein.*

Thus was the Agreement made; at which it is not to be ſaid how much *Orange* and the reſt who were of a contrary opinion ſtormed. At the ſame time that this Agreement was in agitation, and was concluded on apart with the Walloon Provinces, other greater practiſes were had to make a full and general Accommodation between the King and the other Provinces alſo. To this purpoſe the Emperor was not only reſolved to uſe, as formerly, all the means he could, but Pope *Gregory* the 13. had ſhewed the like deſire of uſing all diligence on his behalf, that *Flanders* might be brought to return wholly to the Catholick unity, and to their former obedience to their natural Prince. The City of *Colen* was judged a fit place to treat in of ſuch an important buſineſs. For the better to facilitate the event, the Elector of *Colen* had offer'd to interpoſe his endeavours, as alſo the nearer Elector of *Trevers*. The reſolution being taken to go on with this endeavour, the Pope determined to ſend *John Baptiſta Caſtagna* Archbiſhop of *Roſſano*, to be preſent there on his behalf: A man of great fame for the many Nunciatures which he had with much reputation diſcharged: Who was afterwards created Cardinal by the ſame *Gregory*; and after *Sextus Quintus*, aſcended, though but for a very few dayes, to the Popedom. *Otto Henrico*, Count of *Suarzemburg*, was by the Emperor deputed to this Negotiation, together with two other Commiſſioners. And the King himſelf would likewiſe ſend ſome Perſonage of quality thither, which was *Charles* of *Arragon* Duke of *Terranova*, one of the chiefeſt and moſt eſteemed Subjects of *Sicily*; and joyned ſome Flemiſh Deputies with him. The Duke of *Cleves* and Biſhop of *Liege*, by reaſon of their neighbourhood, ſent likewiſe particular Deputies on their behalfs to the ſame Treaty. All theſe together with the two aboveſaid Electors, met about the beginning of *May* at *Colen* to treat of the aforeſaid buſineſs. The Heretical faction of the Flemiſh Rebels were unwillingly brought to liſten to this endeavour; and they, particularly *Orange*, uſed all poſſible means to diſturb it; for they feared that ſuch Mediators would favour much more the Churches and the Kings cauſe, than theirs. But becauſe the Catholick part was as yet maintained by the Rebels, the contrary part conld not ſufficiently withſtand the neceſſary deputation to the Treaty. Wherefore by authority of the Archduke *Matthias*, as Governour of the Confederate Provinces, and chiefly by their own, a good many Deputies were choſen to this purpoſe, and the Duke of *Ariſcot* for their Head; and theſe met at the appointed time, and in the ſame place with all the reſt. There was great expectation had of this Treaty; but it was ſoon known that the event would not be anſwerable:

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For coming to the Treaty, they fell upon the ſame difficulties which were formerly met withal, when the Emperor likewiſe interceeded in the Conference at *Breda*. Nay, they were the greater on the Rebels behalf, for that they thought they had got advantage by the ſince ſucceeding novelties. They therefore appear'd more reſolute than ever in point of Religion, that they would have Liberty of Conſcience, eſpecially in *Holland* and in *Zealand*, which were already the Heretick Sanctuaries. And for what concerned their obedience to the King, they would mingle ſo much of advantage therein for themſelves, as the Government ſhould partake much more of a Commonwealth then of a Principallity. And even then it was ſeen, that the common ſenſe of the Rebels was, to bring themſelves to that form of Free-government which now the United Provinces of thoſe Countries enjoy, after having totally withdrawn themſelves from the obedience of the Church and King. Thoſe who intervened in the Treaty uſed all diligence to moderate the difficulties, and to bring them to ſome fair agreement: but all was but loſt labour, eſpecially for what concerned Religion; for the ſtiffer the Deputies of the Flemiſh Union were for the Liberty of Conſcience, the more reſolute were the Royaliſts in not admitting that any Religion, ſave the ſole Catholick, ſhould be profeſſed throughout the whole Country. For all things elſe, the King would have been willing to have uſed thoſe ſame favours towards ſuch Sectaries as would depart the Country, which were ſo largly offered in the Conference at *Breda*. But the contrary Deputies, ſometimes cunningly dodging, ſometimes plainly denying, and moſt commonly turning the Propoſals into bitter complaints againſt the former Spaniſh Governours, and againſt the whole proceedings of that Nation, ſhewed apparently at laſt that the Rebels would by no means be drawn from their former reſolutions. Wherefore there being no hopes of agreement, the Treaty after ſome moneths broke up. In which becauſe the ſame things were treated of which were diſcuſt formerly in the Conference in *Breda*, and afterwards in *Gaunt*, in the Peace concluded amongſt the Provinces, and laſtly with *Don John* in what was lately eſtabliſht between them and him; therefore to ſhun the prolixity of ſaying the ſame things over again here, we have only given you an incling of what may ſuffice to know what was done in this new Meeting at *Colen*. Yet in it the Kings-cauſe was greatly juſtified, in that the Duke of *Ariſcot* reſolved to take part no longer with the Rebels, as did alſo ſome of their Commiſſioners, eſpecially thoſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Order; who at laſt diſcovered plainly, that *Orange*, and the other Fautors of the Heretical faction would have beaten down too much the Kingly Authority, together with the Catholick Religion.

Whilſt they were in *Colen* upon the Treaty of Peace, they did not any whit omit the managing of Arms in *Flanders*. The Prince of *Parma* had ended the Siege of *Maſtrick*, as you have heard. Upon the which he got another conſiderable place, which was *Malines*. This City was in the Rebels hands, but therein was a great diſſention amongſt the Citizens; ſome of which, won by the Prince, wrought it ſo as they conveyed in ſome of the Kings men by ſtealth, and drove out the States garriſon. The Village of *Villebruck*, which the States had fortified, as being a place of importance between *Antwerp* and *Bruſſels*, fell likewiſe into the power of the Prince. And on the contrary, the Rebels grew every day ſtronger beyond the *Rhine*. The Count of *Rinemberg* commanded for the States in *Frieſland*: Who not onely in that Province, but every where elſe thereabouts, endeavoured the advantage of the Flemiſh Union. *Deventer* in the Province of *Overiſel* was fallen into his hands; and afterwards *Groninghen* more luckily. And on this ſide, the *Gaunteſes* in their particular war againſt the *Malecontents*, had by ſurpriſe recovered the Town of *Menin*: And the *Malecontents* had made themſelves maſters of *Alſt*. Inſomuch as the Hoſtility grew hotter then ever on each ſide. The Agreement being made between the Prince of *Parma* and the Walloon Provinces, and all the Forreign Souldiers being ſent out by the Prince according to the Articles, the Kings Forces were ſo weakned, as the Prince could no longer be Maſter of the Field, nor beſiege any conſiderable place. The *Walloons* laboured to gather men together who might be ſufficient for their numbers to prevail over the Enemy: But neither had they ſufficient monies for their expences, nor other ſuch preparations as their need required; there was particularly ſuch wants in point of the Cavalry, as the Prince was inforced to keep ſome Italian horſe, called *Albanois*, under the name of his Guard; to which the *Walloons* had given way, till ſuch time as they could raiſe ſo many of their own men. But howſoever, the contrary Forces were no whit the ſtronger: For the *Flemiſh* having likewiſe caſhier'd their forreign Aid, their Forces were but weak, and thoſe without any Commander in chief of their own Country. The Count *Boſſu* was dead a little before; and the other principal *Walloons*, who were moſt conſiderable next to him, had imbraced the Kings ſide: Archduke *Matthias*, young in years, and yet younger in experience, could only undergo a titular Command; and *Orange*, who was wholly taken up with Civil negotiations, could not take upon him the Military government. So as the management thereof lay chiefly on Monſieur *de la Nue*, a French-man, and Collonel *Norris*, an Engliſh-man; but the authority and eſtimation of the former was much greater then the others. Their Forces being of this condition, the military affairs proceeded but very ſlowly on both ſides. Each of them could rather withſtand then overcome, and each of them hoped for better ſucceſs in time.

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The year 1580. came now in, which brought with it one of the moſt memorable events that ever the war of *Flanders* produced; through the reſolution which the Rebels then took of chuſing a new Prince, and of continuing no longer under the King of *Spains* obedience. The Prince of *Orange* had driven on this deſign before now; and being between Deſpair and Hope, he could no longer reſiſt their violences. On the one ſide deſpair aſſailed him, ſetting before him all the greateſt and moſt dreadful dangers which could be expected from the wrath and power of the King of *Spain*, being then made greater by the acceſſion of the Kingdome of *Portugal*. And on the other ſide he was highly invited by hope, deſire making him believe that new greatneſs would be added to his fortune by a new Principallity. He argued within himſelf,

'That at leaſt the two Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* would be well-nigh wholly at his di-'ſpoſal. And wherefore in ſuch a caſe might not greater good fortunes befal him? ſince it 'might eaſily happen, that the *Flemiſh* being again angry at, or weary of a forreign Prince, 'might at laſt reſolve to chooſe one of their own Nation? And if ſo, wherefore ſhould not 'he hope to be preferr'd before all others?

He then without any further delay, having firſt prepared mens minds in every Province, by his Adherents, of which he had great ſtore in each of them: He, I ſay, cauſed the propoſition of change of Prince to be put; and made all ſuch things be ſuggeſted as might facilitate the buſineſs. The Rebels had no more weighty affairs at this time then this was. Therefore that they might treat and reſolve thereof with ſuch maturity and honour as was needful, it was thought neceſſary to call a meeting of the States General, wherein they might afterwards come to ſuch a reſolution as might be beſt for the whole Country. This advice was chiefly given by *Orange*, and *Antwerp* appointed for the place of meeting. Here then about the beginning of the aboveſaid year, the Deputies of the Provinces met, and *Orange* was there himſelf; ſo they began to fall cloſe to the buſineſs. The Heretick Deputies, of which the greateſt part of the Aſſembly did conſiſt, (ſuch induſtry and means had *Orange* uſed in cauſing them to be choſen) inclined to chooſe a new Prince, as alſo ſtill to ſtrengthen Hereſie. Yet they differed within themſelves in their votes; ſome of them were for the Queen of *England*, and ſome for the Duke of *Alanſon*; the one holding they might receive more advantages from *England*, the others from *France*. The City of *Gaunt* in particular was much inclined to the Queen of *England*, which was the chief City of all thoſe that then followed the Rebellion of the Confederate Provinces. Wherefore *James Tayard*, the Deputy thereof, together with ſome others who repreſented the peculiar Province of *Flanders*, that is to ſay the *Flemicant* part; one day, when the buſineſs was hotteſt in agitation, ſpake thus.

When I conſider (moſt worthy Deputies!) how much France *is at this time divided and afflicted within it ſelf, I confeſs I cannot be perſwaded to prefer the Duke of* Alanſon *before the Queen of* England, *in the ſubjecting of our Provinces under a new Principallity. Every one knows what the unhappy agitations of that Kingdom at the preſent are; it totters on all ſides amidſt mighty dangers: The ſeveral Factions ſtrive who ſhall rend it moſt. The King hath only the ſhew of a King, and is forced to uſe intreaties much more than commands. How often, and with what prejudice to his authority hath he been inforced rather to yield to the will of others, than to uſe his own? So perverſe under the variety of their ſpecious pretences are they ſometimes grown who favour the Catholick Religion, and ſometimes they who follow the Reformed, in cauſing one revolt after another, all tending to the great diminution of the Royal majeſty and ſplendor.* France *being then in ſo low a conditon, what eaſe or advantage can* Flanders *expect from thence? Our end is to put our ſelves under a Prince, who may by his Forces ſtrengthen ours, that we may the better defend our ſelves againſt ſo powerful and ſo bitter an Enemy as is the King of* Spain. *Then tell me, I pray you, what State, what Forces, what advantages can the Duke of* Alanſon *bring with him, that ſhould make him be deſired for our Prince? Doth he enjoy any thing elſe in* France, *ſave the bare Title of being the only Brother to the King, with other ſuch Prerogatives much greater in ſhew thn ſubſtance? Hath not the King treated him ſometimes more like a Priſoner than like a Brother? hath not the Duke ſometimes gone from Court in form of a Fugitive, endeavouring by all means to protect Faction, but rather to receive aſſiſtance from thence than to give it? To boot, his being the Kings only Brother, bears with it a condition which we may very well ſuſpect: For if he, when he ſhall be our Prince, ſhall peradventure ſucceed his Brother who is childleſs, in what condition ſhall we be then? what dangers will our Provinces be then again in? we ſhall be under ſo great a King, who peradventure may treat us ſo much worſe than the King of* Spain *now doth, by how much the Forces of* France *are nearer us, and more ready to oppreſs us. From what I have ſaid againſt* France, *I ſhall now come to what may be taken into conſideration as making for* England. *States do then moſt flouriſh, when they are moſt quiet: which may eaſily be ſeen by the happineſs which that Queen now enjoyes. Her Kingdome enjoyes full Peace, and her people ſtrive, who ſhall moſt witneſs their obedience to her. An obedience notwithſtanding which ſhe hath very well deſerved of them: For what Princeſs was there ever ſeen of a more maſculine ſpirit? who indued with more excellent vertues? She hath nothing of woman but the appearance. She is born to Empires? and to command thoſe chiefly, which require moſt merit to enjoy them. It is confeſt, her King-*

dome

dome is yet a little divided in point of Religion: but the Catholicks are ſo few, and brought ſo low, as they can in no ſort weigh againſt the Reformed: She maintains theſe, and by theſe ſhe is maintained; her pleaſure is, that onely their Religion ſhall be profeſt in England, *according to the cuſtome of that Country; and with this her pleaſure hath the Authority of the Eſtates general met in Parliament often joyned. And how much doth this make for our advantage? For the moſt of us having reſolved to embrace the Reformed religion, doubtleſly the Queen of* England *will in that reſpect much more concur in our defence than will the Duke of* Alanſon, *who is a profeſt Catholick. Together with this advantage in matter of Religion, we ſhall alſo receive from her all other things which we ſtand moſt in need of: her Kingdom abounds in People, nor wants ſhe Money proportionably. How much ought we to eſteem her ſo near, and ſo potent Maritine forces? We may by that means expect at all times all manner of Aid in a very few hours; and by that means that Country will be joyned to ours as well as we if we were both one firm land. And how much is* England *and our Province already joyned in Commerce? May not the* Engliſh-Houſe *here in* Antwerp, *be envied by their own* Chamber *of* London? *And if we conſider the Form of Government, how much more conformable to ours is that of* England, *than that of* France? *For in* France *the Kingly power may be ſaid to be almoſt abſolute; whereas in* England *it is ſo limited, as in all affairs of greateſt weight, the Princes there can reſolve of nothing without the ſupreme authority of Parliament. Which ought to make us expect a much more moderate government certainly from the Queen of* England, *than from the Duke of* Alanſon, *who hath already too much drunk in the too haughty and Kingly ſpirits of* France. *This my ſhort comparing of the preſent condition of thoſe two Kingdoms, doth ſufficiently diſcover my opinion touching the buſineſs now in hand. Yet all private opinions ought to ſubmit to the publike intereſt: And ſo ſhall I do, when the contrary ſhall be approv'd of by this moſt wiſe Aſſembly: for I have no conſideration of any forreign good, which is altogether ſubordinate to what concerns our ſelves.* This diſcourſe wrought very much upon the Deputies. But the Lord of St. *Aldegonde*, one of thoſe that was deputed for the Nobility, one of the beſt eſteemed amongſt all thoſe of the Flemiſh Union, took upon him to defend the contrary opinion. And ſpake thus,

I wiſh it had pleaſed God (moſt worthy Deputies) that our calamities had not clearly taught us what the remedy is to free us thereof. This remedy conſiſts in having one for our Prince, who being amongſt us in perſon, may rather with a Fathers, then Princes affection; imbrace, maintain, and govern the concernments of theſe our Provinces, as if they were altogether his own. And to paſs by the more ancient examples; let each of us conſider what happineſs they enjoyed in more modern times. 'Tis very well known to all how they flouriſhed under the Houſe of Burgony. *And that out of no other reſpect, but for that the Princes did then of themſelves, and in their own perſons ſteer the Government: and ſhewing themſelves from time to time in almoſt every of our Provinces, did both give and receive ſuch ſatisfaction as was moſt to be deſired by each in each of them. The Government then altered, and began to grow worſe under the Houſe of* Auſtria; *nor was it to be otherwiſe expected, by reaſon of the many States and Nations, which fell under the Empire thereof. A great bulk cannot long maintain it ſelf; and when one part thereof is wrested, all the reſt are uſually out of frame. So in States which are too far divided a ſunder, the good of Government not being able to be joyntly united in them all, the moſt remote muſt needs ſuffer therein; and afterwards thoſe that are neareſt joyned will reſent it. But notwithſtanding, in the times of* Maximilian, *of* Philip *the firſt, and of* Charls, Flanders *enjoyed ſuch a ſhare of their own perſonages and preſence, as look how much it ſometimes ſuffered by reaſon of their abſence, it reaped other whiles as much advantage by their being preſent. And each of them did ſtill retain as well the ſenſe, as the bloud of* Germany *and* Flanders: *Countries, both of them almoſt alike ſeated, and of the ſame nature. The now King being afterwards born in* Spain, *and being become a Spaniard more by will than by birth, he reſolves to keep there, and not to abſent himſelf in any manner from thence. What our miſeries have been ſince then, and what thoſe in particular which we have ſuffered through the pride and cruelty of Spaniſh Governours, we may all very well know, ſince we have all too well tryed it. Then to conclude, as I ſaid at firſt, that the only help for theſe our Provinces conſiſts in having here a Prince of their own to govern them, I confeſs I cannot ſee who can be fitter for that purpoſe than the Duke of* Alanſon. *The Dukes of* Burgony *deſcended, as it is well known to all, from the Royal bloud of* France; *then ſince Fortune preſents us again with a new Prince of the ſame bloud, wherefore ſhould not we greedily imbrace the occaſion of receiving him? would not the very Government be by this means rather continued, than any other of a different Form inſtituted? How great a part of our Province do yet retain the French tongue? and the Cuſtoms more than the tongue? Are not all the confines of the Walloons, and half the Province of* Flanders *it ſelf called more by the word* Gallican, *then* Flemican? *ſo as in reſpect of the conformity of nature, 'tis clearly ſeen that the French are much more conformable to us than the Engliſh, who had never any dominion over us. That* France *is now in great turmoyls cannot be denyed; but what better remedy than this can be found out to rid her of them? to wit, by drawing* Alanſon *himſelf out of her, and with him ſo many others who at the preſent do moleſt that Kingdome? In which caſe it is not to be doubted but that the Duke will abound ſufficiently in Forces; and that the King his brother will largely maintain them in ſo juſt a Cauſe. Every one may clearly ſee how much better theſe of* France *will be, then thoſe we ſhould receive from* England. France *doth over-abound with people*

every

every where; especially in gallant Cavalry. The coming from thence, into this our Country can receive no impediment neither by the seas nor wind; since both their confines by land joyn together. And how opportune for us ought their neighbourhood now to be thought? since almost the whole Walloon Provinces, being re-united to the King of Spain, *the French Forces will prove very commodious on that side to force that Country to return to their former Union with our other Provinces, and to joyn with us in chusing the Duke of* Alanson *for our Prince. For what concerns all the other rubs, me thinks they may be easily removed. As for the Kings having no children, his age is such as may certainly promise enough. The mean while the Duke his brother will likewise marry, and have sons of his own to succeed him: but say that the Duke were to succeed unto the Crown; wherefore may not we in such a case oblige him to leave us on of his sons to be our Prince in his stead? As for Religion, every one knows how great a freedom* France *enjoys therein. Wherefore it is not to be doubted but that the Duke will allow a greater liberty therein in* Flanders *For though our intentions be that the Reformed Religion should be the most prevalent, yet it will behove us to allow of the Catholick; there being so great a part of our Provinces which bis obstinate therein; and chiefly the Walloon Countries; to the regaining whereof we must with all our industry apply our selves. And as for what authority the Duke may assume unto himself, by the example of what the Kings of* France *enjoy in their Kingdoms: May not we limit it as we shall please? so as he may know he hath the Flemish to Govern, and not the French? and that he must use our Laws only, without any participation of theirs. I therefore conclude that all the reasons considered in this present affair, make much more for the French than for the English. And this is likewise my opinion. The which I am not notwithstanding so far in love with all, but that I shall be ready to quit it, when I shall hear a better. None shall be more ready than I to adhere unto the sence of this most vigilant Assembly, nor be more willing to endeavour the fulfilling thereof after it shall be maturely advised upon.*

This opinion of *Aldegonds* bore great weight with it. And to enjoy a Prince who was in his own person to sustain the Government, and the Interest of the Provinces was a business exceedingly considerable. This so important business was not agitated without the Catholick Deputies. For though those of the Walloon Provinces were wanting, and that there was no respect at all had to the Ecclesiastical Orders; yet were there a great many Catholicks in the Provinces, who leaned more to heresie; wherefore in this Assembly there were divers Catholick Deputies chosen together with the Hereticks. The Propositions which were made by the others, were generally very ill resented by these. For though they did likewise greatly hate the Spaniards, yet they thought it a too desperate business to treat of changing a Prince, and almost altogether Religion. They shewed,

'How much the King would be irritated by both these. That if he would never tollerate 'any liberty at all of consequence in *Flanders* how much less then would he suffer heresie to domi- 'neer every where. And what more unworthy thing could there be, than to make Religion 'subservient to the State? the ancient Church to the new Sect? and the Piety for so many 'years professed in those Provinces, to rescent Doctrines, which had involved almost all *Europe* 'in mighty troubles? To this injury which should be done to the Church, and which cer- 'tainly the King would own as his own; how much would the other add, which belonged 'wholly to himself; of bereaving him of his due soveraignty? which after so long a succes- 'sion of his Ancestors was past into him? and so strictly acknowledged, and solemnly sworn 'unto by the Provinces? That therefore it was to be believed he would resent both these in- 'juries with the whole Forces of his Kingdoms. That the Forces had been formerly formi- 'dable; but how much more now that he had gotten the Kingdom of *Portugal*? That there 'could no relyance be had upon those of *France*, by reason of the divisions by which that 'Kingdom was at the present so terribly rent in pieces. And say the King of *France* could, he 'would not assist his brother, lest he might thereby draw upon him the Forces of the King of '*Spain*. That the Catholick Faction in *France* had already great correspondency with the King 'of *Spain*. And now, having so justifiable a pretence, how much more might that King fo- 'ment it? and how many foreign evils might he add to those home-bred ones? That from '*England* they could not receive the benefit of a Prince of their own. So as the administra- 'tion must pass by the hands of Governours. And what certainty was there that the English 'would give better satisfaction than the Spaniards? especially in a new Principallity, where- 'in they would never proceed so far by fair means, but that they would much more use force. 'That the same King had great commodity of making diversions likewise against the Queen; 'and to incite *England* to some insurrection, either by open war or under-hand practises: 'and much more easily *Ireland*; a Country which was almost altogether Catholick, greatly de- 'voted to the Church, and well affected also to the Crown of *Spain*. And thus the Provinces 'having no forreign helps, would be wholly exposed to the indignation and forces of a potent 'and injured enemy: from whom they were afterwards to expect the greater punishment, in 'that they had given so just an occasion thereof.

For these reasons the Catholick Deputies past on to this opinion.

'That above all things, an agreement between the Provinces should be endeavoured: for

'that if they were well united, their own union might furniſh them with ſufficient Forces, 'at leaſt to defend themſelves. That they ſhould never lay down their Arms, till the ancient 'from of Government were firſt reſtored by the King. That touching Religion, the peace 'of *Gaunt* ſhould be obſerved, which was ſo maturely handled and concluded by the full conſent 'of the Provinces. That if things ſhould be brought to that neceſſity, as that the Provinces of *Flanders* muſt needs be ſevered from the Crown of *Spain*, they ſhould procure, as it was 'moſt reaſonable, a Prince of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, or one of the Kings ſons, if he ſhould 'have more then one, or ſome other body who ſhould marry with a daughter of the Kings, upon 'whom the Dominion of thoſe Provinces might be transferred. And that at laſt, if they 'ſhould fail of all theſe means, the Provinces ſhould take the Soveraignty into their own hands. 'In which caſe, it was not to be doubted, but that they ſhould have a much better Cauſe, more 'juſtifiable to the would, better made good by their people, and more favoured by their neigh-'bours.

But the Hereticks did ſo far prevail in this Aſſembly, as there was little regard had to this opinion of the Catholicks: ſo as the queſtion remained between the other two. But at laſt that which *Aldegonde* of had maintained in the behalf *Alanſon* was preferred. *Orange*, out of ſome private conſiderations of his own, to boot with what concerned the Publick, leaned more willingly likewiſe to this ſide. For his Principality of *Orange* lay in *France*: his wife was at that time of French bloud: and great correſpondency was had, as had always been, between him and the chief of the Hugonot Faction in that Kingdom. Yet by reaſon of the weight of the Affair, the ultimate concluſion was not at that time taken: but the Deputies departed that they might firſt acquaint each Province with their Opinions: and to bring from thence an integral reſolution. This mean while the buſineſs of War paſt on but coolly on both ſides, as hath been ſaid. To ſay truth, the Walloons could not ſhew more willingneſſe to defend the Kings Cauſe; but they had not Forces anſwerable to their wills. Wherefore the Prince of *Parma* made no conſiderable progreſs. He took *Coutray* by ſurpriſe; a Town of ſome moment in the Gallicant part of *Flanders*. But Count *Egmont*, who had laid the plot, was ſoon after taken priſoner by the enemy: who entering by ſtealth into *Nienove*, where he reſided with his wife and a brother of his they ſeaſed upon them all, and took them into their own power The Walloons took likewiſe *Mortagne*, and St *Amonde*, places of but ſmall concernment; and overrunning the Territories of *Tourney* and *Cambrey*, they endeavoured to ſtreighten both thoſe Cities of victuals, that they might the more eaſily bring them into the Kings power. *Cambray* looks upon the Frontiers of *France* more towards the extream on that part; and *Tourney* lies more inward, towards the Gallican part of the Province of *Flanders*. They are both of them principal Cities, and *Ferneſe* deſired very much to recover them, for only they two in all that Tract of the Walloons Country adhered to the Flemiſh Rebels: and he feared moreover leſt *Inſy* Governour of *Cambray*, might put that City into the hands of the French. But the Prince having not as then Forces ſufficient to beſiege either of them, he ſuffered the Walloons only to annoy them with inroads. On the other ſide, the City of *Maline* fell again into the hands of the Rebels. For the Heretical part prevailing lately there, they brought the enemy in; who meeting with little reſiſtance, made themſelves eaſily Maſters thereof: and in hoſtile manner plundered it. They took likewiſe *Diſte*, *Sichem*, and *Ariſcot* in *Brabant*, rather by Treaty than by force. But at the ſame time the Marquis of *Rubays* who had the chief command over the Walloons, much to his praiſe, deprived the enemy of one of their prime leading Commanders. He had intelligence that Monſieur *de la Nue* was gone with a good body of men to ſurpriſe *Lilla*, and that failing thereof, he returned to his former quarters. *Rubays* not letting ſuch an occaſion ſlip, ſet upon *Nue* at unawares, as he retired, and purſued him into his quarters: where *Nue* made what reſiſtance the time and place would permit him. But ſuch was *Rubays*'s violence, and eſpecially that of the *Albenois* horſe, as *La Nue* was at laſt forced to yield himſelf, with ſome other perſonages of quality, and was brought priſoner into the Caſtle of *Limburg*, where he was kept for many years; and during his impriſonment, compoſed the greateſt part of thoſe his Politick, and Military Diſcourſes, which are of ſuch eſteem in *France*: For which he receives this praiſe from his Nation, That he knew as well how to handle his pen as his ſword, and to be as worthy in peace as in war. The ſame *Rubays* endeavoured under-hand to ſurpriſe *Bruſſels*: but becauſe his practices were mingled with deceit, they proved fruitleſs. The Signior *di Stile* had worſe ſucceſs in his plots againſt *Boucain*, a conſiderable Town upon the *Scheld* between *Valentiennes* and *Cambray*: For being come near unto the place, he was by double dealing taken priſoner, together with divers others. But the *Walloons* ſoon after beſieged the Town, reduced it to a neceſſity of ſurrendring, and much to their advantage took it.

The King, as we told you before, had it in his thoughts to ſend back the Dutcheſs of *Parma* into *Flanders*; intending that ſhe ſhould have the total adminiſtration of the Government, and that the Prince her Son ſhould have the particular charge of the *Militia*. And al-

though

though the King had afterwards confirmed the Prince in *Don Johns* place, yet his mind ran ſtill upon it. And reſolving at laſt to do it, he had by his own Letters, and by his Agents in *Italy* acquainted the ſaid Dutcheſs with his intention herein, and had earneſtly deſired her that ſhe would again take upon her the Government of thoſe Provinces. She was much troubled hereat: She was beſet on one ſide by a deſire to ſatisfie the Kings pleaſure, as alſo to procure new glory to herſelf; and on the other ſide by her deſire of ſeeing her Son more glorious in the full Government of thoſe Countries. But in fine the Kings preſſures were ſo inſtant, as ſhe could not keep from condeſcending thereunto. Wherefore beginning her journy, and leaving *Italy*, ſhe came to *Namures*: where ſhe ſtaid, and would go no further, till ſhe might more fully underſtand the Kings pleaſure. She found that the affairs of *Flanders* were in a very troubleſom condition; that ſhe herſelf was well advanced in years, and therefore much fitter to deſire her quiet, than to thruſt herſelf into new troubles; that the Prince her Son was in the full ſtrength of his age, and had given ſuch proof of his wiſdom and valour in this the beginning of his Government, as that the like progreſs was undoubtedly to be expected. Her motherly affection was ſo much the greater in her, by his being her onely Son. So as ſetting aſide all ſelf reſpect, ſhe turn'd all her endeavours to the King as ſo many interceſſors in his behalf. He went immediately to *Namures* to meet her, and to pay her ſuch affection and reverence as in duty he was bound to do. But being alſo full of generous thoughts, he could not well endure that his Government ſhould be any way diminiſhed, after having had ſo full Authority therein, and ſo proſperouſly exerciſed it. The Mother thought this her Sons reſentment very juſt; which confirmed her the more in her own opinion. Wherfore ſhe reiterated her deſires to the King, and wrote him a Letter: the Contents whereof were theſe.

How ready I have been to obey your Majeſty by returning into Flanders, *your Majeſties ſelf hath vouchſafed to witneſs, by being graciouſly pleaſed to like well of it. Now that I have obeyed your Royal commands in this behalf, I ſhall, for what concerns the Government, humbly lay before you again my ſenſe thereof; and that the more freely, for that it ſhall clearly appear I aim only at your Majeſties ſervice therein. I came not long ſince to* Namures, *as I quickly ſignified unto your Majeſty. And though whilſt in* Italy, *the troubles of theſe Countries were not unknown unto me, yet, I confeſs, I find them now as an eye-witneſs thereof, to be much greater than I had conceived them. Which inforceth me humbly again to beſeech your Majeſty, as I did in* Italy, *to conſider how little available my ſervice will be unto you in this Government. Here is no more way left for fair means; all hope of accommodation is loſt; the Rebellion grows every day hotter: This wound muſt be dreſt by the ſword, and cured by fire. Since then this Government is wholly to conſiſt of Force, your Majeſty cannot chuſe but ſee how much fitter my Son is to ſerve you therein than my ſelf. He is in the full ſtrength of his age: After having ſpent his younger years in your Majeſties royal Court, he hath imployed the reſt either in the Theory or Practice of Arms; and as yet he hath ſo managed them in* Flanders, *as every day greater additions may be hoped for to your ſervice. His loyalty unto your Majeſty is anſwerable to mine: nor ſhould he be of my blood, if he were not of my opinion. To boot that he cannot but be the more like therein of himſelf, in reſpect of the ſo many gracious favours which your Majeſty hath pleaſed to confirm upon him. The height thereof will now be in your being pleaſed to leave the Government of theſe Provinces wholly to him alone, and that he may bear the ſole weight thereof, which is to conſiſt in Arms, wherein my company can be of no advantage at all unto him. I humbly beg this of your Majeſty, with as much affection and reverence as I am able. Quiet better becomes my age: And not being able to do more, I will continualy ſend my wiſhes from* Italy *into* Flanders; *and we will both at the ſame time conſpire to ſerve your Majeſty, I with my Prayers, and my Son with his Forces: Nor can we doubt but the one will be heard, and the other proſpered by God; ſince the war firſt begun here, hath hitherto been continued, and is now proſecuted more then ever, more for the glory of his Name, then for any ſelf intereſt of your Majeſtie.*

The King at laſt granted the Dutcheſs her deſire. Whereupon ſhe returned to her former peaceable condition into *Italy*, and the Prince her Son remained in his former full Command of *Flanders*. The Flemiſh Rebels had this mean while fixt upon their reſolution of changing Prince; nor were the Catholicks able to counterpoiſe the Hereticks. Yet to ſatisfie the Catholicks, *Orange* had procured that the Treaty concluded in favour of *Alanſon*, a Prince who proteſt, and who might give hopes of favouring the Catholick religion. And to ſay truth, the Queen of *England* little valued his being preferred before her: For ſhe conſidered very wiſely the uncertainty of ſuch a purchaſe, and how certain ſhe had been on the other ſide to draw upon her the revenge and Forces of the King of *Spain*. Wherefore ſhe in deep wiſdom did rather favour the canvaſing for *Alanſon*; judging that it would make much more for her ſecurity, that the Forces of *France* ſhould be waſted bootleſly in the wars of *Flanders*; that the King of *Spains* Forces ſhould be likewiſe conſumed at the ſame time; and that by the almoſt neceſſity of thoſe two Kings going to war with one another, it muſt come to an open feud between them: Nor did ſhe deſpair, but that the Low-Countries more involved in troubles then ever, the Flemiſh would at laſt have recourſe to her protection; that ſhe might then draw from thence ſuch advantages as time and occaſion ſhould offer her. When then the

Provinces had reſolved to transfer their Goverment upon the Duke of *Alanſon*, they failed not to chuſe a noble Embaſſie out of ſome of their Deputies, to acquaint him with the reſolution which they had taken; the chief whereof was the Lord *Aldegonde*. They began their journey in *Auguſt*, and paſſing into *France* found the Duke at *Tours*, where they diſcharged their Commiſſion to him. The Duke accepted of his new Dominion: and upon the ſame Conditions which he was to obſerve on his part, if he would enjoy it. Which were theſe:

'That the Belgick States choſe *Francis* of *Valois*, Duke of *Alanſon* and of *Anjou*, with the 'uſual preheminencies and titles, for their Prince. That in caſe the Duke ſhould have more 'Sons lawfully begotten than one, the States might chuſe which of them they ſhould like beſt 'for their Prince; and that if he ſhould be a Child, they were to appoint him a Governour and 'that in the interim they themſelves ſhould adminiſter the Government of the Provinces. That 'if the Duke ſhould die without heirs, it ſhould be lawful for the States to chuſe a new Prince. 'That the Duke ſhould inviolably maintain the Priviledges of the Country, and call together 'the States-General at leaſt once every year; in whoſe power it ſhould be howſoever to aſſem-'ble themſelves together upon any needful occaſion. That the Officers of War, Councellors 'of State, Governours of Provinces and Towns, ſhould always be choſen by him, with the 'approbation of the States. That the Duke ſhould reſide in the *Low-Countries*; and upon a-'ny occaſion of going from thence, ſhould leave ſome Nobleman of the Country Governour, 'with the participation of the States. For what concerned Religion, that the Duke ſhould not 'have power to innovate any thing, but ſhould equally protect both the Catholick and the Re-'formed Religion. That *Holland* and *Zealand*, in point of Religion and Government, ſhould 'continue in their preſent condition; ſubmitting notwithſtanding together with the other 'Provinces unto the Duke, in point of concurring to the neceſſity of Contributions, and in the 'coyning of monies. That the Duke ſhould procure all help and aſſiſtance from the King his 'brother, and from *France* againſt the common enemies; carrying it ſo as the War ſhould be made 'joyntly between them, yet ſo notwithſtanding as the Low-Countries ſhould not be underſtood 'to be incorporated into *France*. And that the Low-Countries ſhould furniſh him with 240000 'pounds a year for neceſſary expences. That all former Confederacies ſhould be renewed; and 'that the Duke ſhould not make any new ones, nor treat of any alliance, without the conſent of 'the States. That all forreign ſouldiers, yea even the French ſhould quit the Country when 'the States ſhould deſire it. That if any other places of the Country would joyn with the 'States, and be under the Duke, they ſhould be comprehended within the preſent Treaty. That 'ſuch places as the Duke ſhould take by force, ſhould be by him diſpoſed of, with the approbati-'on of the States. That if the Duke ſhould fail in the things promiſed and ſworn unto, the 'States ſhould be underſtood to be free from all ſubjection. And for what concerned the Arch-'duke *Matthias*, who was called into the Low-Countries, and had plaid his part ſo well, the 'Duke and States ſhould give him all convenient ſatisfaction.

Upon theſe Conditions the Provinces of the Flemiſh Union, agreed to come under the obedience of their new Prince. An obedience notwithſtanding which bore with it ſo much of command, as certainly they were much more free than ſubject. In fine, the Duke poſſeſt almoſt nothing of Principality but the title. Nor could he exerciſe any other Authority in the Country, then what belonged to the bare Governour of a Province: to boot that in *Holland* and *Zealand* the whole Government was to be in the Prince of *Orange* apart. The King of *Spain* quarrelled very much with the King of *France* for this action. Who ſeeming not to blame it, excuſed himſelf notwithſtanding for the aforeſaid reaſons, as not able to hinder it. For as for the reſt he confeſſed he very well knew how much the Rebellion of the Hereticks in *Flanders*, might aſſiſt that which the Hugonots had ſo often raiſed in his own Kingdome of *France*; where he ſhould more ſuſpect their ways than ever. *Alanſon* his new Principality being proclaimed throughout the Provinces of the Flemiſh Union, when their Deputies were returned: the King thought it was no longer time to defer the utmoſt reſentment of his indignation againſt *Orange*, who was the framer, and chief contriver of this action. And therefore by his Royal Proclamation in print, he declared him to be the Author of the troubles in *Flanders*, the Seducer of thoſe people againſt the Church and againſt their Prince; and therefore guilty of High Treaſon, both Divine and Humane, and to be a publick Rebel in both thoſe reſpects; and that as ſuch a one, he deprived him of all Dignities, Goods and Honours, condemned him to the moſt capital puniſhments: and ſet 25000 crowns upon his head, to be given to whoſoever ſhould bring him to him either alive or dead, together with other greater rewards. *Orange* anſwered this Writing, with another very long one, in print alſo; and endeavoured therein to juſtifie whatſoever he had done. And for the better confirmation thereof, made it to be under-written and confirmed by the State of the Provinces: exagerating again therein rather in an invective then bemoaning manner, the ſame things, which had been ſo often before both ſaid, written, and printed by him and his followers, againſt the King, againſt his Miniſters of State, and againſt the Spaniſh Nation.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK II.

THE CONTENTS.

The War proceeds on ſeveral ſides with diverſity of ſucceſs. Ferneſe *beſiegeth* Cambray *at a diſtance; but* Alanſon *by mighty Forces, ſuccours and ſecures it. Whereupon* Ferneſe *prevails with the Walloons to give way to the returning of Forreign Forces. The mean while he beſiegeth* Tourney, *and takes it. The Archduke* Mathias *departs, and goes to the Emperours Court. The Duke of* Alanſon, *the new Prince comes from the Court of* England *into* Flanders. *His reception in* Antwerp. Orange *is treacherouſly wounded by a muſket ſhot in the face: but the wound proves not mortal. The danger which* Alanſons *Freneh men run thereupon.* Ferneſe *is better encouraged by the daily increaſe of his Army. He begirts and takes* Odenarde, *and gets many other advantages. The Rebels ſtorm thereat, and complain of their new Prince. A Noble combate between the Royaliſts, and the Enemy under the Walls of* Gaunt. Alanſons *expected men comes at laſt. The opinion of the French Commanders to make the Duke lay the ground-work of his new Principallity upon arms. Their Counſel chiefly to ſurpriſe* Antwerp. *They come to the execution thereof; but the ſucceſs is not anſwerable. The Confederate Provinces are hereat greatly offended. And though* Orange *reunites them and* Alanſon, *yet great diffidence is had on both ſides.* Alanſon *reſolves therefore to return to* France. *And ſoon after his men do the like. By this means* Ferneſe's *advantages increaſe.* Orange *endeavours again to reconcile the Flemiſh and the French. But in the mean while* Alanſon *dies: and ſoon after* Orange.

THESE were the novelties which *Flanders* was threatened withal from *France*. But in the mean while thoſe were no leſs felt, under which the Country already laboured; and though the Kings Forces were very weak, as were alſo thoſe of the enemy, yet ſuch endeavours were had on both ſides, as ſtill ſome atchievement, or loſs of importance was had and made by each of them. The Rebels took *Conde*, a Town of ſome moment in the Province of *Heynault* towards *Flanders*: But the Royaliſts ſuddenly recovered it: and each time that it was taken, it was miſerably plundered. The Walloons this mean while continued their inrodes into the Countries of *Tournay* and *Cambray*: And the Prince of *Parma* reſolved to beſiege *Cambray* at large at the preſent, till he ſhould have ſufficient Forces to beleaguer it nearer hand. That place gave him particular cauſe of jealouſie, out of the aforeſaid reaſons; and howſoever, he would have been willing to have bereft the *French* of ſo commodious and advantagious a place of receipt.

This year there was nothing elſe of importance done on this ſide *Rhine* towards the Provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, but there was ſomewhat done on the other ſide which was very conſiderable. *Ferneſe* endeavoured to advance the Kings affairs by the way of Treaty, as well as of Arms. He had ſecretly drawn over the Count *de Berg* to the Kings ſide, who was *Orange* his Couſin, and Governor of *Ghelderland* for the States. But *Orange* diſcovering the practiſe, was ſo much the more incenſed, as he leſs lookt for ſuch an action from one ſo near

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allied unto him; He made him be deprived of his Government, and ſought how to trouble him divers other wayes. Nor was this of any great conſequence to the Kings affairs, out of any ſelf-conſideration of the Count; for he was not verſt in the military profeſſion, and was much more reſpected for his Houſe ſake than for his own Perſonage. Yet it made for the King by the acquiſition which he thereby made of his Sons, who were many, and who all proved valiant men, and were much imployed in Arms. Another ſuch like buſineſs fell out more luckily to *Ferneſe* at the ſame time, being of more advantage to the Kings ſervice. The Count of *Renemberg* was Governor of *Frieſland* and of *Groninghen* for the States, and he had done them very good ſervice in thoſe parts, as you have heard before: But reſolving at laſt to adhere unto the Catholick cauſe, and to the King, and being hereupon privately agreed with the Prince of *Parma*, he waited to declare himſelf by ſome act of conſequence, which might render his merit the greater with the Church and King. Yet could not this be ſo cloſely handled, but that *Orange* got ſome incling of it. The States therefore prevented him, making themſelves ſure of the Caſtles in *Leverden* and *Harlinghen*, which were kept by the Counts ſouldiers. Wherefore the Count fearing leſt they might do the like in *Groninghen*, reſolved to be beforehand with them there, as he luckily was: He made thoſe that ſided with him within the City take up Arms, and made ſome other of his Followers that were without enter at the ſame time; and poſſeſſing the Town and Gates, made himſelfe wholly ſure of that City. *Orange* was much enraged at this news: He made no delay, but raiſing ſuch ſtrength as he could in thoſe parts, he ſent the Count of *Hollack* away with them to recover *Groninghen*; who ſate down before it, but rather with a ſlow then ſtrait ſiege, by reaſon of divers difficulties which he met withal at the beginning. But his men increaſing every day, and coming to make Batteries, the beſiegers began to hope better, by reaſon the Kings forces were ſo ſmall, and ſo far off. *Martin Schink* had won great renown in the wars, and more particularly on the other ſide of *Rhine*. He

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was of *Gelders*, of no very great family: Quick of wit, and hand; and ſuch a one in dangers, as it might be queſtioned whether he were better acquainted with them, or valued them leſs; and therefore whether he ſhewed himſelf more cautious, or leſs circumſpect in his military actions. Amidſt theſe contrary mixtures, after having paſt through the common degrees of the *Militia*, he came to others of better quality. He then having by orders from *Farneſe* gathered together ſome of the Kings *Germans* who were yet in thoſe parts of *Frieſland*, and aſſembled a good many of the ſelf *Frieſland* Souldiers, reſolved to relieve *Groninghen*, and to that purpoſe marched thitherward. *Hollack* would not wait this aſſault underneath the City-walls, for fear that at the ſame time he might be ſet upon by thoſe within the Town. Wherefore marching to meet *Schink*, who was fewer in number than he, he endeavoured to break him, at leaſt to keep him from his deſigned ſuccour: but he found the contrary; for coming to battel, after a fierce fight, *Hollack* was routed, the City freed from the ſiege, and *Schink* greatly renowned for this action, *Renemberg* being hereupon encouraged, marcht towards the Town of *Delfeziel*, and after ſome oppoſition took it. He afterwards upon a great encounter routed *Hollack*, and recovered the Town of *Coverden*, which a little before was fallen into the States hand: And carried on by one ſucceſs unto another, he beſieged *Stenwick*, a place of importance. The year 1581, was this mean while begun; and the Colds being very great, the Enemies endeavoured divers times to relieve the Town by Ice, and were diverstimes beaten back. But Collonel *Norris*, an Engliſh-man, who commanded there in chief, and by whom this Relief was chiefly managed, having gotten more men, *Renemberg*, after he had maintained the ſiege three months, was inforced to riſe, and marcht away in good order with all his Camp. Nor was it long after, whilſt purſuing ſuch like actions, and whilſt he raiſed expectation of greater, he dyed; to the great grief of the Prince of *Parma*, who hoped for great good to the Kings ſervice from his fidelity and valour. The Prince made *Francis Verdugo*, a Spaniard Governour of the Kings forces in *Frieſland*: who was equally good at counſel, and action. At which *Schinck* was not well pleaſed, who aimed at that place; and he was the more offended, for that he did not look that a ſtranger ſhould be choſen thereinto. Wherefore for that and ſome other new occaſions, he after a while paſt over to the contrary part. But whilſt he continued yet in the Kings ſervice, he met with another occaſion of making himſelf famous: For he routed the Enemy who beſieged *Geer*, doing great execution upon them, and taking many of their chief Commanders priſoners. *Verdugo* this mean while began his Government alſo with good ſucceſs: For he preſently took *Embden*, a place thereabouts of great moment; and coming afterwards to grapple with the Enemy, he defeated them, and got thereby a notable advantage. But he could not get *Newziel*, which he afterwards beſieged; for the place was well guarded within, and opportunely ſuccoured from without.

At this time there happened a very conſiderable ſurpriſe in favour of the King on this ſide the *Rhine* in *Brabant*. By intelligence with ſome Catholicks, *il Signor d' Altapenna* was privately brought into the Caſtle of *Breda*; and entring from thence into the Town, he made himſelf wholly maſter of it, and the Prince of *Parma* placed a good garriſon there. *Orange* was hereat mightily diſpleaſed, for that Town was his own, wherefore he eſteemed the loſs to be wholly his. *Altapenna* by the like intelligence endeavoured afterwards to get by ſtealth into *San Gertemburg*, and into *Henſden*; but he failed of Both. As the States did likewiſe in the ſurpriſing of *Balduke*, which was endeavoured by *John Junius* Burgomaſter of *Antwerp*: who afterwards in his return took *Eindoven* and *Elmonte* by ſudden aſſault, both of ſmall conſequence. Whilſt they proceeded thus on both ſides of the *Rhine*, the Prince of *Parma* had at large beſieged the City of *Cambray*. He would very willingly, for the aforeſaid reaſons, have ſat down before it with a Royal ſiege, to force it to return to its former obedience to the King; and the whole Country of the *Walloons* joyn'd with him in this deſire: but he had not ſufficient Forces. Wherefore the Prince, after having infeſted that City with continual incurſions, and endeavoured ſtill to bring it to a greater ſcarcity of victuals; finally with ſome Forts from a certain place where he might moſt moleſt it, he was come ſo near it, as there were already great ſcarcity of all neceſſaries in the Town. In former times that City depended wholly upon the German Empire, but of later times having always ſhewed great affection towards the Princes of *Flanders*, it at laſt permitted the Emperor *Charles* the fifth to build a Citadel there, that he might keep it ſo the better from ever falling into the French mens hands. It had ſtill kept in the ſame devotion to the King his Son. But in theſe laſt revolts, Signor *d' Inſy*, the Governour thereof, being deſirous to adhere unto the *Flemiſh* Inſurrection, the City was likewiſe induced by him to do the ſame. The *Walloon* Provinces being afterwards reconciled unto the King, the Flemiſh Rebels could not provide ſufficiently for it, by reaſon of the impediments cauſed by the ſame Walloon Country, lying between thoſe parts which favoured the Rebels, and *Cambray*. The Governour therefore ſeeing it in ſo great ſtraits, and being of the ſame mind with the Rebels in favouring the Duke of *Alanſon*, he addreſt himſelf to the ſame Duke and earneſtly deſired ſuccour of him proteſting that otherwiſe the City would ſoon fall into *Ferneſes* hands. The Flemiſh Rebels, and *Orange* in particular, had likewiſe with great

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fervency intreated the fame of the Duke. Wherefore he thought he muſt by no means loſe ſuch an occaſion to bereave *Spain* of ſuch an advantage, and to turn it to the benefit of *France*. The Dukes deſigne of ſuccouring *Cambray*, together with the hopes of winning it, being known in the King his brothers Court, the Nobility ran from almoſt all the parts of the Kingdom at be with him upon ſuch an occurrancy. Wherefore the Duke having in a ſhort time gathered together a gallant Army of 12000 foot, and 3 000 horſe, he marched towards *Cambray*, to relieve it, and free it from the ſtraits wherein it was. *Ferneſe* knew he could not withſtand ſo powerful a ſtrength; having ſo few Forces as he could neither incamp himſelf in face of the enemy, nor ſufficiently fortifie himſelf about the walls of the City. Wherefore forgoing the Forts, he reſolved to retreat. Some ſlight skirmiſhes happened upon this occaſion between the two Camps; and the Country being finally left wholly free to the French, the Duke had leaſure to relieve the City, and to furniſh it abundantly with all things neceſſary. He himſelf entered thereinto, and being ſolemnly received, he made a large Declaration, that he was come into it, as into a City of the Empire, and that as ſuch a one he would keep it and defend it: He upon this occaſion took likewiſe the Caſtle of *Cambreſis*. From hence he ſuddenly returned to *France*; though he was earneſtly deſired by the Flemiſh Rebels, who were now become his Subjects, to come further into the Country, and make good uſe of the ſo many Forces as he now had upon that occaſion. But becauſe they were really to be eſteemed rather lent Forces, than any of his own, being haſtily, and tumultuouſly gathered together; and he not having monies to maintain the Army any longer at that time; he could not ſatisfie them in their deſires, but made ſuch excuſes as were neceſſary. He aſſured them notwithſtanding that he would be ſuddenly with them with good Forces. And that to that purpoſe, he would not only uſe all poſſible dilligence and induſtry with the King his brother, but go himſelf, if need ſhould be, into *England*, and uſe all other efficacious endeavours with his neighbours.

Theſe Forces of *Alanſons* being vaniſhed ſooner than it was believed they would be, the Walloons took courage again, and hoped for good ſucceſs. Yet was the Prince of *Parma* very much troubled within himſelf, as well by reaſon of his retreat from *Cambray*, as alſo for that he verily thought he ſhould never do any thing of conſequence by the ſole help of thoſe Countries who kept loyal to the King. He had upon divers occaſions endeavoured to make this known to thoſe who were of greateſt power amongſt the Walloons; and had dexterouſly ſuggeſted unto them, how much they themſelves ought to deſire, not only for the Kings ſervice, but even for the good of their own Country, that the forreign ſouldiers might again return. But he could not ſo repreſent the neceſſity thereof, but that they had their equal jealouſies: for all the Country deſired very much to be free of Forreign Forces. The Prince found not therefore ſuch a diſpoſition in them thereunto as he deſired. The Marquis of *Rubays* was in great eſteem amongſt the Walloons, as you have often heard. And doubtleſſy he deſerved to be ſo, by reaſon of his bloud, valour, and adherency of friends. The Prince had contracted a particular friendſhip and truſt with him: wherefore he reſolved to uſe all the means he could to draw him over to his opinion of fetching back the Forreign Souldiers into *Flanders*. He therefore took him on day by the hand, and after a Flemiſh familiarity, joyn'd with a Military Authority, he ſpake thus unto him.

How weak the Forces are (moſt valiant Sir) which we have now here in the Kings Service, cannot be better known to any than to your ſelf, who have ſo great a ſhare in the Command thereof. The Agreement made with the Walloon Provinces hath certainly been of great advantage to the Kings Affairs. It is every day ſeen that their Forces can neither be more faithfull nor more valiant: But every day likewiſe confirms that which was then feared; that their forces alone would not be ſufficient to carry on the Warre. And to deſcend to particulars, tell me, I pray you, What thing of conſequence have we done, ſince the taking of Maſtrick, *wherein the Forreign Souldiers did intervene? Have we ever been able to take the field with any conſiderable Army? or by any ſufficient Siege forced any place of importance? rather how ſhamefully have we been compelled to riſe from before* Cambray? *and alſo with how much loſs? The French before our eyes have not only releived the Town, but fully taken poſſeſſion thereof: which was the ſtrongeſt out-work your Countrey had towards their Frontiers. How much is the union of the Rebels alſo encouraged by our weakneſs? Is not their raſh perfidiouſneſs come now to the greateſt height? what more execrable thing could they deviſe to do, than ſo affrontedly, and by their own ſole authority to chuſe unto themſelves a new Prince: Then ſince reaſon requires that ſuch enormous faults ſhould be puniſhed, and that this cannot be done by the ſole forces of the obedient part of the Country, why ſhould it not be thought neceſſary to be done by ſtrangers? Why ſhould not the former ſouldiery be ſuffered to return again, and an Army be thereby made which may be worthy of our King, worthy of the Cauſe which he maintains, and by which this ſtill renewing Hidra of Rebellion may be tamed? When this wicked Monſter ſhall be corrected, and Peace and Loyalty ſhall be every where eſtabliſhed throughout the Country, it is not to be doubted but that the King will preſently of his own accord remove all forreign ſouldiers, and leave the Cuſtody of the Country to their own Militia. And thus when the Kings forces ſhall be returned hi-*

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ther in their former vigour, how great ſhall our advantages be together with his? Then, when we with a flouriſhing Army ſhall be able to be Maſters of the field, ſtorm all places, win all battels, and compaſs all our deſires; I, who am the Commander in chief, and you who next to me have the chiefeſt Command, what ſhall our ſhare of glory be in all theſe ſucceſſes? what rewards are not we to expect from the Kings bounty and goodneſs? and how triumphant ſhall we be in the Church by ſuppreſſing Hereſie? Out of all theſe conſiderations, Sir, I moſt heartily deſire you, that you will be pleaſed particularly to interpoſe your endeavours, and your Authority where need ſhall require it, that the forreign ſouldiery may return hither again with the good will of the obedient Party. Your deſert was certainly highly valued by the King, when you reconciled your Provinces to his Royal Crown; but how much will it now be increaſed? and how glorious ſhall I make it appear? And I already pawn my faith unto you, that if this may be done, the King ſhall acknowledge it chiefly to be your work; for what remains, you know the friendſhip that I have promiſed you: which you may be ſure ſhall be inviolably obſerved by me: in fine, either I ſhall be of no power in this Government, or your part therein next mine own ſhall be the greateſt.

Rubays was much moved at theſe words. He thought himſelf too much obliged by the confidence which the Prince ſeemed to put in him; and he deſired to ſignalize himſelf as much as he could in the Kings ſervice. He conſidered moreover that the ſervice of the Walloon Countries was ſufficiently joyned to his good, ſince if they would not admit the company of forraigners who were their friends, they ran hazard of being inſlaved by their enemies, who were likewiſe forreigners; or under the like of their own Flemiſh Hereticks, or that of their Chieftain *Orange*; whoſe chief end was to abaſe the Nobility, and by the favour of the multitude to build up a Tyranny to himſelf. Wherefore wholly inflamed, both with devotion to the King, and affection to the Prince, *Rubays* anſwered him in reſolute terms, that he would do all that lay in him, to effect the Prince his deſire. *Rubays* being won, it was not hard for *Ferneſe* to draw the reſt to be of the ſame mind, who were the chiefeſt either amongſt the Nobles, Eccleſiaſticks, or Commonalty. So as the buſineſs was ſuddenly ſo well carried on by all ſides, as the Walloon Provinces inſtead of hindring it, reſolved to facilitate it as much as they could; and not only to give way for the return of the Forreign Militia, but by a particular perſon of their own, to deſire it of the King. The Flemiſh Rebels were by this time come to the proclaiming of their new Prince. To which purpoſe a General aſſembly being called in the *Hague*, the firſt by a long writing in Print, Declared, That the King of *Spain* had forfeited his Soveraignity over thoſe Provinces, and ſtrictly commanded that no further obedience ſhould be given him. And the reaſons which they alleadged for this were, Becauſe he went about to oppreſs the people in their conſciences, and by open force to violate their priviledges. Then the Aſſembly being fully informed of all that their Deputies had reſolved in *France* with the Duke of *Alanſon*, they publickly gave out that he was now their Prince, and reſolved to receive him, and acknowledge him as ſuch a one with all greateſt ſolemnity. And being ſtill fuller of hopes, by reaſon of thoſe advantages which *Alanſon* had ſo luckily atchieved by the relieving of *Cambray*, and taking of *Cambreſis*, they did verily believe that he would very ſpeedily ſend the people that he had promiſed, and would come quickly himſelf to take poſſeſſion of his new States. They notwithſtanding did much ſolicite him to haſten them both. But he ſaid, that he muſt needs firſt go into *England* to ſpeak with the Queen, and that the Queen her ſelf did much deſire that he ſhould do ſo. And indeed it was true: For ſhe did deſire to engage him ſtill more and more in the revolts of *Flanders*, for the aforeſaid reaſons. And ſhe carried the buſineſs on with ſuch cunning, as ſhe fed him with hopes that ſhe would marry him. Which hopes were notwithſtanding judged to be but vain, by reaſon of the inequality of their ages; he being very young, and ſhe already inclining to old age. Moreover every one knew, that when ſhe was of a fitter age for marriage, ſhe being of a Maſculine ſpirit, and very deſirous to govern, had always refuſed to take any for a Companion into her bed, for that ſhe would have no Companion in her Princely government. But howſoever the Duke was not diſpleaſed with this deceit; for he turn'd it to his advantage with the Flemiſh, by making his expectation the greater amongſt them, and by giving the greater credit to his Forces. Which proved notwithſtanding ſo weak, as he could not as then ſend any conſiderable ſtrength to the Rebels.

Wherefore *Ferneſe* having this advantage, and encouraged the more by the ſpeedy return which the forreign Forces were to make, he reſolved to beſiege *Tournay*, wherein the obedient Provinces joyned fully with him. The City of *Tournay*, together with the Country of *Tourneſis*, hath a particular Government of its own; which was then adminiſtred by the Prince of *Eſpenoy*, who adhered to the Flemiſh Union. It lies upon the Gallican ſide of the Province of *Flanders*: wherefore the *Walloons* deſired very much to take it, ſo to reunite that tract of ground which joyns upon their Country, to its allegiance to the King. The Prince of *Eſpenoy* was not at this time in *Tournay*: but his wife *Maria de la Laigne* was there; a woman of great ſpirit, and who performed in this Siege (as ſhall be ſhewn) whatſoever could be expected from her husband. *Tournay* may be numbred amongſt the nobleſt Cities of *Flanders*, as well

for its ancient foundation, as for being amply furniſhed both with people, traffick. and edifices. It is every where ſurrounded with fruitful and pleaſant fields; and through the midſt of it, under divers bridges runs the *Scheld*, a River which begins there to ennoble it ſelf, not being well navigable before. Whilſt this City was under the *Engliſh*, in the time of *Henry* the Eighth they built a good Caſtle there, eſteemed ſtrong in that Age, but not to be compared to the latter Royal Fortifications: It is only flanked with Towers, after the old faſhion; and the ancient walls of the City have the ſame imperfection, yet theſe are in ſome parts helped by Ravelins raiſed after the modern faſhion. On the lower ſide, the *Scheld* joyns to the Ditch, which on the upper ſide is wholly dry. In lieu of the Prince of *Eſpenoy*, *il Signor d' Etrael*, his Lieutenant, governed the City at this time; but he had but a ſmall Garriſon in the Town; for *Eſpenoy* being buſie with the Prince of *Orange* about ſome other imployment, had carried away with him many Souldiers who formerly belonged to that Garriſon. But the Inhabitants, who were for the moſt part Hereticks, ſupplyed the defect of the Garriſon; who were therefore ſo bitter againſt the Kings party, as they could not appear more alienate from the one, nor more affectionate to the other: They had unarm'd the Catholicks, as not confiding in them; and in all other demonſtrations ſhewed themſelves ready to ſtand upon their defence. On the other ſide, *Ferneſe* was not ignorant how weak they were within and how ſmall hopes they had to be relieved from without. Wherefore without any longer delay he marched with his Army, and about the beginning of *October* drew near to *Tournay*, and began to order his Quarters. His Camp was not then very great, but he hoped to have it ſpeedily ingroſt by ſome *Germans*, which by his directions were raiſing in thoſe parts near *Flanders*. And the Abbot of *St. Vedaſto* being ſent from the *Walloons* into *Spain*, to ſollicite the King to ſend ſome new Forces again, as ſoon as might be, into *Flanders* from *Spain* and *Italy*; *Ferneſe* was in great expectation of having ſhortly one of the moſt flouriſhing Armies that was ever ſeen in thoſe Provinces. Having then ordered his affairs, and ſecured his quarters, the Officers of the Army conſulted on which ſide they ought to make their batteries: The opinion was, that they ſhould play upon one of the longeſt and worſt flankt Curtains on that ſide where the Ditch was dry. This ſpace lay between two gates, the one called S. *Martins*, the other *Valentiennes*. A good Ravelin was thruſt out for the defence of the former, and a great Platform ſtood over the other. Yet theſe two Defences, were ſo far from one another, and the Curtain which ran betwixt them bowed ſo far outward, as neither could the one defend, nor yet ſee the other. Wherefore to make good this defect, there was a great Cavallier of Earth raiſed about the midſt of the Curtain. But howſoever all that ſide was ſo imperfect, as the Prince of *Parma* judged it moſt advantagious for him, and therefore turned the ſtrength of his ſiege upon it. The Kings men coming before it with their wonted Trenches, they began to plant three Batteries, to deprive the beſieged of the three aforeſaid Defences. They within were not wanting this mean while on their parts. They with frequent ſhooting annoyed thoſe without, from the aforeſaid Works; and oppoſed themſelves unto them nearer hand by ſtout Sallies, though they were ſparing therein by reaſon of the paucity of their Souldiers. The Princeſs of *Eſpenoy* with great gallantry did her ſelf encourage them; and with incredible vigilancy performing all the manlike actions which her husband could have done, exhorted ſome, intreated other ſome, uſed ſometimes threats, ſometimes a more moderate power; ſhe her ſelf did ſometimes execute her own orders; and in fine ſhe omitted not any thing which might make for the ſuſtaining of the ſiege. On the other ſide *Ferneſe*, having his eye every where, and playing himſelf alſo the part of a private Souldier more than of a Commander, did continually ſollicite all the Works, even the furtheſt off, that he might come the ſooner to thoſe that were nearer hand. So as within a few dayes the Trenches were ſo far advanced, as they might come to the Batteries, upon each of which were many Pieces of great Canon placed, and they began to thunder apace upon the Enemies works. The Kings men were not long in falling into the Ditch; the which being dry, they might the more eaſily come to the wall, and by their Mathooks and Mines the ſooner throw it down. Yet thoſe within were not at all diſcouraged; but with inceſſant labour both by day and night, repaired the wall where it was moſt needful, and prepared for every other part of greateſt danger. The Siege paſt on quietly ſome dayes amidſt theſe leſs noiſeful endeavours. But the Kings men renewing their batteries more hotly than ever, as alſo their works in the Ditch, they made ſuch breaches in the wall, as they thought they might by aſſault make themſelves maſters of it: wherefore with a great deal of courage and alacrity they prepared for it. The beſieged were no leſs couragious, nor no leſs reſolute to defend themſelves. Great therefore was the fierce and bloody Conflict, when they came to it. Many of the beſt of both ſides were ſlain and Fortune ſmiling alternately, ſometimes on this, ſometimes on that ſide, their hopes did accordingly vary. In the very heat of the fight the Princeſs ſhewed miraculous courage; and throwing her ſelf where the danger was greateſt.

Am not I here (ſaid ſhe) *my ſelf? Do not I here in mine own perſon repreſent the Prince my Husband? I am no leſs ready than he to deſpiſe death, that I may as we all ought, be ſerviceable to the Country. Let us therefore reſolve, my ſouldiers, rather to loſe our lives then our ſtation: Let us undauntedly make it good,*

as

as we have done hitherto. The Enemy muſt at laſt yield: And the winning of this Battel, will ſecure the like ſucceſs unto us in all others.

She accompanied theſe her words with no leſs manlike actions; for thruſting her ſelf into the crowd, whilſt ſhe either fought her ſelf, or incouraged others to fight, ſhe was wounded in the Arm. The Defendants ſtill more ſet on fire by ſuch an Example, continued making ſo ſtout reſiſtance, as the Royaliſts were at laſt forced to give over, and retreated with the loſs of many of their men. Beſides many Captains and other Officers, the Count *Bucquoi*, the Signor *de Gloine*, and *de Bours*, periſht in this aſſault; and the Marquis of *Barambone*, *John Baptiſta di Monte*, Signor *di Montigni*, and the Baron of *Bigli* were wounded. From the very beginning of this Siege, the Duke of *Alanſon*, who was then in *England*, had encouraged the beſieged, and aſſured them that he would undoubtedly ſoon relieve them, either by coming to them himſelf in perſon, or by ſending ſuccour. Wherefore they betook themſelves the more boldly to this defence. *Orange* had fed them with the like hopes; and more then all others their own Governour *Eſpenoy*. But ſeeing that there came no men from *Alanſon*, and that the Flemiſh Rebels did nothing to relieve them, their former vigour leſſened with their hopes. Yet was not the Princeſs wanting in keeping their hopes alive as much as ſhe was able. And *Etrael* the Lieutenant did the like. And ſome days after the aſſault, Collonel *Preſton*, a Scotchman, forcing his way through ſome German Companies of the Kings Camp, got with ſome horſe into the City; the beſieged were at firſt ſomewhat inheartned by this ſucceſs; hoping that after this ſmall relief ſome greater would ſhortly appear: But when they underſtood by *Preſton*, that there was no tidings heard any where of the coming of any French into *Flanders*; and that there was no appearance of any ſuccour from the Flemiſh, the beſieged loſt all hopes of being further able to continue their defence. The City of a large circuit; the men in pay but few in number; nor were the Inhabitants ſo many as were any ways able to ſupply all neceſſary occurrences: beſides, many of both ſorts were periſhed in the actions; and they began already within the Town to have ſcarcity of many things. On the contrary the Kings Camp was increaſed by Germans. And *Ferneſe* encouraged by his expectation of having more men ſpeedily from *Burgony*, as alſo from *Spain* and *Italy*, renewed all ſuch works as were neceſſary for the taking of the City, and ſpeedy reducing it to the Kings obedience. There were notwithſtanding ſome amongſt the beſieged, who blinded with rage, and deſirous to confound the private with the publick evils, would have had them ſtand it out till the laſt gaſp: but at laſt the more adviſed Councils prevailed. For the City having no hopes of ſuccour, they foreſaw it would be taken by force, and like *Maſtrick*, plundered, and put to fire and ſword. They therefore thought of a Parley, wherein they might have the beſt conditions they could get. The Princeſs was a kin to the chiefeſt of the Kings Camp; particularly to the Marquis of *Rubays*. Wherefore ſhe by their means agreed to ſurrender up the City upon ſuch conditions, as more honourable could not well be had. The Town was ſurrendred the laſt day ſave one of *November*; and the conditions were theſe.

That the City ſhould receive a full pardon from the King. That the Citizens ſhould return to the true obedience of the Church and King. That thoſe who would not live after the Catholick profeſſion, might enjoy their goods any where out of the Country. That the Souldiers ſhould be ſuffered to march out with their Arms, baggage, and Colours flying. That the City ſhould pay 20000 *pound to keep it from being ſackt. And that the Princeſs of* Eſpenoy *might be ſuffered to go freely whether ſhe pleaſed with all her wealth, goods, ſubſtance and family.*

Thus was *Tournoy* yielded; and the Princeſs at her coming forth, was received with ſuch applauſe in the Kings Camp, as it might be judged ſhe came forth not as Conquered, but as Conquereſs. The news this mean while continued that the Duke of *Alanſon* would be quickly in *Flanders*; and that without returning to *France*, he would come directly from *England*, and land in *Zealand*. The Archduke *Mathias* had till this time kept in the Low-Countries, and agitated with many hopes, could never fix upon any. From the beginning he could not be Governour there by the Kings approbation. He had enjoy'd nothing but likelihoods in the Rebels Government; and nothing but the Title in the mannagement of the Militia: yet he thought he merited by ſuffering. Wherefore diſcovering the Rebels reſolution of changing Prince, he flattered himſelf mainly upon that occaſion, with new and ardent hopes. He omitted not to make thoſe things be ſuggeſted which might make moſt for his advantage: and particularly his Auſtrian bloud of *Germany*, which for ſo many years, and with ſuch ſatisfaction to the people had governed *Flanders*. But being but little liſtened unto, and leſs conſidered, and afterwards excluded out of all, he was fain to be content, and to return to his friends, and former condition in *Germany*. When therefore it was noiſed that *Alanſon* was in *England*, and that he would be ſpeedily in *Flanders*, *Mathias* tarryed no longer, but going by *Cullen*, paſt over the *Rhine*, and returned to his uſual abode in the Emperours Court. This year ended with his departure, and with the *Signior d' Altapenna's* endeavour to ſurpriſe *Bergen ap Zome*; which Town he was very near ſurpriſing: for he and his men had already won one Gate, and were begun to get more inward; when the Garriſon betaking themſelves to

their Arms, and the people flocking from all parts, the Royaliſts were forced to go out many of them being ſlain, and many wounded. In the beginning of the year 1582. certain news was brought to *Flanders* at laſt, that the Duke of *Alanſon* was departed from *England*, with intention of landing in *Zealand*. After having been entertained many days, with much feaſting and honourable treatment, he went from *London*, and within three days came to *Fluſhing*. The Queen made him be attended with a great Fleet of her ſhips, which were commanded by *Charls Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, and would have him waited upon by divers of the chiefeſt Lords of her Kingdom; amongſt which was the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was than in great Authority and favour with her. When *Alanſon* was come to *Fluſhing*, he was received by *Orange*, *Eſpenoy*, and a great many other perſonages of quality, who were come thither to that purpoſe. They brought him from thence to *Midleburg*, where ſtaying a few days, he came to *Antwerp* attended by above 50 Flemiſh ſhips gloriouſly trimed; he landed upon the banks of *Scheld*, near the Citadel, and was met with an incredible applauſe, and concourſe of people. After the wonted ceremonies of interchangeable oaths, he entred on horſeback into the City, which was every where ſet out with triumphant Arches, and other publick demonſtrations of joy for his arrival. *Alanſon* being thus brought into his new Principality, it was not long ere he began to know that hardly was the appearances or ſhadow thereof left unto him. On the other ſide, the Flemiſh began quickly to comprehend that he had brought with him nothing but the outſide of vain hopes, and of ſpecious titles. He could not obtain any Forces of conſequence from the King his brother; and from the Queen of *England* ſuch and ſo many only, as by his means the Dominion of thoſe Countries might rather be taken from the King of *Spain*, than enjoyed by himſelf. Wherefore the heat of that firſt welcome quickly cooled; and the Inhabitants of *Antwerp* began to take ſome diſtaſte at the Duke in point of Religion. The Hereticks were alrerdy ſo prevalent there, as but very little ſhare of exercile remained for the Catholicks; who had recourſe unto the Duke to remedy the oppreſſion which they received. On the contrary, the others endeavoured by all means to continue their advantages: and though ſome ſatisfactions was at laſt given to the Catholicks, yet were not they therewithal quieted, nor did the Hereticks on their ſide ſeem to be ſatisfied. But an untoward accident which happened not long after, had likely to have given him an ill-favoured welcome, and to have indangered his life. Which was this, A young Spaniard of mean birth in *Biſcay*, having reſolved to kill *Orange*, and taking both time and place fitting for his purpoſe in *Orange* his own houſe diſcharg'd a muſket in his face, and wounded him ſo as at the firſt he was thought to be dead. The noiſe being heard, many haſted thither, and aſtoniſhed at the ſpectacle, without further ado ſlew the offender. The news of this flew ſuddenly from the houſe to the Piazza, and from the Piazza to every leaſt corner of the City. Nor is it to be ſaid what a commotion it cauſed amongſt the people. Every one ran with anxiety from one place to another to know the truth thereof; and lamenting one another, as if not only the Father of the Country, but even the Father of every particular Family had been ſlain, they bewailed the private and publick misfortune which they thought had befaln them. In this agitation it was whiſpered that the French had been the authors of this miſdeed, that they might rid their hands of *Orange*, and thereby make the Duke of *Alanſons* Authority the more free. The baſer ſort of people turning the commiſſeration into fury, ran head long to *Alanſons* houſe intending to kill all the French that they ſhould find there, and peradventure not to ſpare his own perſon. In this interim the firſt fear was ſeiſed in *Orange* his houſe, for the wound being ſearched, was found not to be mortal: the bullet had only paſt through both his cheeks, beaten out ſome of his teeth, and occaſioned the loſs of much blood, which for a while hindred his ſpeech. But when he knew it was a Spaniard who had ſhot him, and heard what danger the French were in, and even *Alanſon* himſelf, he writ ſome Tickets with his own hand, and ſent abroad divers in his own name, who cleared the buſineſs, and freed the multitude of their ſuſpitions. When all tumults were ceaſed, they fell to ſearch into the fact, that they might make the juſter reſentment. The moſt common opinion was, that the *Biſcayard* to gain the fine that was ſet by the Kings Proclamation upon *Orange* his head, and out of hopes of greater rewards, had raſhly reſolved to undertake the buſineſs. On *Jaſpar Annaſtro*, a Spaniſh Merchant had a ſhare therein, but he was broken, and therefore gone from *Antwerp*. And one *Antony Venero*, and a Votary of St *Dominicks* called *Antony Timmermanno* were put to death, and cruelly torn in pieces as complices in the miſdeed.

This accident cauſed a great commotion in the Confederare Provinces: And the Prince of *Parma* hoping that thereby ſome advantage might reſult to the Kings affairs, was not failing on his behalf to do what was fitteſt upon that ocaſion. But *Orange* being quickly out of danger, and afterwards perfectly cured, all fear ceaſed amongſt the Rebels, and they continued more firm than ever in their former reſolutions. Whilſt theſe things paſt thus in *Antwerp*, the Forces of both ſides were not idle, though they did but little. *Verdugo* had made ſome further proceedings on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, and had taken ſome Towns in *Frieſland*, and in the parts thereabouts. And on the contrary, the States had better ſecured the Towns

of

of greater importance, and ſtrove to preſerve thoſe advantages which they had got on that ſide. And they got one advantage of great moment at that time, by the taking of *Schink* priſoner as he returned from *Germany*, being ſent thither by *Ferneſe* to raiſe more Horſe. On this ſide the *Rhine*, they had at unawares aſſaulted the Town of *Alſt* with ſome of their men, and taken it. And the *Walloons* have done the ſame to *Gaeſbeck*, a Town not far diſtant from the other. But this mean while *Ferneſe* growing ſtronger in men, and yet more ſtrong in hopes after the ſucceſs of *Tournay*, and after the accident which had befallen *Orange*, reſolved to beſiege *Odenard*, one of the beſt eſteem'd Towns in the Province of *Flanders*, both for its ſituation, traffick, and people. *Odenard* lies upon the *Scheld*, almoſt in the mid-way between *Tournay* and *Gaunt*. It is begirt with a good Wall, and the Wall with a large Ditch: within the Walls it is furniſht with good Platforms; but it hath never a Royal Bulwark without, and therefore it is imperfectly fortified every where: It hath on one ſide an eminent Riſe, which commands the whole Town. *Ferneſe* incamped himſelf before it; but firſt he ſeemed as if he would beſiege *Menine*, ſo to draw the greater number of the Enemy thither, and that *Odenard* might thereby be the more weakned. And the effect did correſpend with the deſign: For there were not left above 500 Souldiers in *Odenard*, but under a very gallant Commander, called *Frederick Borch*; as he together with the Garriſon made it appear to the very end of the Siege. The Kings Army having taken up their Quarters, *Ferneſe* quickly poſſeſt the Riſe, and from thence began to play upon the Town with his Canon: he then came to the working of Trenches, and preparing of Batteries. The Prince was deſirous to ſpare as much as might be the Blood which is uſually ſhed in aſſaults; wherefore the intention was to make a leſs bloody, but more ſecure Siege. Yet a great breach being made in a Ravelin which fenced the Gate, they made an Aſſault; but the event proved not fortunate: For a Bridge which was to ſerve for paſſage over the Ditch, and ſo to get upon the Breach, not being ſo long as was requiſite, was with great diſorder thrown down; and thoſe within made ſuch reſiſtance, as the Royaliſts were forced to give over the attempt. Wherefore *Ferneſe* was the more confirmed in his former opinion of proceeding with greater caution, and in lieu of Aſſaults to uſe the Pick-axe and Mines. This Siege did very much vex the Flemiſh Rebels: wherefore muſtering a conſiderable ſtrength of Foot, which were almoſt all of them *Engliſh* and *Scots*, under Collonel *Norris* and Collonel *Seaton*, together with a number of Rutters, they ſent them into the Province of *Flanders*, and diſpoſed of them about *Gaunt*, intending to adde thereunto, and to endeavour the freeing of *Odenard*. But *Ferneſes* Forces being likewiſe increaſed by *Germans* and *Walloons*, and expected the aforenamed others, he fortified himſelf ſo well on that ſide, as the Enemy could never bring in any the leaſt ſuccour into the Town. This mean while a Mutiny hapned in the Kings Camp for want of Pay, amongſt ſome of the *Germans*; and the Enemy both within and without hoped to reap ſome advantage thereby. But the Mutiny being in a few daies quieted, and the Prince having by the puniſhment of ſome made the reſt more obedient, the Enemy deſpaired of holding out longer. The Siege laſted notwithſtanding from the beginning of *April* till almoſt the end of *June*; And the Town was ſurrendred upon ſuch Conditions, as the Garriſon marched out honourably, and the Townſmen were contented. Soon after the Royaliſts took *Lira* alſo, a great Town in the bowels of *Brabant*, not many hours march from *Antwerp*, and therefore very proper to annoy that City. There was in it, amongſt others, Captain *William Simple*, a Scotch-man, with his Foot-Company of the ſame Nation. *Simple* holding ſecret intelligence with *Altapenna*, he under ſome other colourable pretence brought him in by night, and driving out the reſt of the Flemiſh garriſon, put the Town into the hands of the Royaliſts. The Flemiſh ſeeing theſe continual loſſes, not any aſſiſtance appearing as yet from *Alanſon*, and not being very well ſatisfied with him before his coming to *Flanders*, they could no longer forbear breaking forth into ſharp and ſpitefull ſpeeches againſt him.

Where are (ſaid they) *theſe ſo many promiſed Forces? where the Armies which would ſuddenly fall from* France *down into* Flanders? *and where the helps which ſhould alſo come from* England? *That upon theſe aſſured hopes the* Flemiſh *had choſen, declared, and received him for their Prince; and that in lieu thereof what had he brought them ſave only vain Titles, and all other vain Appearances? That his ſo many in vain reiterated promiſes were every day renewed by him, but no performance ſeen. That this mean while their loſſes were ſtill increaſed, and conſequently the Enemies atchievements. That by the taking of* Tourny, *the Prince of* Parma *had gotten the whole Country of the* Walloons *into his hands. That from* Odenard *he might go even to the wals of* Gaunt, *and from* Lira *to the wals of* Antwerp. *That his Army was already ingroſt with* Germans; *that he expected Recruits from* Burgony, *and ſoon after from* Spain *and* Italy: *So as now how did* Flanders *ſwarm with Forreigners? and in what danger were the chiefeſt Cities of the* Flemiſh *Union? That their new Princes ſuccours would come juſt then, when they ſhould make not the ſtrength, but the ſcorn of his new Principality the greater.*

Theſe and the like Complaints did the *Flemiſh* make againſt *Alanſon* and the *French*. Nor did they ſpare *Orange* himſelf, complaining that under pretence of procuring the publike

felicity

felicity of the Country, he had rather minded his own private advantages. He was not ignorant of theſe the paſſions of the Commonalty; but knowing very well how to make uſe of them, he was not offended that the vulgar ſhould vent them; and maintaining ſuch correſpondency as was needful with the graver ſort, and minding with them the carrying on of the common deſigns, he ſlackned not a whit from his fervency in advancing *Alanſons* affairs. When the firſt Ceremonies of the new Principality were ended in *Antwerp*, *Alanſon* paſt by Sea with *Orange* into the Province of *Flanders*, and made his ſolemn entry firſt into *Bruges*, and then into *Gaunt*. Here they ſtayed, expecting the Forces which were to come from without, and to reinforce thoſe that were within. Thoſe Souldiers which were firſt ſent to ſuccour *Odenard*, were now almoſt within ſight of *Gaunt*. But *Ferneſe* being paſt from hopes to manifeſt effects, had received the Militia which was expected from fartheſt abroad; which conſiſted of two Brigadoes of Spaniſh Foot, under the Camp-maſters *Chriſtopher Madragone*, and *Peter Paze*; and of two other Italian Brigadoes, under the Camp-maſters *Camillo de Marcheſi del Monte*, and *Mario Cardoine*; together with many Troops of Horſe of both thoſe Countries. He then delayed no longer; but picking 6000 Foot and 2000 Horſe out of the Army, he went to find out the Enemy. His Quarters were (as hath been ſaid) near the walls of *Gaunt* in a Village well intrenched. At firſt the Enemy ſeemed not to refuſe battel; they drew out in good order, but went not far from their Trenches, nor from the ſhelter of the walls of the City which were well furniſht with Artillery. Yet did not the Royaliſts ceaſe advancing, but skirmiſht with the Enemy; hoping that as the skirmiſh ſhould grow hot, they might be brought to a full battel. But the Enemy making valiant reſiſtance, and yet loth to loſe his advantage, kept ſtill in good order, till at laſt they reſolved to draw nearer to the walls of *Gaunt*, as to a place of more ſafety. The Kings men advancing charged the Enemy very fiercely: and they, facing about, and ſuſtaining the Charge with their Horſe, retreated very valiantly and in good order to where they would be. *Alanſon* and *Orange* that ſtood upon the walls looking upon this action, and encouraging their men without, and aſſiſting them with the Artillery from within, they made their Retreat the more noble, and the more ſecure. This Combat laſted many hours, being much more then a bare skirmiſh, and much leſs then a joyn'd Battel. The Kings men loſt moſt; and of the *Italians*, *Ferrante*, *Gonzaga* was in particular grievouſly wounded. Of the enemies, amongſt others, Monſieur *de Sanſovel* and Monſieur *de Rochepot* won great praiſe; both of them being French Gentlemen that were come with *Alanſon*. The Enemy being retreated, *Ferneſe* did for a while keep his men in good order, that he might to their faces tax the enemy for refuſing battel all that day, and challenge them to it again: But ſeeing they did not ſtir, he reſolved at laſt to retreat alſo, and to bethink himſelf of ſomewhat elſe. 'Twas ſaid that thoſe Forces which were to come from *France* into *Flanders* to ſerve *Alanſon*, were a gathering up about *Cambray*. *Ferneſe* therefore turn'd his men thitherward to oppoſe them: But underſtanding afterwards that the ſaid *French* were reſolved to enter by *Dunkirk*, he being more at liberty, begirt the Caſtle of *Cambreſis* and took it. He then threatned to beſiege *Cambray*, but they were only threats: For winter now drawing on, hindred him from proſecuting his deſign; and moreover neceſſity called upon him to oppoſe the Enemy elſewhere; and who ſeeing *Ferneſe* ſo far off, and hoping thereby to reap ſome advantage, aſſaulted and took *Caesbeck* in *Brabant*, and ſoon after they likewiſe took the Town of *Mega* upon the *Mauſe*. But *Ferneſe* returning ſpeedily upon them, he retook *Gaesbeck*, took *Nienove*, and ſecured *Lira*, which was in ſome danger. *Verdugo* this mean while continued making further progreſs of the other ſide the *Rhine*: He had tryed the Town of *Lochem*, and had laid ſome moneths about it; but not being able to get the Town by ſiege, he eaſily took *Stenwick* afterwards by ſurpriſe. On the contrary, the Enemy had ſtormed the Town of *Haſſelt*, ſituated upon the River *Haa*, and much advantaged their affairs on that ſide. But the whole body of both Armies was reduced to this ſide the *Rhine*: And now after ſo long expectation, *Alanſons* men were come. They were not in all above 3000 *Switzers* Foot, 2500 French Foot, and 1000 French Horſe. Their Leaders had brought them into *Flanders* by the way of *Dunkirk*: And becauſe winter was already begun, 'twas fitter thinking of putting them into garriſons, then of drawing them into the field. The chief Commander was the Duke of *Mompenſiere*, a Prince of the blood-royal; and with him was the Marſhal *Biroun* a very gallant Gentleman, and who was highly eſteemed throughout all *France* for his valour in war. The men were diſtributed to winter in *Dunkirk*, in *Newport*, in *Oſtend*, in *Bruges*, in *Dixmund*, and in *Terramonde*, and in ſome other part of the Country of *Vas*; all which were garriſons within the Province of *Flanders*. *Alanſon* having been ſolemnly received in *Bruges* and in *Gaunt*, was come to *Antwerp*. Here all the other French Commanders that were newly come, ſtaid with him. But when they ſaw how little account was made of *Alanſon*, that he hardly enjoyed the bare title of Soveraignity, that the Government was wholly in *Orange* his hands that the *Flemiſh* did already diſcover themſelves not very well minded towards the French, and that in effect they did not pay the Duke the monies which they promiſed him for the maintenance of his men, nor did add ſuch of men of their own as were needful to his: It is not to be expreſt

preſt how much the Marſhal, amongſt others, fretted within himſelf, as alſo did the other Commanders that were come with him. Thoſe who were of beſt eſteem with the Duke, and who were come firſt in with him, were likewiſe ſenſible of the ſame ſhame and anger, inſomuch as ſome of the forwardeſt of them could no longer contain themſelves. Entring then into a very ſecret conſultation, they reſolved to perſwade the Duke to ground his new Principality upon Arms, ſince the other Form of exerciſing it, which was preſcribed him, was altogether vain and unworthy. Mouſieur *de Fervaches*, a Gentleman of a very Noble family, very diſcreet, and ſtout, and who during the Civil wars of *France* was alſo made Marſhal of that Crown, was in great favour with the Duke. This man eaſily arrogating unto himſelf the chief place in this deſign, took upon him the care of propounding it to the Duke; and taking a fit time ſpake thus unto him.

How much (moſt gracious Sir!) had we, who have the honour to enjoy the prime places in your Highneſs his ſervice, rather never have come into Flanders, *then in coming hither find the Royal bloud of* France *ſo much villified? conſider, Sir, your birth; and then ſee whether your preſent condition here doth correſpond therewithal or no. You the only brother of the King; you the Dolphine of* France; *you who are likely every hour to ſucceed to the greateſt Monarchy of* Europe: *in what poſture, I beſeech you, are you now here in* Flanders? *You the Ruler of theſe Countries? You the Duke of* Brabant? *Earl of* Flanders, Holland *and* Zealand, *and the Lord of theſe Confederate Provinces? 'Tis true theſe are your Titles: theſe are your appearing greatneſſes: but ſet theſe vain ſhadows aſide, tell me, I pray you, what do you enjoy here which makes you not rather ſubject to obey, than to Command? You cannot ſay a word but* Orange *muſt firſt put it into your mouth: your can frame no deſign whatſoever, which muſt not firſt be aſſented to, by the Soveraignty of the States General, nay by the particulart States, not only of every Province, but of every City and meaneſt Town therein. And where are the monies they promiſed you? where are their paid men? where ſo many other conditions ſo ill made good by them? 'Tis* Orange *then that is rather the true Prince. And he will have the people to be their own Soveraigns, to allure them ſtill more with the bait of Liberty, that he himſelf may hereafter the more eaſily invade it, and reduce it to final ſlavery. And truely what honour is not given to him even before your face? whether doth not his opinion reach? and the authority of his name? And will your Highneſs ſit down ſtill by ſuch a ſcorn? will you forget your ſelf, your Royal bloud and your glorious Nation? how much better will it become you to accompany your right with force of Arms? there is no ruling without Forces. Nor was the bear conſent of the people ever ſufficient to make a Princes Government ſo ſecure as it ought to be. The people alter hourly: and who hath had better tryal hereof than your ſelf? hardly was the Ceremonies of your firſt reception over, when out of a ſlight ſuſpition of the common people, you and all yours ran hazard of your lives. Little leſs then 6000 choice foot, nnd 1000 choice horſe are brought hither for your ſervice: To boot with a great number of other French horſe and foot, who are here in ſervice under the Union of the Confederates. The former are diſpoſed of in divers of the chiefeſt Towns of* Flanders. *Wherefore then do not you reſolve to make your ſelf Maſter of all thoſe places at once? but chiefly why do you not make this City of* Antwerp *your own? when you ſhall have made your ſelf Maſter of theſe places, as you may eaſily do; how can you doubt but that all* France *will be ſuddenly up in arms, that the whole Kingdome will come in to your aſſiſtance? and that the King your Brother will endeavour by all means to procure ſo fair an acquiſition to his Crown? an acquiſition of Countries, which your Royal bloud hath in former times in a good part governed and enjoy'd? you will then be Prince of* Flanders *indeed. Then muſt* Orange *and the reſt receive Laws from you, and not you from them. And your new Empire being thus grounded upon force, you may afterwards, as you ſhall pleaſe, uſe that other way of intreaties. It is not raſhly nor unadviſedly that I give you this Counſel. It is the common opinion of all the beſt Commanders of your Forces. We all ſtrive who ſhall contribute moſt to your greatneſs, and raiſe up your honour as much as it is now abaſed here. I who am the firſt to adviſe you hereunto, will be one of the firſt who ſhall help to bring it to paſs: and ſhall account it my greateſt glory either to live to ſee this done, or to die in the endeavouring of it.*

At the hearing of this Diſcourſe *Alanſon* was much more confuſed than perſwaded. On the one ſide the difficulties appeared to be very great which this advice brought with it; which he could not ſufficiently diſcern. And on the other ſide, he deſired it might be effected; but was not ſo reſolute as he ought to have been to go about it. After a whiles wavering within himſelf, he (as was his cuſtom) left himſelf to be diſpoſed of as the reſt ſhould pleaſe. Wherefore his anſwer was, *That* Fervaches, *and the reſt of the Commanders ſhould do what they thought beſt for his ſafety and advantage.*

They were not long about it. The reſolution was, That upon a certain prefixt day, (which was appointed to be the 17 day of *January*) all the Dukes ſouldiers ſhould take an occaſion to mutiny in the ſeveral places where they were quartered, and ſhould drive the Flemiſh Garriſons out of them. The greateſt difficulty lay in the making of themſelves Maſters of *Antwerp*. They could not do it by open force, the City being ſo great and populous. And if they ſhould go about to ſurpriſe it, they might likewiſe meet with many impediments: yet neceſſity pleaded for the latter: but becauſe neither could it be done by ſupriſal, unleſs at the

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ſame time that force ſhould be begun to be uſed within the City, another ſufficient force might be without; it was reſolved that a good ſtrength of the Dukes horſe and foot, ſhould be brought at the time appointed into ſome Villages near the Walls of the City, as if it were by the way of paſſage. The new year 1083 was then begun, and the colds were exceeding ſharp. The States therefore hoped by means of the Ice, which make the low fields of *Frieſland* more paſſable than any other time of the year, to do ſomewhat for their advantage in thoſe parts. Wherefore they deſired the Duke to go with ſome good forces into *Ghelderland* to increaſe their other Forces on the other ſide the *Rhine*; and to this end they had made certain ſums of mony be payed unto him. Nothing could have faln out more fortunately for the French than this. So as about the midſt of *Jannary* all their men ſave ſuch as were to ſtay in their Garriſons in the Province of *Flanders*, to make themſelves Maſters of thoſe Towns as was reſolved upon, were in the Villages about *Antwerp*, this mean while there were many French with the Duke in *Antwerp*, and particularly the chief of the Nobility; as well for the honour which they rendred unto his perſon, as for ſome other feigned occaſions which the Duke had purpoſely cauſed to ariſe at that conjuncture of time. Yet few were acquainted with the deſign, which was thus ordered. On the 17 day the people which were lodged about the the Town, were to be ſtirring early in the morning, as if they were to march towards *Frieſland*. The Duke was to go out by St. *James* his gate, which was the neareſt, as if he were to make the ſame journey; when he ſhould be gone out, thoſe that remained behind were ſuddenly to poſſeſs themſelves of that gate. Another gate near unto it, called *Cæſars* gate, was ſuddenly to be poſſeſt alſo. The Curtain which runs between theſe two gates, being eaſily won, the Artillery which were upon it, were to be turned upon the Town, for the greater terror of the Inhabitants: the ſouldiers that were without ſhould ſuddenly enter the City and joyn with thoſe that were within the Town. And for a token to know themſelves the better by, the Dukes ſouldiers ſhould cry.

The Town is taken, may the Maſs proſper.

and particular order was taken that above all things the French ſhould not be ſuffered to plunder the City, leſt the ſouldiers might through avarice to be diverted, and ſo the Inhabitants be more incenſed to riſe up againſt them. In all ſurpriſes ſecrecy is of mighty importance, to have them ſucceed well, they muſt be done before they be declared. But it is oftentimes found, that many orders cannot be executed becauſe they are not underſtood. And thoſe being confuſed, the whole deſign muſt needs ſuddenly vaniſh. The buſineſs coming to the birth, the Duke, according to the agreement, went on horſeback from his houſe, with many others in his company, rid towards St. *James* his gate, ſo to get out of the City. When he was gotten out, thoſe that ſtaid behind ſeemed to fall together by the ears, and laying their hands upon their ſwords, turned upon them that kept the gates; and killing ſome; and driving away the reſt, they were eaſily maſters of the Gate. The people flocking together at the noiſe hereof, were much confuſed at ſuch a novelty. The *Antwerpians* were not at this time free of ſuſpition, ſeeing ſo many French men amongſt them; yet could they not fear ſuch a thing as this. They were in ſome poſture of taking up arms, upon any occaſion of tumult that might ariſe. The French this mean while poſſeſt themſelves eaſily likewiſe of the *Cæſarean* gate, and of the aboveſaid Curtain. Hereupon the novelty appeared the greater on their ſide, and the commotion much greater on the behalf of the Inhabitants: and chiefly when the French began to run up and down the ſtreet, and in a loud and hoſtile manner to pronounce theſe words,

The Town is taken, may the Maſs proſper.

At the ſame time 15 Foot-Companies, and 10 Troops of Horſe entred the Town; and the *Switzers* being further off than the reſt, were the longer in coming. In this interim there happened an accident which much diſordered the Frenchmens buſineſs. St. *James*'s Gate had a Percullis to ſhut out all entrance when need ſhould require, upon a ſudden. Were it either that the *French* had not thought upon it, or that they had neglected it, there was none of them that took care of it. Which the *Antwerpians* failed not to make uſe of; for they threw down the Percullis, and ſo inhibited all entrance at that gate. The Frenchmen were entred by this gate, and by this gate were the *Switzers* alſo to enter. The Inhabitants were this mean while ſtill in greater commotion, and had better armed themſelves; they were at this time very numerous, and by the ſo long experience of war, and their own ſo many ſufferings, well verſt in Arms. The Frenchmen at firſt had the better: But having had the firſt ſlaughter of the people, believing that they ſhould not afterward meet with any conſiderable reſiſtance, and that heir fellowes that were without would ſhare with them rather in the prey than in the peril; neglecting, or peradventure not having received the Orders from

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thoſe few that were within, they fell immediately to plunder. The people then incenſed with anger and fury, joyned their Forces together, and behaved themſelves valiantly againſt the French. The love of their Country, Children, Parents, ſubſtances, and of themſelves, added to their ſtrength; but when 'twas known that no more of the Dukes men could come in by S. *James*'s gate, the *Antwerpians* were ſo encouraged, and the French diſcouraged, as the faces of affairs began wholly to alter. The *Antwerpians* without any further delay recovered the *Ceſarean* gate, and then ſetting upon thoſe that guarded the aforeſaid Curtain or Line, drove them eaſily away, and threw many of them down from off the wall; deceiving thoſe that were without, who thought it to be an effect of the ſurpriſe. This being doue the French that were within the Town could not much longer reſiſt the Townſmen, they were every where encompaſt by them. Of the Citizens, thoſe that were not armed, joyn'd with thoſe that were armed; and even the women with the men, to make at firſt the better defence, and afterwards to take the better revenge. So as the French-men having no whither to fly unto in the City, and not receiving any ſuccour from without, for any thing that the Duke and the other Commanders that were gone forth with him could do, they were all at laſt either wounded, ſlain, or taken priſoners. About 1500 were ſlain, and of thoſe ſome of the beſt both for birth and valour. Thoſe that were wounded and taken priſoners were almoſt as many; and theſe were alſo likely to have periſhed, had not *Orange* by his authority interpoſed and ſaved them. Of the Townsmen not many more than 100 were ſlain, but a great many more hurt. *Orange* had ſome occaſions which kept him from waiting upon *Alanſon* out of the Town, as otherwiſe he had in honour been bound to do. And becauſe he lay in the Caſtle, which ſtands a pretty diſtance from the moſt frequented part of the City, he could not come in ſo ſoon as was needful; beſides, he thought it at firſt to be but ſome ſquabble between the looſer ſort of the People and the Souldiers. Notwithſtanding there were ſome who ſuſpected his carriage in this buſineſs, as if he had had a hand in the ſurpriſal. But how was it poſſible to believe, that changing his principles, he ſhould deſtroy his firſt ends, and ſerve inſtead of commanding? And therefore it was rather to be believed, that when he underſtood the truth, he thought it better to quiet them on all ſides, and not to break off the Agreement, which after ſo long, ſo many, and ſo doubtful endeavours had been made with *Alanſon*. Thus ended the intended ſurſpriſal of *Antwerp*. The common opinion was, that the Duke of *Mompenſier*, and the Marſhal *Biron* were averſe to this deſign; and that judging it not feaſible, as partaking more of raſhneſs then of ſtoutneſs, they had oftentimes endeavoured to diſſwade the Duke from it, but ſtill in vain; for that the reſt who were the authors of it, and who were more in favour with him, had made him, too fond of it. The ſurpriſals of *Dunkirk*, *Dixmund*, *Terramond*, and of ſome other leſs conſiderable places, ſucceeded better. In the other Towns of greater conſequence, were it either that the French were too inferior in numbers to the *Flemiſh*, or that Fortune was more favourable to the latter than to former, they took no effect at all. The Duke much confuſed, and not knowing what to do, went from the walls of *Antwerp* to *Terramonde*, and from thence by letters, meſſages and particularly by *Orange* his interpoſition, he began to uſe all means to return again to his former good intelligence and agreement with the Flemiſh. This ſo unexpected deſign of the French againſt the Flemiſh being divulged, it is not to be ſaid how much the Confederate Provinces were troubled at it. But the Province of *Flanders* was moſt troubled, wherein the deſign was laid, and in a good part effected. In ſo much as *Gaunt*, *Bruges*, and generally all the Flemicant part of the Province, broke forth into grievous complaints againſt the Duke, and ſeemed to be fully minded no longer to endure *Alanſons* Principallity. The reſt of the Provinces were of the ſame opinion. But *Orange* his ſole power was ſufficient to make his ſenſe prevail over all thoſe who were of a contrary mind. At firſt he did very much blame this action of the French that he might be of more credit afterwards in excuſing them. He laid the fault much more upon the Adviſers, than upon the Duke; alleadging,

That of his own nature he was a Prince of great goodneſs; and that he was rather inforced by the others, than adviſed to do what he had done. That an agreement ſhould not by any means be broken which had formerly been ripened by ſo many conſultations, and at laſt through ſo many difficulties eſtabliſhed. That it was apparent, if it ſhould be broken, their affairs would be in worſe condition than before. For France *would be thereby alienated and offended, whereas otherwiſe they might receive favour and advantages from thence. That ſometimes a great diſorder proves very beneficial. That therefore it was to be believed, that the French by this raſh action would learn to be better adviſed in their future proceedings: and the Flemiſh on the contrary would better ſatisfie their duties on their behalf. And finally that by all means it was neceſſary to piece up with* Alanſon *: ſo to get the French out of the places which they were poſſeſſed of by way of Treaty; ſince that to go about to get them by force, would be both a bloudy, difficult, and uncertain buſineſs: and that the mean while the King of* Spains *forces would the more freely, and with the more advantage overrun all places.*

The *Antwerpians*, and all the reſt being wrought upon by *Orange* his Authority, and by reaſon, liſtned to a new agreement with *Alanſon*. He firſt excuſed himſelf, and by expreſs Meſſengers, repreſenting the wrong that was done to his men by not paying them; and that afterwards

wards it was not in his power to hinder them. Proceeding from hence to Treaties, *The Duke obliged himſelf to retire for the preſent to* Dunkirk, *taking with him but a reaſonable number of horſe and foot; to leave the other Towns free to the Flemiſh; taking a new Oath to imploy all his ſouldiery in all faithfulneſs in the common ſervice of himſelf, and of the Provinces. On the other ſide, the* French *priſoners were ſet at liberty; the Dukes men had ſome moneys paid them, and he was promiſed that they ſhould be well treated in all other kinds afterwards. And ſo affairs returned to their former condition between the Duke and the Provinces: but rather in a feigned, then real way of Demonſtration: for indeed there never paſt any good correſpondency between them afterward, though the King of* France *by very efficacious endeavours, and by Agents of his own, had ſtrove to appeaſe the Flemiſh, and to confirm them in their former favour to his brother.*

The Prince of *Parma* hoped ſome notable advantage might accrue to the Kings ſervice, from this occaſion which had ſo exaſperated the Flemiſh againſt the French. To this purpoſe he opportunely moved the chief Cities of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, which were alienated from the King; thinking, that if he could reduce thoſe two important Provinces wholly to their allegiance, the reſt might the more eaſily be reduced afterwards, either by the way of Treaty or force. But theſe his endeavours wrought no other effect, then the others had done which he had uſed when *Orange* was wounded. He therefore reſolved wholly to uſe force; wherein he found himſelf already ſo far to exceed the emeny, as he doubted not but that by this means only he might promiſe unto himſelf all good ſucceſs in the Kings affairs. Before *Alanſons* Frenchmen had endeavoured the aforeſaid novelties, Monſieur *de Bonnivette*, one of their Commanders, had at unawares taken the Town of *Eiendoven* in *Campigni*, which is a very conſiderable part of *Brabant* which *Ferneſe* was not ſlow in regaining; to which purpoſe he diſpatcht away Count *Charls Mansfield* towards it with good forces. On the other ſide, the Confederate-Flemiſh deſired greatly to keep that Town in their hands: wherefore after their agreement with *Alanſon*, they carried it ſo as ſome of his men went thitherward to make *Mansfield* raiſe the ſiege. But he had already ſo fortified himſelf about it, as thoſe within not receiving any relief from thoſe without, they were at laſt forced to yield. The French which were in *Eindoven* went to joyn with the other French which were with Marſhal *Byronne* in *Brabant*; on that ſide which lies neareſt *Holland*. Here he ſtormed the Caſtle of *Woude*, and took ſome other places thereabouts. On the contrary part, *Turnault*, *Hoſtrat* and *Diſte* fell into *Mansfield* hands, with ſome other places of leſs moment. This mean while *Ferneſe* arrived, who preſently marched towards *Byrronne*. The French had fortified themſelves towards the Town of *Roſendal*: but yet the Prince aſſaulted them with ſuch reſolution, as they thought it their ſafeſt courſe to retreat to within the Town; which they could not do in ſuch order, but that what by ſlaughter, running away, and by being taken priſoners, they loſt a great many of their men, and *Bironn's* ſelf was hurt in the foot. *Ferneſe* reſolved afterward to take *Herentale*, and therefore incompaſſed it with conſiderable forces. But underſtanding that the Duke of *Alanſon* either for the ſmall ſatisfaction he received in *Flanders*, or for ſome other affairs in *France*, was gone from *Dunkirk* to *Callis*; *Ferneſe* changing his mind, marched ſuddenly with all his Camp towards *Dunkirk*, to recover that Town which ſtands upon the Sea, and which for other conſiderations is of very great conſequence. There was but a weak Garriſon in it, and the Townſmen could not be worſe minded towards the French. The States got *Bironne* to go with thoſe French which he had with him to ſuccour it. But ſuch was the abhorrition which the Flemiſh had for the French, as they could effect nothing in time to any purpoſe; wherefore *Ferneſe* within a few days recovered that Town, ſuffered the French to march out with all honourable conditions. He likewiſe recovered *Newport*, a Town of great conſequence likewiſe upon the Sea-ſide. And from thence he tryed to take *Oſtend*, a Town upon the ſame level: but he found it ſo ſtrongly ſituated, and ſo well provided of men, as he would not ſpend any longer time in beſieging it; and leave ſo many other happy opportunities which preſented themſelves unto him in divers other parts. Having ſooner recovered *Dixmund*, he beſieged the City of *Ypri*; and ſet divers other practiſes on foot in *Gaunt*, *Bruges*, and other Towns in the Flemicant part of *Flanders*, to draw that whole Province again to the Kings obedience. This mean while the year 1584 began; nor did the Winter hinder the continuance of the ſiege before *Ypri*. The Rebels endeavoured oft to relieve it; but being either hindred or defeated, they could never effect it. The ſiege endured till the middle of *April*; and the City was ſurrendred upon almoſt the ſame conditions as *Tournay* had formerly been. The Prince of *Parma* fared as fortunately in the getting of *Bruges* by intelligence. The Prince of *Semay*, eldeſt ſon to the Duke of *Ariſcot* was in it. The father adhered unto the King, but the ſon changing ſides upon various pretences, adhered afterwards to the States. And the Flemicant part of *Flanders* was governed by him in their names, and in the name of *Alanſon*. The ſon being ſollicited by his father to come poſt to *Bruges*, obeyed him: for he knew how fitting an opportunity this would be to make amends for his former error, and to reingratiate himſelf again with the King, by reducing ſuch a City as this under his obedience, and himſelf again under his ſervice. They came then to conditions, and the largeſt which upon ſuch an occaſion could be demanded were granted, relation always being had to their giving due obedience to

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the Church and to the King. This hapned in *May*: and this helped to further the Kings affairs in many other things in the ſame Province. At the ſame time *Verdugo* had very much advanced the Kings affairs on the further ſide of the *Rhine* by the taking of *Zutfen*. He got this Town of ſuch importance by ſurpriſe. And the enemy immediately endeavoured to regain it; wherefore Count *Hollach* was ſent thither with good forces, and was late down before it. *Verdugo* being thus begirt, craved relief; and *Ferniſe* knew very well how needful it was to ſend it him. But being buſied in ſo many other affairs on this ſide the *Rhine*, which grew every day more ripe, he could not aſſiſt him ſo ſoon nor with ſuch Forces as he willingly would have done, or as the occaſion required. Count *Aremberg* was at this time about the *Rhine*, being ſent thither by the Prince of *Parma* with a conſiderable ſtrength of Foot and Horſe, to aſſiſt *Erneſtus* of *Bavaria*, newly choſen Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and to exclude the former Archbiſhop *Truxes*, who was depoſed for having gone about to marry, and for ſuſtaining his Apoſtaſie from the Church by favour of the Heretical faction thereabouts. The good cauſe prevailed at laſt: wherefore *Ferneſe* ordered *Aremberg* to go either with all, or a good part of his Forces to the relief of *Zutfen*. And this fell out ſo luckily likewiſe, as *Hollack* was forced to raiſe his ſiege, and to retreat. In this interim *Bironne*, with the reſt of the lately come French, was gone from *Flanders*, the *Flemiſh* having afforded them commodity to do ſo by Sea, for they could not without great danger have gone by Land. Diffidences and diſtaſtes did ſtill increaſe on both parts. Nor was *Orange*'s authority at laſt ſufficient to reconcile *Alanſons* affairs, though he ſtill laboured to do it; by reaſon of the news which was come from *France*, that the King had declared himſelf much more freely in his Brothers behalf, in his intereſts of *Flanders*; and that he was much better pleaſed with him than he formerly had been. *Orange* took occaſion hereby to induce the States to ſend the Signor of *Schonowel* purpoſely to congratulate with *Alanſon* for this; endeavouring by this means the more to engage both parties in the formerly eſtabliſht reſolutions. But ſoon after came other news, that *Alanſon* was dead in the Caſtle of *Tierry*, after a long ſickneſs, with ſome ſigns that poyſon had been alſo uſed.

Thus he dyed, not being above 30 years old. He was a Prince, of whom it might be queſtioned whether he had been the cauſer of greater troubles in *France* or in *Flanders*. He was alwayes more ruled by others than by himſelf, wavering in all his actions, were it either out of weakneſs of underſtanding, or eaſineſs of nature. Suffering himſelf therefore in *France* to be carried away ſometimes by one Faction, ſometimes by another, and afterwards abandoning them with equal eaſineſs, he applied himſelf again to the Court-Faction, there to receive more ſcorn than reſpect. Wherefore either weary of expecting, or deſpairing of atchieving greater preferments in the Kingdom, he with the like fickleneſs was perſwaded to ſeek for them abroad; and therefore paſſing into *Flanders*, he carried Forces with him thither, and with thoſe Forces new Troubles. For what remains, his Conditions both of body and mind did no wayes correſpond with his Birth: He was low of ſtature, and not very well ſhaped; he was notwithſtanding of a gracious and lively aſpect: Nor were his actions ſo altogether worthy of blame, but that they were in many things praiſe-worthy; he was kind, liberal, not much given to pleaſures, and naturally inclined to follow the beſt advices, unleſs his Favourites prevailed too far with him to imbrace the worſt. He dyed, when together with his years his hopes did moſt flouriſh; For the King having no hopes of Iſſue, he did not only promiſe to himſelf to enjoy the Principality of *Flanders*, but by a greater fortune to ſucceed to the Crown of *France*.

His death was accompanied by the like of *Orange*: *Alanſon* dyed the beginning of *June*, and *Orange* left this life in the beginning of *July* following. The manner thus. One *Baldaſar Serack* a Burgonian, a man but of mean birth, but of ſome natural endowments, had wrought himſelf into his acquaintance, and more domeſtically into that of his Followers, with an intention to kill him. *Orange* was then in the Town of *Delf* in *Holland*, about divers publike affairs; one of the chiefeſt whereof was, the better to re-eſtabliſh the affairs of *Alanſon*. *Sirack* taking his opportunity, and coming to *Orange* in his chamber under pretence of ſome important buſineſs, he ſhot him with a Piſtol in the flank, and inſtantly ſlew him, he not being able before his death to ſpeak any one word. Then taking himſelf to his heels, he was got ſo far before he was overtaken, as he was already gotten upon the Town-wall with intention of throwing himſelf down into the Ditch, and ſo ſwim out, when he was overtaken by thoſe that followed him, who took him alive, and delivered him up to the hands of Juſtice. They endeavoured by moſt cruel torments to draw from him the reality of the act; and the common belief was, that he would have confeſt he had received orders for it, and that he expected a reward from *Spain*. But they could never get any thing from him, ſave only that he had ſlain *Orange*, moved thereunto only by himſelf, and to merit much more thereby from God than from the King. He was afterwards condemned to die, and ſuffered death by the moſt cruel puniſhments that might be. Thus dyed *William* of *Naſſaw* Prince of *Orange*, in the 52 year of his Age.

He was a man born certainly for very great renown; if contented with his own peculiar Fortune, he had not through precipices saught after a greater. The Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and his Son *Philip* the Second, did undoubtedly alwayes acknowledge him to be their chiefest Subject in all *Flanders*: and each of them seemed to strive with the other, which should most favour him, or put a higher esteem upon him. He was notwithstanding still in the condition of a Subject; but he had so high-pitcht thoughts that would not suffer him to be at quiet under the condition of a Prince. He aspired therefore to raise himself thereunto, as hath been seen by the revolts of *Flanders*. And the heat of his ambition being still carried on by the ordering of his designs, he had brought his ends to that pass, as had he lived, there was little doubt to be made, but that he would at least have been Prince of *Holland* and *Zealand*. Vigilancy, Industry, Liberality, Eloquence, and a quick sight into any business, did vie in him with Ambition, Fraud, Audacity, Greedines, and with an application of himself to all Natures. And these his good and bad qualities were accompanied with all others, which the most skilful School of Ruling could teach. At all publick Meetings, and in all other kind of Negotiations, no man knew better than he how to dispose of mens minds, how to wheel about opinions, how to colour pretences, how to hasten business, or how to prolong them; nor in brief, how more artificially to take his advantage by all other means. He was therefore thought much better at the government of Civil Affairs, then at the military profession. He altered his Religion according to his interests. Whilst he was a Child in *Germany*, he was a *Lutheran*: Passing into *Flanders*, he seemed to be a *Catholick*: At the beginning of the Revolts, he declared himself to be a favourer of the new Sects, but not an open Professor of any of them; till at last he seemed to follow *Calvinism*, as that, which of all other Sects is most contrary to the Catholick Religion, which is maintained by the King of *Spain*.

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THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK III.

THE CONTENTS.

In this Book the memorable Siege of Antwerp *is described. The Prince of* Parma *resolves upon this enterprise the rather, because* Orange *is dead, and by reason of the great perturbancy of the Confederate Provinces. He sits down before that City. Its great advantages both in situation, and in all things else.* Ferneſe *in the first place treats of shutting up the* Scheld, *to hinder all succour on that side. To this purpose he designs a Bridge, and the difficulties in making it are mentioned: Howsoever it is resolved to be made.* Ferneſe *begins it: He raiseth a Fort-Royal at each head thereof; and these greater Forts are accompanied here and there with lesser. Oppositions made by the besieged. Their chief Fort at* Lillo *upon the* Scheld. *By this means the* Antwerpians *receive great Aids from the* Hollanders *and* Zealanders; *and therefore they pass freely up and down the River.* Ferneſe *causeth a Navigable Ditch to be cut, the better to bring the materials which were requisite for the Bridge. Hereby the labours are increased.* Ferneſe *endeavours likewise to keep the Enemy from succour by* Lillo *on the Landside: And therefore secures himself still better there by a Counterdike. What is to be understood by a Dike and Counterdike.* Rubais *takes the particular care of the Bridge, and of some men of War to oppose those of the Enemy. The* Antwerpians *begin to be troubled: They use divers means both in* France *and in* England *for succour. The Lord of S.* Aldegonde *endeavours by a perswasive Oration to encourage them as much as he can. They therefore resolve to make all manly resistance. Divers of their preparations to that purpose. They build a Ship vastly great. Their Fire-ships. They first make use of them to the prejudice of the Bridge, which is already perfected; but do no great good thereby, nor doth the great Ship prove more fortunate. They try their Fire-ships again, but still to no purpose. Then they bend all their might to prejudice the Counterdike, and hope by that means to bring in succour, Their first Assault does no good: They with better order, and greater Forces try a second Assault. A bloody business thereupon. Fortune varies the dangers, and at last give the victory to the Royalists. The* Antwerpians *treat of a Surrender, and after many difficulties deliver up the Town.*

NEver was the loss of Father, Benefactor, or Prince so bewailed, as was *Orange* his death by those of the Confederate Provinces. And since they could no longer enjoy his person alive, they without any manner of delay substituted his son *Maurice* in his place, a Youth but of 16 years of age, conferring all those self-same honours and offices upon him, which they with so liberal a hand had bestowed on his Father. Count *Buren*, *Orange* his eldest son, was still detained in *Spain*, being sent thither by the Duke of *Alva*, as hath been said: And therefore the Confederate Provinces chose *Maurice* to succeed in his Fathers commands. This *Maurice* was *Orange* his second son, and by his second wife, *Anne* of *Saxony*. They gave *Maurice* the Count of *Hollack* for his Lieutenant, and to be assisting to his youth in the Government of Arms. The Prince of *Parma* hoped that this novelty might occasion some great commotion in the Confederate Provinces, which would make for the Kings advantage; judging that having lost such a Governour, as their counsels were thereby weakened, so would their courages be also. And truly so it fell out with many particular men. But in the generall, this action did so inhorrid and so incense the people, as they resolved to continue their former resolutions more obstinately than before, and to keep dead *Orange* his sense still alive. Wherefore *Ferneſe* soon saw that he was to place all his hopes in Arms. He had then a very strong Army; and such

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were his advantages over his Enemies, as he thought he might aſſuredly hope yet for much greater every day. From the time that he had beſieged *Maſtrick*, he had ſtill a great deſire to begirt *Antwerp*. But the then difficulties, and thoſe which every day aroſe, would never ſuffer him to undertake a buſineſs of ſo great conſequence. But all things ſeeming now to ſmile upon ſuch a deſign, he would no longer delay the doing of it. We therefore will here proceed on to the Deſcription of this Siege: which we will do with all brevity, and yet with great diligence; that by the one we may ſhun the tediouſneſs of trivial things, and by the other preſent you as punctually as may be with ſo cried up an enterpriſe. And doubtleſly ſuch and ſo memorable was this action, as by the common opinion it was ſufficient of it ſelf alone to make *Alexander Farneſe* his merits be very highly valued by the Church and King, and his honour immortalized by the World.

Antwerp lies on the right ſide of the *Scheld*, and extending its Walls for a long ſpace on that ſide, which looks towards the River, it afterwards makes a great compaſs towards the other which commands the Fields. That River cannot be maſtered by a more noble City, nor that City watered by a more noble River. Every one knows how *Antwerp* flouriſht before the Wars, both in the number of Inhabitants, in the beauty of buildings, and in merchandizing: But howſoever, ſtill afterwards one of the greateſt Commerces of all the Northern parts is in it. Which is chiefly occaſioned by the commodiouſneſs of the *Scheld*, it being a River of ſo great a breadth and depth, and ebbing and flowing ſo far into the Sea, as it is there capable even of the greateſt Veſſel, which ſails upon the Sea. Towards the fields ſide the City is invironed with one of the ſtatelieſt Walls that can be ſeen, as well for the breadth of the platform within, as for the noble Baſtions without; and the Ditch is every where anſwerable. On the other ſide towards the River, the River it ſelf ſerves for a defence, and therefore one that ſide there is only a ſingle Wall. The platform of the wall towards the fields is of ſuch a breadth, as many

many rowes of Trees ſtand round about it, ſo as it ſerves no leſs for delight than for defence. The Citadel enjoyed formerly alſo its praiſes apart: But being fallen into the Rebels hands, thoſe ſides of it were only maintained by them which lay towards the fields, and all the reſt which lay towards the City were ſlighted. *Antwerp* is in, or to ſay better, joyns upon *Brabant*; of it ſelf making one of the ancient Seventeen Provinces, by the name of the Marquiſate of the ſacred Empire. The Province of *Flanders* joyns upon the contrary ſide of the River, which therefore partakes thereby of all the advantages afforded both by ſo large a River, and of a City of ſuch Marchandizing. Here therefore had the Flemiſh placed the ſcene of all their moſt weighty negotiations; and the ſituation of the City, and its other advantages to withſtand all ſieges being conſidered, they could not dream of ever loſing it by ſiege, but rather be confident of always preſerving it. On the lands ſide, ſo ſtrong a Wall promiſed them all ſafety. And as for ſhutting up the River, and keeping the City from being relieved by water, they thought *Ferneſe* would never be able to do it, both in reſpect of the nature of the River it ſelf, and by reaſon of their Naval power, whereby they were wholly Maſters of it. Theſe difficulties were not unknown to *Ferneſe*; but yet he thought them not to be ſuch but that they might be overcome. He ſaw that in the firſt place all ſuccour muſt be cut off; and that conſequently the River was to be blocked up, whereby it might continually be ſupply'd. And therefore laying aſide all thought of aſſault, he reſolved to beſiege the City, and to build ſuch a bridge over the *Scheld*, as might maſter the violence of the River it ſelf, as alſo the enemies ſhips. When he ſhould have bereft them of relief by water, he doubted not but that he might much more eaſily do the ſame by land, ſince he was ſo ſuperior in forces, as he might at his pleaſure be Maſter of the field every where. About three leagues beneath *Antwerp* the *Scheld* makes a great Arch; and here the ſhips do uſually alter either their ſails or their courſe, and oftentimes do make ſome ſtay: wherefore that place is very opportune either to facilitate or to hinder the navigation of the River. The enemy had at this time two forts upon the banks of that Arch; the greater was called *Lillo*, being the name of a neighbouring village; and the other on the oppoſite bank was called the Fort of *Liſechenſuch*. *Ferneſe* therefore firſt of all endeavour'd to take both theſe at unawares, that he might make his advantage thereof in the ſiege. The Marquis of *Rubais* did ſo furiouſly aſſault that of *Liſechenſuch*, as within a few hours fight he took it; *Chriſtopher Mandragone* had the charge of the other, who did likewiſe manfully aſſault it. But the enemy made ſuch reſiſtance, both through their ſouldiers worth, and the Forts condition, as he was inforced to retreat. He afterwards returned unto the ſiege; and *Ferneſe* this mean while went to beſiege *Terramonde*, in the Province of *Flanders*. This Town is ſeated upon the *Schelds* ſide, almoſt midway between *Gaunt* and *Antwerp*. Wherefore it afforded great communication between theſe two Cities. It is a Town greatly peopled; and was then ſo well fortified, as it was thought it would have held out longer than it did. The Kings Camp drawing near it, they began to play fiercely upon the town, and came afterwards with no leſs fierceneſs to the aſſault. The beſieged withſtood the firſt aſſault with much gallantry; but ſeeing themſelves threatned with a ſecond, and conſidering the danger of not being able to withſtand it; and that then the Town would be put to fire and ſword, they reſolved to yield: and thus within little leſs than a week, the Prince ended this enterpriſe. It coſt notwithſtanding the the loſs of ſome bloud; and in particular *Pietro di Paz*, on of the Spaniſh Camp-maſters, and a greatly reputed ſouldier, periſhed in this action. *Ferneſe* having taken *Terramond*, he continued to begirt the very City of *Gaunt* with a ſiege at diſtance. *Antonio Oliviers*, a Spaniard, who was Lieutenant General of the horſe, had formerly much annoyed that City by making incurſions into all the Countries thereabouts; ſo as it began to ſuffer great ſcarcity of all things. But the Prince not content to reduce only the aforeſaid City to ſtraits, he endeavoured to make *Bruſſels* and *Malines* ſenſible of the like. He therefore made himſelf maſter of the moſt frequented paſſes, by which victuals were brought; and in particular he took *Villebruch*, and *Villeford*, two of the chiefeſt of them And ſcouring the Country all thereabouts with his horſe, he ſoon reduced both *Bruſſels* and *Malines* to ſuch ill condition, as they were afterwards forced to ſurrender, during the ſiege of *Antwerp*; which *Gaunt* did likewiſe much ſooner, inforced by the like neceſſity. But we will give you a more particular account of theſe paſſages when we ſhall have ended the ſiege of *Antwerp*, the narration whereof was not to be interupted by any other diverſion, but ought to be diſplaid in one continued narrative.

After the taken of *Terramond*, the Prince returned to before *Antwerp*, and knew how hard it would be to bereave the enemy of the Fort of *Lillo* by way of aſſault. They had already munited the Fort by way of the River (which was commanded by their Veſſels) with all things that were at that time needful; and by the ſame way they might at all times continue the ſuccouring thereof. And though *Ferneſe* ſhould have been maſter of it, yet might acceſs have been had unto the enemy by the River, ſo far diſtant were the banks of the one and the other Fort, ſo ſtrong was the ruling Tide, and ſo bootleſs would it have been, at leaſt by night to have ſhot at the ſhips which ſhould have been ſent to bring ſuccour to the City. 'Twas therefore concluded as neceſſary, that the *Scheld* muſt be block'd up by a bridg, and that this being

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to be done in ſome fitting place between the City and the Fort, they were not to loſe any time in getting the latter, but that howſoever it was much better to bend all their forces againſt the former. It was therefore thought that it would ſuffice ſo to begirt the Fort on the land ſide, as that the Enemy might be kept from making excurſions that way. *Mandragone* took the particular care of this, who ſtill kept his quarters thereabouts during the whole time of the ſiege, as you ſhall upon all occaſions hear. They came then to conſult about the bridge. And in taking the buſineſs more ſeriouſly into conſideration, ſo great difficulties began to appear, firſt in what concerned the making of it, and then much greater touching the keeping of it when it ſhould be made, as many openly oppoſed it, ſhewing that it could never be ſucceſsfully done. Theſe ſaid,

That an immence quantity of wood was to be had for ſuch a Fabrick: and that when means ſhould be found where to have it, there would be no means found how to have it brought. That this was not to be done by land; and that there was little or no hopes of doing it by water, ſince the enemy did fully command all the River about the banks of Antwerp, *and that between thoſe banks all the materials were to be brought which were to make the bridge. That it was impoſſible ever to find rafters of ſuch a length as might ſuffice to block up the deepeſt part of the River, as well for the natural depth thereof, as for the excreſcency which the uſual tides added thereunto. So as in this only reſpect all thought thereof would be but in vain. Nor would the difficulties be leſs if they ſhould go about to make a bridge of boats. That the Kings Army wanted all materials for theſe alſo; and that theſe were likewiſe to be brought through the enemies ſhips, and under the walls of* Antwerp, *before they could come to the place where the bridge was to be built. But when the River ſhould be block'd up either by the one or the other way, what hopes would there be to keep it? it was to be preſuppoſed ſo difficult a ſiege would be of long durance; in which time why ſhould it not be feared that that full and impetuous tides ſhould not bear down the bridge? or that this might not be done by the enemies ſhips by annoying it hourly on all ſides? or finally the river being ſo often frozen over in the winter, why ſhould not the ice when it is broken and carried down by the violence of the tide, indanger the ruining of the bridge?*

But on the contrary, thoſe that were for the making and maintaining of the Fabrick, reply'd, *That as for the firſt Objection of finding, and of fetching materials, there was no doubt at all to be made of it. That the Kings Army was every where Maſter of the field. That* Terramond *was already taken; and that in all likelihood* Gaunt *would be preſently ſurrendred. By theſe ſucceſſes the* Scheld *would be free for the Kings occaſions even almoſt to the walls of* Antwerp. *Wherefore by the vicinity of ſo large a Country, and of ſuch Cities, it would be no hard matter to get timber enough, and by ſuch means as neceſſity would inſtruct, to carry it where it ſhould be requiſite. That in the mean time to make the way more paſſable, they might raiſe divers Forts on both ſides the River, and therefore either keep the enemies ſhips from troubling them, or at leaſt make their hindrance the leſs. That they might place their Summers in the parts neareſt the banks, and where the River was ſhalloweſt, and in the middle where it was deepeſt, their boats; which were neither to be ſo many, nor of ſuch a condition but that they might eaſily be found. So the ice which the winter ſhould occaſion in the river, the force whereof would certainly be greateſt in the middle where the tide runs ſtrongeſt, might paſs through the void places between the boats, and no ways prejudice thoſe parts which ſhould be filled up with the rafters and ſummers of wood. That then the Bridge being thus varied, and defended, and ſuch things done in the advantage thereof as daily experience would teach, why ſhould it not be built and maintained? And thus they might happily end the Siege, which otherwiſe could never be either begun or ended.*

The neceſſity of blocking up the River was ſo apparent, totally to cut off all ſuccours, as the Prince of *Parma* not liſtening to any thing that made againſt it, reſolved immediately to have the Bridge made, and to divide it into ratters, and Boats in form aforeſaid. And as for the place where to build it, it was thought fitteſt to be almoſt juſt over againſt two Villages, upon two ſides of the River, the one called *Ordam* on *Brabant* ſide, the other *Callo* on the other ſide of *Flanders*. Here the Channel was ſomewhat narrower, and ſeemed to bend a little, ſo as the Enemies Barks could not inveſt the Bridge on that ſide in a direct courſe. This place was ſome two leagues diſtant from the City; and it was judged fitteſt likewiſe for the other works which were to be done, particularly for thoſe Forts which were to be made on both ſides. The Bridge being thus deſigned, the Prince betook himſelf with all ardency to the putting of it into execution. He forthwith raiſed a Fort-royal on each ſide the river; and called that which was on *Callo* ſide St. *Mary*, and the other S. *Phillip*. Theſe two chief Forts being raiſed, and well furniſht with Artillery, they began to build the Bridge, though but ſlowly at the firſt, there not being yet ſuch preparation had of things neceſſary for the building of it, eſpecially of rafters, as was requiſite for the work. Great diligence was therefore made every where thereabouts in gathering together what greateſt quantities all places either *Champian* or *Chiltren* could afford The taking of *Terramond* made much for this; and afterwards the taking of *Gaunt*, which happened at this time: For all manner of Commodities were to be had in this ſo great City, and ſo full of all things, firſt to begin and afterwards to finiſh the building of the Bridg. The *Scheld* paſſeth through that City, as do alſo ſome other Rivers which cut through it in divers places. The *Scheld* continues its courſe from hence to *Terramond*, which was very convenient for the conveying

ing of rafters and all other neceſſaries for the aforeſaid work. But as they came near the banks of *Antwerp*, the Enemies ſhips did ſo oppoſe the paſſage, as many of the Kings Barks were often endangered, and often ſunk. Therefore to ſecure the paſſage the better, ſome other Forts were added to the former chief ones of S. *Mary* and S. *Philip*. But the proof did not anſwer the deſign; for notwithſtanding any ſhot that could be made from the Royal Forts, the enemies ſhips had ever the better of the buſineſs. For this ſo great difficulty this remedy was thought on. They made a great Cut in the bank of *Scheld* on *Flanders* ſide near to the Village *Burcht*, which lay higher than where the Bridge was made; and by means of that Cut they drowned all the neighbouring Countrey even to *Callo*, where by another opening of the bank the water paſt again into the River a little above the Bridge: and ſo the neceſſary preparations for the fabrick were at laſt brought with more ſafety. The adverſe ſhips ceaſed not notwithſtanding to moleſt that ſituation likewiſe; but to make the greater obſtacle, they raiſed a Fort on one ſide of the Cut, to the which the Kings men oppoſed another on the other ſide, but with little advantage, for it did not ſufficiently bridle the Enemies Fort; ſo as their ſhips keeping ſtill thereabouts, were alwayes prejudicial to the Prince his Barks. The Bridge went therefore but very ſlowly on; the which did as much glad the *Antwerpians*, as it did trouble the Prince. Great numbers of Boats appeared daily from *Holland* and *Zealand* with victuals and all other ſort of proviſion to furniſh the City, and to put it in a poſture of ſtanding out ſtoutly. The great Fort of *Lillo* was already munited anſwerable to occaſion; and Monſieur *de Teligni*, ſon to Monſieur *de la Nue*, was put in to defend it, one whoſe valour ſhewed him to be deſcended from his Father. Wherefore the Enemy full of hopes, thought that *Ferneſe* would never be able to finiſh the Bridge; and if he ſhould not thereby block up the *Scheld*, the Siege would in all other conſiderations ſignifie nothing. But no hindrance can be ſo great, which induſtry will not at laſt either overcome, or make more eaſie. The aboveſaid remedy of the Cut not proving ſufficient to convey materials by water anſwerable to the work, the Prince bethought himſelf of another expedient, which furniſht afterwards all things ſufficient for the building of the bridge. By the gap or Cut which was made in the bank at *Burcht*, all the tract of Country from that Town to *Callo* was drowned, as we have ſaid. From the utmoſt inundation within land, the Prince purpoſed to make a deep and large Ditch, and to lead it away from that part of *Flanders* to a certain Town called *Stechen*, where the Ditch was to fall into a River which paſſeth by *Gaunt*; by which all things which were neceſſary for the building of the Bridge might be brought by water from that City. An egregious work: of great praiſe to him that firſt propoſed it, but of greater glory to him who undertook it, as did the Prince with very much reſolution; though many other were affrighted at the immenſe expence of monies, time and labour; for the Ditch was to be full 15 miles long. The Ditch was afterwards commonly called *Parma*; either for that it was firſt motioned by the Prince himſelf, or that the Kings Camp did willingly ſhew their approbation thereof by giving it that name. And not without reaſon: for it may truely be ſaid that this Ditch made the bridge, and that the Bridge did afterwards fully compleat the Siege. On that ſide towards *Flanders* was *Ferneſe*'s own Quarters, in a Village called *Buren*, which lay very opportunely for the giving out of all requiſite Orders for all that was done thereabouts, and eſpecially for the making of the new Channel: to ſollicite the making whereof the Prince himſelf did almoſt continually intervene in his own perſon: nor was he wanting in doing the like in all the reſt of the proceedings: He encouraged others by his own example: ſometimes he himſelf would put his hands unto the work; he oft-times transformed himſelf from a General to a private Souldier, and ſet aſide all reſt and delight, that the burthen of ſo great and difficult an undertaking might be the better ſuſtained by his own labour and diſquiet. This was the condition of the Siege on *Flanders* ſide. On the oppoſite ſide towards *Brabant* was the Lieutenant of the Army, Count *Peter Erneſtus Mansfield*, quartered in the Village of *Strabuch*, a little within land; and *Mandragone* was quartered near *Lillo*, almoſt upon the river, and had intrencht himſelf there againſt that adverſe Fort, to keep the Enemy in on that ſide: who did what they could to advantage themſelves there: and their deſign would have been to overflow the inland Country, as well to incommodiate the Royaliſts, as to make uſe thereof themſelves for bringing ſuccours the more eaſily to *Antwerp*. But this their laſt deſign was counterdicted by a Counterdike, which came to joyn with the principal Dike of the River from the Village *Conſtein*: For it was ſeen, that without either the breaking, or gaining thereof, they could by no means compaſs their ends. A Dike in Flemiſh, is a Bank in Engliſh; and a Counterdike, a Counterbank, (if I may ſo call it) which is drawn out againſt another bank. From the Village of *Conſtein* there was a leſſer Dike thruſt out for a ſpace of a league, which went to joyn with the greater Dike of the River, which was commonly called the Counterdike of *Conſtein*. This leſſer Dike was made that it might be gone upon, particularly in the winter; all that part, which lies very low, being then full of water and mire. It was not above ten or twelve handfuls broad, nor higher then was requiſite for the neceſſary ſervice of Country people. This Counterdike was guarded by the Royaliſts, chiefly to hinder the excurſions which the Enemy might make from the *Fort* of *Lillo*, and out of no other fear of danger on that part. But

When the Enemy letting in the water of the River, had drowned the Country thereabouts, *Mandragone* ſuſpected the truth; which was, that they would either make ſome Cut or gap in the Counterdike, or endeavour to make themſelves wholly maſters of it, ſo to have that paſſage free to bring in ſuccours into *Antwerp*. And at the firſt they did make a Cut: but the Royaliſts running quickly to where the danger lay, did ſoon remedy it, driving the enemy from thence, and ſtopping the gap as well as for the preſent they could. And indeed if the Enemy had either ſooner, or with more forces endeavoured to cut the gap, the Royaliſts could never have brought their Siege to a good end. But all thoſe of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Antwerp* were ſo verily perſwaded that the River could never be blockt up by a Bridge, as they neglected the taking of the Counterdike, and even the victualling of the City more than it became them to have done, whilſt yet the paſſage by the *Scheld* was but weakly ſecured by the Royal Forts.

Ferneſe finding what danger the ſiege might incur on that part, gave order to *Mansfield* to munite it on the one ſide, and to *Mandragone* on the other. *Mansfield* therefore fortified the Village of *Cowſtein*, from whence the counterdike was thruſt out, and that Fortification was called the ſtrong Houſe; he inlarged and hightened the Counterdike where it was moſt needful; he planted a little Fort upon the one ſide, which was called *La Motta*, becauſe *Signor de la Motta* had the command thereof. He made alſo another on the other ſide, and named it *Palata*, becauſe for want of earth it was made of pales; which want was found almoſt every where in fortifying the counterdike: ſo as they were fain to ſupply it with faggots, and other ſuch like materials. Where the counterdike joyned afterwards with the chief dike of the River, *Mandragone* raiſed a Fort, and called it the Croſs, in relation to the poſition of the place, which was almoſt of the ſame form: and becauſe 'twas doubted that the enemy might make a great Cut in the chief bank of the river beneath *Lillo*, which might have more prejudiced the counterdike; *Ferneſe* cauſed three Forts to be raiſed in that place, which for that they were triangular, were called the Forts of the Trinity.

All theſe works which we have named, were made from time to time, according as need required, which we have here ſet down, the better to preſent them before your eyes, and to give you the clearer intelligence thereof. The Prince had ſhut up the Paſſes towards the land ſide about *Antwerp*, which coaſted upon *Brabant* by Garriſons which were placed in *Hoſtrat*, in *Herentales*, in *Breda*, in *Lira*, in *Diſte*, and in divers other Towns, by which *Antwerp* was kept from being relieved on that ſide. Particularly the horſe ſcoured the whole Country every where; not only out of a bare intention of incommodating the *Antwerpians*, but to keep them from having any communication with thoſe of *Bruſſels*, or *Malines*, ſo to make both them Towns fall the ſooner into their hands. The ſiege being thus ordered on each ſide the river, it remained totally to block up the ſame river, which was the chief buſineſs, and which brought with it not only the greateſt advantage, but alſo the greateſt neceſſity, and met with greateſt oppoſition. The Marquis of *Rubays*, General of the horſe was of great authority and eſteem in the Kings Camp. Wherefore *Ferneſe* gave him the chief care of the bridge: and gave unto him likewiſe the command of a great many men of War, which were a preparing to facilitate the enterpriſe. *Rubays* was not wanting in acting his part in all theſe imployments. He was in action both day and night: he unceſſantly divided his labours, now on this ſide, now on that, with infinite induſtry and valour. So as by his diligence, all neceſſary proviſions for the building of the bridge did in time ſo increaſe, as all the Army began to hope to ſee their work ſoon brought to perfection. Whilſt the Kings Camp was amongſt theſe labours and difficulties, the beſieged within the City were not agitated with leſs uncertainty and perturbances. From the very beginning of the ſiege, they had ſent expreſly into *Holland* and *Zealand*, and to the reſt of the Confederate Provinces, to deſire the beſt and ſpeedieſt aſſiſtance which could be ſent them from thoſe parts: But knowing that they could not receive ſufficient ſuccour from thence, they had ſent particular perſonges into *France*, and into *England*, to do the like in thoſe Courts and endeavoured to intereſt both thoſe Crowns again if it were poſſible in their cauſe. They had good hopes from *France*, but the effects were not anſwerable. That Kingdome was ſtill full of troubles, and that King would not more irritate the King of *Spain*, who was already too much incenſed for what the Duke of *Alanſon* had done in *Flanders*. They received greater hopes from *England*, and might much more eaſily come by them. But the Queen after *Alanſons* death, willing to make ſuch advantage of the Flemiſh as ſhe could not do before, made them believe ſhe would aſſiſt them, but was very ſlow in doing it. It appeared at laſt, that her end was to ſee them reduced to ſuch neceſſity as they ſhould be inforced to throw themſelves into her hands; and contenting her ſelf at firſt with a bare title of protection, ſhe might come more eaſily afterwards ſo to be totally maſter of them. Theſe practiſes from abroad proceeding but very ſlowly, and with much ambiguity, the Antwerpians hopes conſiſted chiefly in ſuccours from *Holland* and *Zealand*, Provinces which were neareſt them, and which by their naval forces might beſt diſturb the ſiege, eſpecially by way of the river. Nor were theſe parts wanting in doing what poſſibly they could to this purpoſe. But the work about the bridg advancing every day, and the Forts of the Kngs Camp being already increaſed on both ſides, and *Rubays* having commanded

ed his Barks to withſtand thoſe of the enemy; victuals could not ſo freely be brought to *Antwerp* by water as formerly. And all paſſes by land being ſhut up, they had leſs hopes of any relief from thence. Their wants therefore ſtill increaſed. But the Inhabitants were chiefly afflicted to ſee that Commerce began already to fail, and that by continuation of the ſiege, they were likely to be totally deprived thereof. And peradventure not without danger of new plunder and ſpring; which was that that they moſt apprehended; calling to mind what they had undergone not many years before in that kind by the Spaniards. A great part of their people, eſpecially of meaner ſort, lived upon Merchandizing and Traffick; wherefore they began to complain very much of their already ſufferings, and of thoſe yet greater, which they daily feared more and more. And thoſe who were of better condition, were not well pleaſed to ſee themſelves thus incommodated. And thoſe that were of the beſt condition and wealthieſt amongſt them, the more they feared to loſe, ſo much the more did they deſire to avoid the danger thereof. And though they did all of them abhor to return again under the Spaniſh Command, eſpecially thoſe who were moſt infected with Hereſie; yet well weighing all Intereſts, they preferred that of their lives and eſtates before all other reſpects. The meaner ſort of people began already to ſpeak freely of theſe inconveniences and dangers: and whiſpers were heard to the ſame purpoſe amongſt the more civiliz'd people. So as wavering thus in their minds, it appeared that they could not but grow very cool in ſuſtaining ſuch a ſiege vigorouſly as they ought to do. *Il Signor di Santa Aldegonda* was chief of the Magiſtracy which governed the City, by the Title of Burgamaſter. Before *Orange* his death he was put into that Office, that he might particularly advance *Orange* his ends, as he had always endeavoured to do, and as we have often told you. And when *Orange* was dead, there was not any one that more partially maintained his memory, nor his paſſions with more vehemency then did *Santa Aldegonda*. Wherefore occaſion being one day offered, when the Magiſtracy was much more great than uſual, for the heads of all Trades, and all thoſe who bore any Office amongſt the People, where then preſent, he ſpake thus.

Since we that are here (moſt worthy Citizens!) repreſent the whole body of the City, and that through your goodneſs I enjoy the prime place amongſt you; I conceive it belongs properly to me to propound unto you that wherein the publick ſervice in theſe preſent occurrences is moſt concern'd. We are beſieged round: doubtleſſy a ſad ſpectacle, the inconveniencies being great which muſt be ſuffered within beſieged walls: It is no wonder therefore if many amongſt us do already wiſely foreſee this ſort of evil, and fear it. But then we muſt be wary, leſt through too much apprehenſion and fear of the neceſſity, which thoſe that are beſieged muſt undergo, we forget not the miſchiefs which ſo cruelly do oft-times befal thoſe who ſurrender. We have ſeen too memorable Seiges, theſe late years paſt in Holland; *the one of* Harlem, *the other of* Leyden. *The* Harlemiſts *would at laſt yield; and rather than to come to the laſt deſperate reſolutions, try the humanity and clemency of the Conquerors: But how much did they repent it afterwards? and doubtleſſy they had better have ſallied out, and with their ſwords in hand have willingly encountred their own deaths, than to die, as many of them afterwards did, ſuffering ſuch barbarous and horrid puniſhments. On the contrary, thoſe of* Leyden *reſolving rather to die than ſurrender the Town, did ſo maintain it, though reduced to the utmoſt extremity of difficulties, as at laſt they were freed from that ſo cruel ſiege, by that ſo miraculous ſuccour. Which of theſe two examples ſhall we follow? I believe it will be ſoon reſolved. Who can doubt that it is not better to undergo not one, but a thouſand deaths, rather than to fall again under the cruel, proud, and unſupportable Spaniſh yoke? The Country groans every where through the ſo many horrible calamities which it yet ſuffers thereby. But eſpecially for the loſs of ſo much famous bloud. Where are the* Egmonts? *Where the* Horns? *Where ſo many of the Nobility of all ſorts? Finally where is our glorious* Orange, *that true Father of his Country? that unconquerable defender of the Liberties thereof? It is no ways to be doubted but that as the firſt blow came from the hand of a* Spaniard, *whereby he had then almoſt loſt his life; ſo did the ſecond likewiſe from Spaniſh orders, which brought him ſo miſerably to his end. If this our City ſhall ever prove ſo unfortunate, (which God forbid!) as to fall into their hands, what do you think their firſt actions will be? They will certainly put the Citadel into its former condition: which is as much as to ſay, they will put the former inſupportable yoke upon us. To theſe and many other violences which they will uſe upon our perſons, we ſhall ſuddenly have many no leſs intollerable put upon our conſciences. The Reformed Religion will be forbidden the very firſt day, and the Inquiſition will ſoon after be brought in. And thus* Antwerp *being no longer a* Flemiſh City, *but a* Spaniſh *Colony, all forreigners will forſake it, all Traffick will decay, and it will finally be intombed like an unhappy Carkaſs under its own deſolate and decaying walls. But let us talk no more thus dejectedly: Let good auguries prevail. And very well they may do ſo, if we conſider the condition of the enemies ſiege. It is vain to think that they will ever be able to finiſh the Bridge, or to maintain it when it ſhall be finiſhed. The River it ſelf will oppoſe them; the flowing and reflowing of the Tide will oppoſe them; our Ships will continually oppoſe them on all ſides: the Winter with her ice will fight againſt the Bridge; nor will there be wanting many other inventions to diſcompoſe and break it down, and leave that paſſage always free unto us. And how much more eaſily may we open their Counterdike? On* Lillo's *ſide our men have already begun to drown the neighbouring fields: We will do the like on* Ordams *ſide towards the City. And the Counterdike being incloſed round between theſe two inundations, and between our two Fleets, it muſt of neceſſity either be born down by the water at the higheſt tides, or being ſo often aſſailed by us, we may cut it, deſtroy it, and*

freely receive all assistance likewise on that side. In which ease, when we shall have commodity of being succour'd, the Enemies can have no hopes in the continuation of their siege. This mean while the Forces of our Confederates will still the more unite: they will be accompanied with aids from France; *but chiefly with those which we may in greater numbers, and with much more ease receive from* England. *And having so many Forces both by land and sea, why shall we not hope to see* Antwerp *restored to her full and entire liberty, and to her former happy condition? Let us then (most honoured Citizens) return all joyfully to our own homes; And being to encourage others, let us first take courage our selves. But let us return always with an immutable resolution of rather perishing, (let our condition be what it will) than of surrendring. In fine, Or Liberty, or Death!*

Thus ended stout *Aldegonde*: Nor can it be said what power this and his other discourses had alwayes with the *Antwerpians* in making them receive his advices. By his perswasion a new form of Oath was composed, by which the City obliged it self never to return to the obedience of the King of *Spain*: And an Edict was likewise published, wherein it was prohibited under severe punishment for any one to listen to any whatsoever agreement, which should at any time be propounded on the Kings behalf. They then applied themselves with great fervency to withstand the Siege. Great care was had in the delivering out of victuals; Such Citizens as were fit to bear Arms, were put under Colours, and disposed of in several Companies, each of them having a Commander given them. But above all things they betook themselves by all possible means to hinder the building of the Bridg, and the defence of the Counterdike. To boot with the Men of War which annoyed the Bridge, they ordered some artificial Fire-boats whereby to assault, indamage, and utterly destroy the Bridg, if it were possible. And because the Kings Forts which were upon the Rivers banks did very much hinder any thing that could be done by the Enemies ships, the *Antwerpians* bethought themselves of building a ship of such a vast greatness, as being too good for the Kings Forts, and furiously playing upon them with Cannon shot, the absolute command of the River might by means thereof remain unto the City. It was to be of a bulk answerable to a manageable Castle in the water. And the *Antwerpians* confiding mainly therein, and falling to work thereupon, they gave it a no less vast title than was the bulk, calling it *The Wars End*. They ordered likewise all things which were necessary for the opposing of the Counterdike. And though they could not much better their condition on the Fields sides, where the Kings men commanded all; yet they lodged some of their Troops on that side, to curb the Royalists so much the more, and that they might be the beter able to come by some victuals. Thus the *Antwerpians* sought to advantage themselves: but the Royalists were no less fervent in their endeavours. *Ferneſe* had divers times invited the *Antwerpians* with large proffers to return to the Kings obedience; but they refusing them at first, and afterwards demonstrating full resolutions to the contrary, it was sufficiently evident that all hopes of negotiation ceasing, he was to place them wholly in his Arms. He therefore by out-doing not only others, but himself in toil and labour, gave himself wholly to procure the defence of the Counterdike, and to proceed in the business of the Bridg; those parts thereof which consisted of rafters and summers being so far advanced, as there wanted but little to the perfecting of them. *Rubays* with great diligence had got together a great number of Men of war, to oppose upon any occasion those of the Enemy; and scouring up and down every where, and chiefly where most need was, it is not to be believed how much he thereby advantaged the building of the Bridge. But the middle part was yet to be finished, which was much larger than that of the rafters on both sides. This was wholly to be supplied with Boats, and a requisite number could not suddenly be got together; the void space between the rafters was as yet made up with but about twenty. But experience shewed that that number was not near sufficient; for the Enemies Boats found means to pass through the void spaces, though they were linked together; either cutting in sunder that which they were linked together withal, or breaking through them with full sail by the force of the Tide. Some succour was therefore by this means from time to time brought to the City; and much of action hapned between the ships of either side, the Kings ships endeavouring to block up the passage, and the Enemies to keep the passage open. One of these Naval conflicts proved fortunate for *Rubays*: For *Teligni*, as he was going for *Zealand*, was found to be in one of those ships which he took; and being taken prisoner, the Enemy lost one of their valianteſt and wiſeſt Commanders. The next of best esteem amongst them was the Count of *Hollack*; who was not wanting on his part neither in giving good testimony of his valour, sometime by water, sometimes by land. But for all they could do, they could not keep the Kings men from bringing Boats enough at last to block up the middle space between the rafters on both sides of the shore. And thus after a long dispute between hope and fear, wherewith the Royalists were long time agitated, the miraculous fabrick of the Bridge was finished, which we have so often mentioned, but never sufficiently described, for we could never till now come to give you a full relation thereof. This was then the shape of it.

From the two contrary shores upon which lay the two greater Forts of *Callo* and *Ordam*, divers rowes of great Piles of Trees were thrust out, and being driven into the River, extended

tended as far as the current thereof would permit. Thoſe which went ſtreight forwards, were cloſed together overthwart with divers others of the like greatneſs; they were called Steccadoes at the firſt, and ever after continued the ſame name. The Steccado of *Callo* advanced about 120 uſual paces, not being able to reach further, for on that ſide, the River of *Scheld* grew preſently deep. The other of *Ordam* advanced about 150 paces, the river affording better commodity on that ſide. At the end of each of theſe Steccadoes, and where the Boats began to be placed, a large ſpace was compoſed, as if it were a *Piazza*, able to receive a great many Souldiers, for the better defence both of the Boats and of the Steccadoes. On the flanks of theſe towards the upper part a ſeries of Parapets were raiſed, which were made of great doubled boards well fill'd in the midſt with earth, ſo as the Souldiers might be thereby fenced or ſheltered, and endure a volley of musket-ſhot, and from thoſe Fences pour musket-ſhot upon the Enemies ſhips. Both the Forts ſerved for Curtains (if I may be permitted to ſay ſo) to both the Flanks of the Steccadoes, and to that purpoſe were alwayes furniſhed with good ſtore of great Ordnance. At the other end of the *Piazza*'s, where the Steccadoes ended, ſome Peeces of Artillery were placed on both ſides, the better to defend that part. And adding new ſecurities without to thoſe within, both the outſides of thoſe *Piazza's* were garniſhed with certain great Rafters of wood, armed with iron at the ends, which advancing for a conſiderable ſpace into the river, and up held by ſome others which were planted in the bottom thereof, might keep the enemies ſhips the further off, and make their aſſaults the weaker.

This was the form of the Steccadoes: from the ends whereof began the ank of boats, wherewithall the reſt of the river was ſhut up, which was her deepeſt and largeſt part; and the ſpace between the two Steccadoes might be about 4500 paces. This was filled up with 32 great barks; all of them of almoſt an equal body and form, they differed but little in their poup and forecaſtle, or in any other part. They were joyned together at the ends and ſides with ſtrong chains of iron; each end was furniſhed with a piece of Artillery, and the body of each bark with a convenient number of ſouldiers and Mariners. Ten men might walk abreaſt upon the Steccadoes; and ſufficient commodity for paſſage was left likewiſe upon the barks. And becauſe 'twas already known that the Antwerpians had prepared ſome fireboats to prejudice the bridg, and that they were always to provide for the aſſault of their other ſhips, and of thoſe which their friends would ſend unto them; therefore the Kings men bethought themſelves to ſhelter the barks of the bridg with another exterior defence, that they might the leſs fear being injuried by the enemy. The invention was this, Many maſts of ſhips were faſtned together which made as it were a float; and as many of theſe were made as ſufficed for the whole length which the barks took up. The one float was joyned to the other like a wall or great parapet, and then thruſt out in a proportionable interval before the barks; and they were faſtned to great anchors on both ſides; ſo as they might not fear being moved or looſened by any aſſault of the enemies ſhips, or by the rage of any incenſed tide. And becauſe they floated upon the water, they were floats.

This was the whole Fabrick of the Bridg: a proud one of that kind; and which wellde-ſerved the glory of having perfected ſo memorable a ſiege; and of having at laſt reduced ſo important a City to the Kings obedience. Above ſix months were ſpent in the buildng of it; nor could it be fully finiſhed tell the beginning of *March* in the next year of our Lord 1585. The winter ſeemed even to ſmile upon this deſign: for neither did it produce any ice, nor any unuſual tides. The Antwerpians wondered very much, and were ſtrangely aſtoniſhed when they ſaw the bridg fully finiſhed. Yet hoping to be able to diſorder and open it by means of their fire-boats, and of that vaſt ſhip which they were preparing, they uſed all diligence in compleating both thoſe and this. Much labour was requiſite to ſuch a work. An Italian Ingeneer born in *Mantua*, by name *Frederick Giambelly*, was then in *Antwerp*. This man took upon him to build the fire-boats, which he did thus: He built a Veſſel made of very great and firm planks, and it was made in the midſt like a good large Mine proportionable to the Veſſel. The Mine was made of brick and lime, ſo cloſed up as it had only that vent which was neceſſary to bring the fire at its due time to the gunpowder, whereof it was to be full. All the reſt of the Veſſel was covered with ſtones, little and great bullets, and other ſuch materials condens'd together as much as might be, to the end that the Mine finding the greater oppoſition might do the more miſchief. 'Twas ſaid the Ingeneer wrought thus for eight months together upon ſeveral barks; but more time was ſpent in the building of the other ſo huge before mentioned ſhip. By theſe machines, though too long a making, did the Antwerpians hope to open the paſſage of the river; and this was what was to be expected on that ſide. On *Lillo's* ſide, their friends were to be in a readineſs, and be ſure to move with their men of war, at the ſame time when the fire-boats ſhould play on the other ſide. We told you how on the oppoſite ſide to *Lillo* there was another Fort built, called *Liſechenſuch*, which *Rubays* took at the beginning of the ſiege. The enemies ſhips were much prejudiced from this Fort in their paſſage, and much more in their retreating under the Fort of *Lillo* where they uſed moſt to lie.

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The Hollanders and Zealanders did therefore resolve to use all possible endeavours to take this place of offence from the Kings men: and they luckily effected it. They placed some Culverins on the contrary shore, which might reach the further; and having prepared such other ships as were necessary, with other peeces of Canon to batter, and with a good number of souldiers, they landed, and gave so furious an assault to the Fort of *Liseebensuch*, as after having plaid upon it some hours, and threatned to put all those that were within to the edg of the sword, they made them come forth, and surrender the Fort. *Ferneſe* hearing of this danger, sent some men presently to remedy it, and went himself in person thitherward; but the surrender was made before the succour came; and this mischief drew suddenly on another: for the enemy did immediately assault another Fort which stood more inward, called St *Antony*, and took it with like easiness. *Ferneſe* stormed to hear of these losses: and the two Captains of those Garisons, not being able sufficiently to excuse their misdemeanours, he made both their heads be struck off upon the top of those dikes. He afterward planted new Forts to curb those, and to secure the bridg the better; and continued his former diligence every where. By these two acquisitions the enemy were secure on those two shores whereon *Lillo* and *Liseebensuch* were placed; wherefore they began to assemble a great number of their ships together on both shores under the shelter of those two Forts; which made it be apprehended in the Kings Camp, that they would with some unwanted force assault the bridge from thence, and at the same time also endeavour to prejudice the counterdike. But the effect shewed that all their preparation was to expect the motion of the fire-boats from *Antwerps* side. Which when they should play upon the bridge, and ruine some part of it, as the enemy well hoped, their ships might incontinently likewise move, and joyning both forces together, do the greater and more irreparable damage to the bridg. Winter was already over, and *April* was begun. Whilst then the Kings Camp stood in this suspence, and that *Ferneſe* with all diligence had reinforced the guards every where; some barks began to fall down upon the *Scheld* from *Antwerps* side, of such a shape and appearance, as the Royalists believed they were the beforementioned fire-boats. Every one stood in great expectation of the succese, and several judgements were given thereupon, some thought that the sequel would not be answerable to the invention; and others that the effect would equal it. Yet the curiosity of seeing the event was equal in every one. Wherefore the Royalists flockt in great numbers some to the Steccadoes, some on where, some another, upon the bare banks, to see what the succes of so new a spectacle would be. Two of the barks were greater than the rest that followed. They fell down with the return of the tide; and not having any one to govern them, they were guided only by the tide, and were left unto themselves. A whiles after they had begun their course, a circle of fire might be seen to rise up above them, which continued for a while, till not long after to the great wonder of all the lookers on, that fire consumed and vanished quite away. For was it known whether this was according to the design; or whether it were but a piece of art the better to disguise it. In the mean time one of the lesser boats, whilst it was yet a good way off the bridg, blew up and vanished working no considerable effect. Nor did any of the rest of the lesser sort do almost any other good. But the two greater following their course, were by the tide brought the one of them to give against the left shore towards *Flanders*, but somewhat distant from the bridg; and the other more luckily where the Steccado began to joyn with the row of boats. Upon this Steccado was the Prince of *Parma* then himself in person, being come likewise to partake of such a novelty. He was desired by all means to go from thence to free himself from any danger that might befall; he refused, and knew not what to resolve upon: for he would willingly first have known what news certain gunners and others of the Maritine profession would bring back, who were gone down to enter into the boat, the better to discover what she was loaded with, and to hinder the effects thereof. But he was so much importun'd, as at last he retired himself to the Fort St. *Mary*. And not without great good fortune; for hardly was he come unto the Fort, when with a terrible and fearfull noise, the first great boat which was saln upon the aforesaid shore blew up, and slew many souldiers in a neighbouring Fort, and divers others who were thereabouts. But the other occasioned much more bitter dread, and likewise much greater prejudice. Those Gunners and Mariners were not well entred into the Boat, when the fire arriving at its due time, made the Mine play, and suddenly devoured not only those who were within the Boat, but most of those who were upon the Boats of the Bridg, and upon the Steccadoes. It is not to be imagined, much less to be expresst what horrible effects this raging fire made. The Air was for a good space darkned with a thick cloud; the Earth shook for many miles about, the River broke forth out of her bed, and with great violence threw her waves beyond the banks: The bodies of men that were blown up by the fire, were so torn, as no shape thereof could be found; and the tempest and hail of great stones, and other lesser materials of offence scattering abroad further off, so many of the Camp were slain, or wounded as nothing was to be seen all thereabouts but a sad and dismall spectacle, of people either slain, or maimed, or ill acconciated. Above 500 of the Kings men were slain by this misfortune, and a great many others of them were maimed or wounded. But

that

that which made the loſs the more fatal, was the death of the Marquis of *Rubays*; who while in order to his office he viewed all parts, and went from one place to another, was unfortunately kill'd. A death generally bewail'd by the whole Camp, but with a particular tenderneſs by *Ferneſe*, who had a ſingular affection and eſteem for him. *Jaſper Robles*, a Spaniard, periſht by the ſame misfortune, who was Lord of *Bigli*, and a Souldier likewiſe of great experience and valour, as may oft-times have been ſeen in the ſucceſſes of this Hiſtory. Divers other Officers of inferior quality were likwiſe loſt; and there was not any Nation who did not ſhare in the misfortune.

The confuſion and aſtoniſhment being ceaſed, which ſo ſtrange an accident had occaſioned in the Kings Camp; it was found, that the prejudice which the Bridg had received was not ſo great but that it might be repaired. The greateſt harm that was done was on that part of the Steccado where the Fire-boat had diſgorged its fire; and the Flote likewiſe there was greatly diſordered. But a great danger yet remained, leaſt the aſſault of the Enemies ſhips which were in readineſs for that purpoſe on *Lillo's* ſide, might ſucceed the fury of the fire. Wherefore *Ferneſe*, uſing all diligence for the defence of the Bridg, was come thither himſelf in perſon, and made the Forts on all ſides ſtand prepared with their Artillery. But whatſoever the matter was, none of the Enemies ſhips were ſeen to move: It was thought that the Tide hindered them; and that expecting the Wind to overcome it, that failing, they could not ſecond the *Antwerpians*. The danger being thus paſt vvhich vvas then moſt feared, *Ferneſe* had leaſure to reſtore the Bridge to it former poſture: It vvas notvvithſtanding thought beſt to take the Flote quite away which lay towards the beſieged, to the end that if any more of their Fire-boats ſhould fall dovvn, they might the better paſs through thoſe of the Bridge; to vvhich purpoſe an uſeful invention was found out, as alſo in the other Flote which was on the other ſide. The *Antwerpians* began to be very much troubled that their Fire-boats had no better ſucceſs; and even the ſtouteſt amongſt them began to loſe their courage. But *Aldegonda*, and thoſe that adhered moſt unto him, endeavouring to keep their hopes alive, ſtrove to make them believe that the next Fire-boats would be more ſucceſsful than were the former: That the great Ship being now likewiſe finiſhed, would be in effect as it was in the name, *The Wars End*: That certainly the Royaliſts would never be able to make ſuch reſiſtance as was needful, to keep the double forenamed Forces from beating down the Counterdike; and that when the paſſage ſhould be once open, the City vvould be wholly freed from the Siege. Of theſe trials vvhich were to be made for the benefit of the *Antwerpians*, that of the great Ship was the firſt. This immenſe moveable Caſtle began to appear upon the *Scheld* about the beginning of *May*, with mighty expectation on both ſides; on the *Antwerpians*, out of their hopes of reaping advantage thereby; on the Royaliſts, out of the curioſity of ſeeing ſuch a Fabrick, and to ſee what the effects thereof would be. The Ship drew near one of the leſſer Forts which the Royaliſts had on *Brabant* ſide, and began to play furiouſly upon it: There were above a thouſand Souldiers in the Ship, vvho accompanied the fury of the Cannon vvith the hail of Muſket-ſhot. They then landed to annoy the Fort nearer hand. But the effect was not anſvverable to the deſign; for the Fort received no great harm from the battery, nor they vvho vvere within the Fort from the Souldiers that were landed; nay the ſhip was ſo torn and ſhattered, as they had much ado to mend her, and to make her ſerviceable again. This experiment coming to ſo little good, they fell to the other of breaking down the Counterdike; and the buſineſs was thus carried. The ſhips of the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* were to fall from *Lillo* and enter into the drovvned Country in that part by thoſe Cuts vvhich vvere made in the chief bank of the River. The *Antwerpians* vvere to do the like on the other ſide tovvards the City; and to that purpoſe they had likewiſe fitting Cuts in the ſame bank. Between theſe tvvo drowned parts of the Country did the Counterdike run: but it vvas very hard to aſſault it on both ſides at once, becauſe the Tide could not equally ſerve both the one and the other in their uniform motion; wherefore ſuch a middle ſeaſon was to be taken, as that the conjuncture might not be loſt. This was the deſign of the Enemy; nor was it any news to *Ferneſe*, who had long before expected it. There were four of the Kings Forts which guarded the Counterdike: The one, that of *Croſſe*, where the Counterdike joyned with the greateſt Dike, which *Montdragone* had the charge of: About the middle in ſome diſtance one from another ſtood that of the *Palata*, then that *De la Motta*, commonly called *S. George* his Fort; and at the end where the ground began a little to riſe, was the ſtrong Houſe of *Cowſtein*, wherein Count *Mansfield* did uſually keep. To boot with theſe Forts a row of great Stakes were pitcht at equal diſtance on both ſides the bank, which roſe up above the water where the ground was therewithall drowned, that the Enemies ſhips might find more difficulty in accoſting. Theſe ſituations we have here again repeated, the more to awaken the memory, and to give the clearer intelligence of the Counterdike, where the Beſieged's chiefeſt hopes lay, and where the Royaliſts had finally the victory. *Ferneſe* gave order that all the Guards ſhould be every where reinforced. And to increaſe emulation amongſt the Souldiers as well as their numbers, he mingled *Spaniſh*, *Italians*, *Dutch*, and *Walloons* together: though there were moſt *Spaniards* with

with *Manaragone*, and with *Mansfield* moſt *Italians*. *Ferneſe* gave the particular command over theſe, upon this occaſion, to *Camillo del Monte*, who not long before had quitted his Brigado of Foot, being imployed about other affairs, wherein he won great honour and eſtimation in the Camp. Things being thus ordered, the Enemy made no longer delay. About the midſt of *May*, the Count of *Hollack* fell down from *Lillo*, and entred with more then 30 Bottoms into the parts that were overflown thereabouts: All his ſhips were well provided of Artillery to batter down the Counterdike, of Inſtruments to cut and open it, and of Earth and all other requiſite proviſions to fortifie the Cuts which the beſiegers had gained. *Hollack* made towards the Fort of the *Palata*: here the water was deepeſt, and the Counterdike was moſt reſtrained by reaſon of the difficulty that was found in enlarging it on that part. Wherefore for want of Earth, they were forced to aſſiſt the neighbouring Fort with Pales of wood, whence it was called the *Palata*. When the Enemy were come near with their ſhips, they began to play furiouſly upon the Counterdike; and having eaſily opened the Stakes that were pitched, they came to give the aſſault; and ſheltred by the Artillery on the Dike, they endeavoured to poſſeſs the Counterdike. But the Kings men fighting valiantly, made it good. The ſcuffle was not long: For *Hollack* not ſeeing the *Antwerp* ſhips appear, reſolved to retreat ſoon enough, having loſt above 300 of his men, ſome of which were of ſome conſideration. But few of the Kings men were ſlain, and none conſiderable but Captain *Simon Padiglia*, a Spaniard, who wan much honour in that action. It was not known whether the uncertainty of the Tide, or ſome other impediment had kept the *Antwerpians* from ſending their ſhips according to the firſt appointment. But whatſoever the matter was, *Ferneſe* perceiving ſtill that the Enemies chiefeſt hopes lay in opening the Counterdike, he miſſed not viſiting thoſe Forts daily himſelf, and uſed incredible diligence to ſecure their defence. *Mansfields* men were therefore mightily increaſed with *Spaniards* and *Italians*, by reaſon of the accommodation of lodging in the contiguous Villages of *Strabuch* and *Comſtein*; whereas there was great ſcarcity of lodging where *Mandragone* was. After this aſſault which the Enemies without made upon the Counterdike, thoſe within proceeded to ſet upon the bridge again with their fire-boats. But by this time the Royaliſts had bethought themſelves of an invention whereby either wholly to hinder their operation, or to make it little available; which was this. They prepared ſome boats with ſuch Marriners as were requiſite, who were to make up as ſoon as they could to the fire-boats, and quench that Train, if they could, which conveyed the fire to the Mine; which if they could not find, they were immediately to fall off, and with long ropes to draw the fire-boats after them to the naked ſhore, where they might have their operation with little or no prejudice to the Kings men. But the Antwerpians, conſidering that there was no float on that ſide the bridge which was next them and that therefore they might the more freely ſet upon it on that ſide with their ſhips, reſolved to aſſail it once more with a good number of them, taking a time when both wind and tide might ſerve them; whereby they thought they might give the bridge the greater ſhock, and find leſs reſiſtance by the ſame. And that they might by a double aſſault, do a double harm, they reſolved to ſend ſome fire-boats immediately after thoſe other ſhips, which at the ſame time might do all the prejudice they could unto the bridg. This was their deſign, and thus it was put in Execution. They faſtened 15 ſhips cloſe together, and with full wind and tide ſent them to aſſault the bridge: and to make the indamagement the greater, they garniſhed thoſe ſhips in their prows with great and ſharp irons, to the end that the ſhock aſſiſted by the cutting of thoſe irons, might work the greater effects upon the ropes and chains wherewith the boats that made the bridg were joyned together. After theſe 15 ſhips came 4 fire-ſhips. But it was too hard a buſineſs either for the one or the other of them to do what was deſigned, without Marriners to govern them, and ſouldiers to fight. The firſt gave a great juſtle to the bridge; but did it no great harm; for ſome of them were ſoon ſuffered to paſs between the boats of the bridge, and the reſt without any diſpute fell into the hands of the Royaliſts. Nor had the fire-boats any better ſucceſs: two of them were won with the aforeſaid invention, and their operation hindred; the third fired after it was drawn aſide where it could do no harm; and the forth paſſed through the boats of the bridge, and being paſt on a good way, fired likewiſe to no purpoſe. For all this did not the enemies forbear to ſend new fire-boats to prejudice the bridge, not only from *Antwerps* ſide, but from *Lillo*. But as the forces were alike, the conformity of the ſucceſs was almoſt always the ſame. Which we thought good to touch upon here only, not to nawſeate the Reader, with oft repeating the ſame things, or others the like, varying but a little in circumſtance.

Now follows the laſt eſſay of the Antwerpians, and of their friends, to make themſelves thereby Maſters of the Counterdike. And which was likewiſe the laſt eſſay of the ſiege: and in which ſuch variety of fortune was ſeen in the fight which inſued, as it was queſtionable for many hours whether the beſiegers or beſieged would have the better of the day. But at laſt the beſiegers got it; and there was no hopes left but that *Antwerp* muſt irremediably be loſt. The former agreement being again renewed between the Antwerpians and thoſe of *Lillo* great preparation of boats was made on both ſides, which were to move at one and the ſame time both

both from *Antwerp* and *Lillo*: to endeavour the getting of the Counterdike. In this double assault, they would likewise make use of that their great ship, which was at this time within the drowned Land of *Ordam*, it being brought thither by the Antwerpians to be calked. But that great bulk was afterwards so unmanageable, as oppreſt by her own weight, she ran there on ground, and was rendred totally unuseful. Setting then all delays aside, about the end of *May*, the two Fleets moved according to their appointment. That of *Lillo* appeared first, very early in the morning: it consisted of above a hundred bottoms, better provided this time than they were before with souldiers, artillery, woolsacks, and all things else, to fortifie themselvs in the Counterdike, and in the cuts thereof, when they should have compassed their intent. They directed this their first assault not as before, against the narroweſt part of the bank, but towards the broadeſt part, that they might the better fortifie themselves there; and this happened to be about the Fort St. *George*, which was neereſt the strong house of *Covesteyn*. The Royalists received the assault with much gallantry, and suddenly a great fight happened here; the one endeavouring to get upon the bank the others to keep them down; the one incouraged by their ships, from whence issued a furious tempest of Artillery, and the others by the shot made from their Forts. This mean while the Antwerpians came in with a great number of ships likewise on their side; and furnished with the like provisions as were those of *Lillo*. The enemy then redoubled their assault with greater eagerneſs, and prevailed so far as they got upon the counterdike on both sides. Nor did they onely get footing in that one place, but in divers others. Whereſoever there was leſs of land, there was the bickering the more bloudy. And one souldier coming out of neceſſity close up unto another, there was hardly any blow given without a wound, nor wound without inevitable death. Here the enemy began to make divers cuts in the banks. But their chiefeſt force was against the place of their first assault. The difficulty of making the cuts, though it was great, yet was it no ways so great, as that of maintaining them. They must there intrench themselves with sacks of earth, with sacks of wool, and with other such like materials. And this the enemy boldly did. *Hollack* and *Aldegonde* were both of them there in person. Neither of them were wanting, in exhorting, in inforcing, and in executing both by their voice, deeds, and example.

These (said they unto the combatants) *shall be your last tryals; these your last dangers. When this pass shall be opened,* Antwerp *will be free; and that City being freed, how glorious will your labours be? and how advantagious to all our other confederate's? they will think that their wives, children, brethren, and whatsoever else, they esteem dearest, are here present. And considering that the welfare of so many relations consist in the success of this conflict, be sure to see the end thereof, either by death or victory.*

The enemy being still more and more inflamed by these words, plaid their parts gallantly; but all they did cost them dear. For the Kings men did valiantly likewise defend themselves. Many men fell on both sides; the slaughter was equal; and fortune altering the advantages, smiled and frowned alternately, now on one side, now on another. *Mandragone* sent many men from his side continually to assist the Royalists. And though very aged, and ill handled by wounds which he had received in so long a war, and amidst so many dangers, yet did he undauntedly present himself in his own person to all dangers. The like did *Mansfield*; though he were likewise very old, and even wasted with labours. In the strong house of *Covesteyn*, which was in his quarter, and from whence the counterdike began on that side, as hath been said, he had raised a great Platform, the better to defend the nearer Fort of St. *George*, and the other somewhat further off of the Palata. This defence did excellent service upon this occasion. For playing in a right line upon the bank, the enemy could in no ways shelter themselves from it. The Spaniards and Italians which were in those quarters, incouraged hereby, fell fiercely upon the enemy, and began to put them into confusion. At the first beginning of the conflict, *Camillo del Monte* did likewise excellent service. For *Carbone*, of the same Family, and four other Captains, together with a great many other Officers, and souldiers being slain close by him, yet he still valiantly sustained the violence of the enemy. Marquis *Hipolito Bentivoglio* our brother was with him, who not long before the siege was come into *Flanders*; nor was he wanting in behaving himself as became a man of honour upon such an occurrency. And his actions were so well approved of by the Prince, as soon after he gave him a company of Lanciers, and shewed him many other particular demonstrations of esteem. The fight being afterwards renewed by the Spaniards and Italians; their Commanders, *John del Aquila*, and *Camillo Capizzuchi*, the one Campmaster of a Spanish Brigado, and the other of an Italian, did amongst others signalize themselves. And the valour of the inferiour souldiers did so well correspond with the like of their Commanders, as St. *George* his Fort, which for a good while was in danger of being lost, was at last secured. The Fort of the Palata was still in hazard. To boot that it was but very weak of it self the enemy had invironed it with the gaps they had made, and with their ships; playing upon it furiously every where with their Artillery and musket. Here then was a fierce fight, but with such advantage to the enemy, as they already hoped for the victory, when

the Prince of *Parma* appeared himſelf in perſon upon the Counterdike. He had been there the night before; and after having with great care viewed the Forts, and given ſuch directions as was fitting every where, he was returned to his quarters at *Beveren* on the other ſide of the river. There was a conſiderable diſtance between that quarter and the Counterdike: but when the Prince early that morning heard the noiſe of the Cannon on the other ſide of the River, he quickly imagined that the Enemy had aſſaulted the Counterdike on both ſides. He therefore loſt no time. At his coming out of his quarters he heard that he had gueſſed aright, and ever and anon advertiſements came of the fight, and of what danger his men were in. As ſoon as he was come upon the Counterdike on *Mandragone's* part, he heard by him and by others what danger the Fort of the *Palata* was in. The Prince was uſually followed with many of quality and worth, and this occaſion had increaſed their number. Wherefore marching in the head of them, he went together with them to where the fight was hotteſt: And when he ſaw how much his men were troubled, and the Enemy ſo much their ſuperiors,

Is this (ſaid he) *the valour which my Souldiers ſhew? Is this that which they learn under my diſcipline? Shall the Enemy glory of being Conquerors, after they were conquered? And are they not overcome, if after having loſt the paſſage of the River, we keep the paſſage of the Counterdike likewiſe ſhut up? 'Tis here then, O my Souldiers, that you muſt either dye or overcome. I will ſhare with you in the one and in the other. But if we ſhall overcome, as I hope we ſhall, I will content my ſelf with the honour, all the rewards ſhall be yours: Nor can ſo important a Victory be ſufficiently rewarded but by ſo great a King.*

The Prince accompanied theſe his words with actions. Arm'd only with his ſword and ſhield, he gave ſtrange proof of his valour: By which example there was not any one of them who did not willingly run upon the greateſt dangers; and who did not endeavour to ſave their Prince his life, by expoſing their own to danger. The Souldiers ſuddenly reaſſumed their courage: but that which did moſt inhearten them, was to obſerve that the Tide began to ebb, which would ſoon inforce the Enemies ſhips to retreat. But as this conſideration incited the Royaliſts to do their utmoſt, ſo had it the like effect upon the Enemies. They thought the Victory already ſo ſure their own, as *Hollack* and *Aldegonde* were gone to carry the news thereof to *Antwerp*, which occaſioned an incredible joy in thoſe Citizens. The fight was then renewed more hot than ever upon the Counterdike, and particularly near the Fort of the *Palata*; and each ſide had their hopes and fears for a while: But it was clearly ſeen that the enemies courage ebb'd with the Tide, and the courage of the Royaliſts did as much increaſe. In fine, the enemy could no longer hold out; for many of their ſhips being already on the ground on both ſides the Dike, they ſaw there was no more hopes left for them. All the reſt was blood and ſlaughter; being void of all ſuccour, they were hewed in pieces every where; nor did the Royaliſts thirſt more after victory before, then they did now after cruelty. Above 2500 of the enemy were ſlain, and many of them men of quality. Of the Kings ſide little leſs then a thouſand, moſt of which were *Spaniards* and *Italians*, though the *Dutch* and *Walloons* did ſufficiently act their parts. Some 30 of their ſhips fell into the Royaliſts hands; and but few of the Enemies were taken priſoners, for all but thoſe that were ſlain got eaſily away by water. The fight being ended, *Ferneſe* gave forthwith order for filling up the Cuts which the Enemy had made in the Counterdike; he better ſecured the Forts, he reinforced the Guards, and did ſo provide for all things on that ſide, as the Enemy was either not able to make any more aſſault, or if they did, they were to hope for no good thereby.

But the *Antwerpians*, falling from ſo high hopes into ſo deep deſpair, knew not what to do nor how to evade their threatning misfortune. They could hope for no aſſiſtance from *France*: The Queen of *England*, by the aforeſaid artifices, held them on in hopes: Their confederate *Flemiſh* could do no more than they had done. To boot with *Gaunts* being long before fallen into *Ferneſe's* hands, as hath been ſaid, *Bruſſels*, *Malines*, and *Nimínghen* the chiefeſt City in all *Ghelderland*, were likewiſe ſurrendred unto him; wherefore as the Flemiſh Union was brought very low by ſo many loſſes, the Kings party was as much advantaged by ſo many acquiſitions. *Antwerp* began long before this to ſuffer much in ſcarcity of victuals; which increaſing every day, they began to think daily more and more upon the horror of Famine, and upon the inevitable neceſſity of yielding to that enemy. The *Antwerpians* kept as yet ſome Towns about the walls of the City, and kept garriſons in them, that they might likewiſe enjoy ſome part of the open fields: wherefore all their hope lay now in getting maintenance by the means of that neighbouring Territory, expecting what might afterwards fall out to their advantage. But *Ferneſe* ſoon foreſaw this their deſign, nor did he loſe the benefit of the opportunity. *Rubays* being ſlain, he had given the chief command of the Horſe to the Marquis *Vaſto*, who ſcouring the Country every where, ſuffered not the Enemy to breath, and had already laid waſte all that Territory of thoſe Country people. And the Enemy oppoſing the Marquis one day with ſome of their Horſe, they were by him routed, and defeated. Wherefore *Ferneſe* preſenting his Cannon before ſome of the forenamed Towns which were the beſt munited, he quickly reduced all the reſt. And ſo the *Antwerpians* were ſhut up within the precinct of their own walls. They began then all

ſo

ſo far to deſpair, as there was no talk amongſt them, but of their neceſſity of ſurrendring; and the mind of the moſt was, to begin a Parley, ſo to get the beſt Conditions that they could. *Hollack* and *Aldegonda* were ſtill obſtinate, and thoſe that did moſt pertinaciouſly adhere unto them; and by ſophiſticated Letters endeavoured to make the people believe that the Earl of *Leiceſter* was already parted from *England*, being ſent by the Queen with a powerful Army to relieve *Antwerp*; that he was expected to enter *Zealand*; and that ſo many Forreign forces being added to thoſe of their own Confederates, they might very well hope to ſee that City quickly free from ſiege. This cheat might prevail for a while: but the deeds ſpeaking a contrary language, and famine, together with other extremities which uſually are ſuffered by thoſe who are beſieged, every day increaſing, the people would be no longer deluded: They were firſt ſeen to gather together in ſmall companies, and then in more open aſſemblies, which at laſt broke out in open tumults. They chafed at the obſtinacy of a few, ſaying, that for their own private paſſions they would make the City run hazard of ſuffering its late misfortune and miſery. Thoſe who were better accommodated, and who had moſt to loſe either by plunder, fire, or other miſeries, which Cities are accuſtomed to ſuffer, when either taken by force, or ſurrendred upon diſcretion, began to be of the ſame mind. On the other ſide, *Ferneſe* was not backward in inviting the *Antwerpians* to ſurrender, and not by ſtanding out to make their conditions the worſe. Thus the Magiſtracy reſolved at laſt to ſend ſome to the Army, to treat of ſurrendring the City. They were fairly received by the Prince, and ſo the Treaty began on both ſides: wherein at firſt was found a great deal of intricacy and difficulty, and therefore many days were ſpent in adjuſting them; till ſuch time as *Aldegonda* coming forth himſelf, with ſome others of the beſt of the City, the Articles of Surrender were concluded of, about the midſt of *Auguſt*, which made up a juſt year ſince the firſt beginning of the ſiege. The Articles in effect were theſe that follow.

That the City of Antwerp *ſhould return under the obedience of the King of* Spain *as formerly. That the Prince of* Parma, *in the Kings name, did pardon and forgive the Inhabitants thereof all faults committed in the late revolutions, as well in taking up of Arms, as in whatſoever elſe they had done againſt the King and his Royal crown. That to maintain Traffick in that City as much as might be, it might be lawful for any body whoſoever to live there for four years next enſuing, without any particular tye in matter of conſcience and religion, provided no ſcandalous act were committed againſt the Catholick religion, which was ſolely to be profeſt and exerciſed for the future in that City. That the aforeſaid four years being ended, thoſe who would not profeſs the Catholick religion might freely depart from thence, and carry all their goods away with them, without any manner of hindrance. That the City ſhould by the leaſt grievous way that might be, find means how to repair the Churches which were ruined either before, or upon the occaſion of this ſiege. That the City ſhould be fully reſtored to her ancient priviledges, and to all her former liberty and prerogatives of Traffick. That in the mean while ſhe was to pay* 40000 *pounds ſterling; to help to relieve the Army, for the ſo much pains and expence which it had been at in that ſiege. That the Antwerpians ſhould give way to the recieving into the City, and lodging of* 2000 *foot, and* 200 *horſe in Garriſon: till it ſhould be ſeen what reſolution ſhould be taken in* Holland, Zealand *and the other confederate Provinces, of turning to the Kings obedience: which if they ſhould do, the Prince promiſed to free the City of all Garriſons; and not to remake the Citadel as it was before. That priſoners on all ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty; except Monſieur* de Teligni, *concerning whoſe perſon, the Prince was of neceſſity to receive ſome particular Orders from* Spain; *and that the Signor* de Aldegonda *ſhould promiſe not to bear Arms againſt the King of* Spain *for the ſpace of one year.*

Theſe were the chiefeſt Articles of the ſurrender; to which many others were added touching the reſtitution of Goods, the reſtoring of Traffick and Merchandizing to the City, and divers others petty intereſts, which reſpected the accommodation and ſatisfaction of the Inhabitants. This agreement being made, the Prince for his greater applauſe in having made ſuch an atchievement, received the Order of the Golden Fleece which the King had ſent him a little before. The Ceremony was performed in the Fort St. *Philip*, accompanied with all the greateſt Military celebration of joy and Jubilee: and 'twas done by Count *Mansfield*, one of the ancienteſt of that Order in all *Flanders*. The Prince entred afterwards ſolemnly into *Antwerp*, not only as a Conqueror, but in Triumph: he appeared in ſtately Arms on horſeback; many horſe and foot in arms went before him: and many in the like ſort followed him. Long files of armed foot were on each ſide. And a little before him was all the flowre of the Nobility on horſeback; whereof there were very many then in the Army. Thus he entred by the *Caſarian* Gate, where he was received by the Magiſtrates, by the heads of all the Orders of the City, and by an infinite number of common people. He found many Arches, many Statues, many Columns erected in divers parts; with whatſoever elſe of glory could be ſhewn upon the like occaſion, by the conquered to ſuch a Conqueror. He then returned all due thanks to God in the chiefeſt Church; and being ſtill accompanied with both Military and City-like acclamations, he lighted at the Caſtle, and ſtaid a while in *Antwerp* to put in order ſuch things in the City as it ſtood in moſt need thereof.

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK IV.

THE CONTENTS.

The Cities of Gaunt, Bruſſels, Malines, *and* Niminghen *return to the Kings obedience. The Confederate Provinces are hereupon in ſo great ſtraits, as they offer the Queen of* England *the Soveraignty of their Provinces, that they may the more freely enjoy her protection. The Queen accepts not of the offer; but takes upon her their defence much more than formerly. In lieu whereof ſhe hath ſome of their Towns depoſited in her hands. The Earl of* Leiceſter *arrives in* Holland, *ſent by her as Supreme Head of the Confederate Provinces. The Prince of* Parma *reſolves to march into the field. He beſiegeth* Graves, *and takes it. He continuing his victories, takes* Venlo, Nuys, *paſſes the* Rhine, *and ſuccours* Zutfen, Leiceſter *looking on. Diſtaſtes between* Leiceſter *and the United Provinces. The Duke of* Parma *continues his acquiſitions; takes* Sluce, *a place of mighty importance. During the heat of War, an endeavour is moved between the King of* Spain *and Queen of* England, *to accommodate in ſome ſort the affairs of* Flanders: *but the endeavour is thought but artificial on both ſides. The King this mean while conſiders whether he ought to make open War upon the Queen or no. Conſultations had hereupon in* Spain. *The King at laſt reſolves to ſet upon* England *with moſt powerful forces. Preparations made hereupon in* Flanders *and in* Spain. *Preparations made by the Queen. The Spaniſh Fleet begins to move, and with an unhappy beginning, is detained many days by a great tempeſt; it comes to the Engliſh Channel. The Engliſh Fleet haſts to incounter it. The Spaniſh ſhips begin to ſuffer prejudice. Fire-boats like thoſe of the ſiege of* Antwerp. *The Spaniſh Fleet is afraid of them, and grows into great confuſion. At the ſame time the ſea grows rough, makes the diſorder the greater. Some of the Spaniſh ſhips loſt; and the reſt at laſt are forced to return for* Spain. *A horrible tempeſt ariſeth, which occaſions the loſs of many of their ſhips as they return; and their whole Fleet is parted, torn and ſhattered by the fury of the ſea.*

THeſe were at this time the advantages of the Kings Forces. We told you before, that ere *Antwerp* was taken, *Gaunt*, *Bruſſels*, and *Malines* were reduced. And not to interrupt the ſiege of *Antwerp*, we forbore as then to acquant you with what befell them; if at leaſt they may be called ſieges: For they were taken by only ſtopping up their Paſſes, and keeping the Cities from victuals on all ſides. We will now briefly relate the ſeveral ſucceſſes, together with what inſued in other parts, during the ſiege of *Antwerp*. After that the City of *Bruges* was faln into *Ferneſe's* hands, *Gaunt* began to ſuffer great ſcarcities, eſpecially of victuals. The Confederate Provinces held two places of very great importance on that Maritine Coaſt of *Flanders*; to wit, *Sluce*, and *Oſtend*. And becauſe relief might be ſent from thence to *Gaunt*, *Ferneſe* after the getting of *Bruges*, endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of all the Paſſes thereabouts, ſo as there could no communication be had between *Gaunt* and thoſe two places: and the ſucceſs was anſwerable to the deſign. Thoſe of *Gaunt* not being able to receive any help from abroad, fell ſuddenly into great neceſſities: yet they continued ſtill to be contumacious. And perſiſting in their opiniatracy againſt the Church and King, they ſeemed

as

as if they would rather undergo any thing, than ſubmit themſelves again to the Kings obedience, and to the Catholick Religion. On the other ſide, *Ferneſe*, though already buſied about *Antwerp*, ceaſed not to uſe all diligence to reduce thoſe of *Gaunt* to the utmoſt neceſſity of Famine. Wherefore ſcouring the Country round about with his horſe, and deſtroying all every where, he kept thoſe Inhabitants from receiving any help or ſecurity from without their own walls. There were not wanting many in the City who were well minded towards the Church and King. Famine increaſing then every day more and more, thoſe that were better inclined, took occaſion to leſſen the obſtinacy of the moſt contumacious; which *Ferneſe* had formerly indeavoured to moderate by many gracious offers. And ſo finally to keep from falling into greater miſchiefs, the Gaunteeſes reſolved to come to an agreement, which followed about the end of *September* the preceding year.

They obliged themſelves to give all due obedience unto the King; to admit onely of the Catholick profeſſion, as formerly; to rebuild the Caſtle, which was ſlighted on the ſide which lay towards the Town, and to pay twenty thouſand pound for maintenance of the Kings Army: and Ferneſe *on his part did in the Kings name grant them full pardon; they were reſtored to their former priviledges, and thoſe who would not profeſs the Catholick Religion had two years ſpace allowed them to be gone, and to carry away their goods whether they would.*

By the ſame way of ſiege at large, the Cities of *Bruſſels* and *Malines* fell likewiſe ſome moneths after into the Prince his power, and were ſurrendred upon almoſt the ſame conditions: The getting of *Nimenghen* was alſo of great conſideration, which was taken likewiſe during the ſiege of *Antwerp*, as we then told you; but it was effected by the ſelf reſolution of the inhabitants; among which, thoſe who were faithful to the King, and well affected to the Church prevailing, they inforc'd the others, and gave up the Town to *Ferneſe*, who reaped great advantage thereby, by reaſon of the expeditions which followed afterward in thoſe parts. At the ſame time that *Antwerp* was beſieged, two very conſiderable ſurpriſes were indeavoured, the one of *Balduke*, in *Brabant*, by the united Flemiſh; the other of *Oſtend*, in the Province of *Flanders*, by the Kings party: The firſt was managed by Count *Holack* and he himſelf indeavoured to effect it, being got privately before the gate, by means of ſome intelligence which he held in the Town; his deſign ſucceeded ſo well at the firſt, as he put in ſome of his men through the gate; but the people taking up arms, and *il Signor d' Altapenna* being then caſually in the Town, the enemy were ſoon driven out, and with much loſs cauſed to retreat from thereabouts. The ſurpriſal indeavoured in the Province of *Flanders* by the Royaliſts, had the ſame good beginning, and unfortunate end. Monſieur *de la Motte* was ſent about it by *Ferneſe*, with ſuch a ſtrength of men as was requiſite. He aſſaulted the old Town of *Oſtend* ſo at unawars, as he ſuddenly made himſelf maſter of it; but his men having been careleſs in the keeping of a bridge which joyned the old and new Town together, the enemy growing couragious, firſt regained the bridge, and then drove the Kings men out of that part which they had won: theſe were the events of the Forces in *Brabant* and *Flanders* during the ſiege of *Antwerp*. On the Rheins ſide the Kings men duriug that time got no conſiderable advantage over the Enemy, unleſs it were the recovery of *Nimenghen*; but the affairs were ſo equally ballanced on both ſides, as each Party was better able to withſtand, than to overcome the other. Colonel *Francis Verdugo* commanded the Kings Forces on that ſide; and next him, *John Baptiſta de Taſſis*, both of them Spaniards; theſe aimed above all things to preſerve the City of *Groninghen*, together with the little remainder which in thoſe parts continued under the Kings obedience; and they met with ſome occaſions, wherein meeting with the Enemy, they both broke their deſigns, and weakened their Forces. *Adolphus* Count *de Meurs*, a man of quality, both in conſideration of his Family and valour, commanded in thoſe parts for the united Flemiſh; and he had with him *Martin Schinck*, already turned from the Kings ſervice to ſerve the Enemy, for ſome ill uſage which as he pretended he had received; theſe two with ſuch forces as they could gather and keep together, indeavoured to keep the Kings men from making any farther progreſs, and to do alſo what they could to advantage their own party. They had ſurpriſed the Town of *Nuis* upon the Rheine, which belongs to the Arch-biſhop of *Collen*, and had much advantaged themſelves thereby thereabouts; but finally, the ſucceſſes of neither ſide were, as we have ſaid, of ſuch conſequence, during the ſiege of *Antwerp*, that in reſpect of the others which did precede, or of thoſe which ſhall follow, any farther diſtinct relation ſhould be made of them here. Returning then to the Kings Army, and to the more important affairs which calls us elſewhere: when the Prince of *Parma* had ſet in order the affairs of *Antwerp*, he reſolved to depart from thence, and to go whether the beſt occaſions ſhould invite him: during that little time which he tarried in *Antwerp*, he had ſufficiently diſcovered, that *Holland* and *Zealand*, and the reſt of the united Provinces (ſo we ſhall call them hereafter, for ſo they were already begun to be commonly called) would continue in their reſolutions of not returned to the Kings obedience, wherefore before his departure he made the Citadel be rebuilt towards the Town, though for the preſent but with a ſingle plat-form, which was ſoon after clad with walls; after it was plainly ſeen, that the aforeſaid

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Provinces did not only ſeem not to reconcile themſelves to the King, but that rather out of new deſperate Councels they were reſolved to offer the Soveraignity of their Country to the Queen of *England*; the carriage whereof was thus. The aforeſaid Provinces had formerly intreated the Queen of *England* to aſſiſt them in the ſo important buſineſs of *Antwerp*; but ſhe entertaining them with bare hopes, never did any thing for them; to ſay truth, the Queen expected to have them reduced to ſome greater neceſſity, ſo as ſhe might have thereby received thoſe advantages which the Duk of *Alanſon* could not do; as we touched upon before. The fear of loſing *Antwerp*, increaſing daily in thoſe Provinces, and their onely recourſe being to the Queen, they reſolved to ſend her a ſolemn Ambaſſy in the common name of them all; and to this purpoſe they choſe ſuch Deputies as ſufficed to repreſent each of them, and ſent them into *England* about the end of the preceding *May* laſt. They were received by the Queen with particular grace and honour; they fell them to the buſineſs, and this was the offer, which they made unto the Queen.

That in the firſt place, their Provinces did in all integrity of ſoul thank her, for her having been ſo gratiouſly pleaſed to favour them and protect them againſt the King of Spain's *violence, ſince the very firſt time that he uſed any againſt them; That he continuing more than ever to oppreſs* Flanders, *and thoſe Provinces not being able of themſelves to defend themſelves from ſo powerful and cruel an enemy, were inforced to ſeek for neceſſary protection elſewhere; That therefore they had reſolved to fly unto her for it. A Princeſs ſo conjoyn'd to them in territories; ſo united in religion; and ſo intereſted in the cauſe. That to ſay truth, they were then in a very low condition, that notwithſtanding they were yet poſſeſt of* Oeſtend, *and* Sluce *in the Province of* Flanders, *which were both of them Maritime Towns of great concernment; That* Holland, Zealand, *and* Freiſland, *Provinces which lay all of them upon the Sea were yet wholly free from the Spaniards, and that within land there were yet many of the moſt*

ſecure

ſecure places under their ution, and a great part of the beſt of the Country. That they doubted not but that ſo puiſſant a Princeſs as ſhe, would Patroniſe their defence, much more out of magnanimity than out of Intereſt; ſo as leaving the firſt part to her, and conſidering themſelves the ſecond, they repreſented unto her how great an advantage the addition of ſuch Provinces, and particularly thoſe of the Maritine Coaſt, would be to England: *And what doubt could it be, but that theſe two Naval Forces being joyned together, would give the Law by ſea to all the Weſtern, yea and Northern parts? That they then offered to ſubmit themſelves wholly to her Soveraignity, ſo to injoy not onely her ordinary protection, but to be defended by her abſolute authority, as by their Princeſs; hoping that ſhe would be pleaſed to admit of ſuch an offer, under ſuch fair and reaſonable conditions, as their people were to enjoy, according to the moderate form of their ancient Government; for what remained, ſhe might aſſure her ſelf, that the Flemiſh would alwayes vye for Loyalty towards her, with the Engliſh; in readineſs in concurring to all her greater exaltations, and in joy to ſee all her ends effected according to her own deſire.*

This was the ſubſtance of their propoſal. Having ſaid this by word of mouth, they preſented it in vvriting to the Queen; vvho graciouſly received it; and did in as gracious a manner reply.

That ſhe would with all attention ſtudy to ſend them back as ſpeedily as might be to their Provinces, well ſatisfied. That ſuch an offer bore with it matter of great conſequence; and that therefore ſhe would take particular care that it ſhould be diligently diſcuſt by her Council.

The Engliſh had at firſt ſeemed very much to deſire this. But uſually ſeen things move more then ſuch as are but meerly imagined; ſo when the vveight of this affair vvas ſeen nearer hand, the Councils differed much in their opinions concerning it. Some more boldly vvere of opinion,

That ſo fair an offer was by all means to be imbraced. That the United Provinces had already lawfully made themſelves their own Soveraigns; out of their ſo requiſite neceſſity of not being able to ſuffer the King of Spains *ſo great oppreſſion. They might therefore lawfully diſpoſe of that their Soveraignty as they ſhould beſt pleaſe. That they had once already confer'd it upon the Duke of* Alanſon; *and wherefore might they not now confer it upon the Queen? The King of* Spain *would undoubtedly be ſcandalized hereat; and would peradventure make war again upon* England. *But how oft had he already offended the Queen? Were not the Inſurrections in* Ireland *fomented by him? had he not a deſign to do the like in* England? *Did not he favour the Queen of* Scots *Cauſe as much as he might? and did not he upon all other occaſions ſhew his ill will to the Engliſh? That if he would fall into open war with the Queen, it was to be conſidered how greatly her uſual ſtrength at ſea would be increaſed by this new Maritine addition of* Flanders. *Let therefore the King of* Spain *aſſault* England *when he ſhould pleaſe, he ſhould find it as ſecure in forces, as inexpugnable by ſituation.*

But there wanted not thoſe that were of a contrary opinion. They ſaid, *It was the common concernment of all Princes, that their ſubjects ſhould keep within their due obedience; what a ruine would it be to Principality, if the rendering or denying of obedience ſhould be at the Subjects pleaſure? That hitherto the Queen had favoured the Flemiſh, not as free people, but as thoſe that were oppreſt: that ſhe might ſtill, without proceeding any farther, do the ſame juſtly for the future; but to acknowledge a Soveraign power in them, and then to accept of that Soveraignty offered by them, was an action of bad example for other Princes; and particularly of very dangerous conſequence for the Queen her ſelf: How much more juſt reaſon would the King of* Spain *have in ſuch a caſe to make her taſte of the ſame evils at her own home? How great a diſpoſition was there generally thereunto in* Ireland? *And how great in the ſo many Catholicks which were yet in* England? *By her example the King would doubtleſly paſs from fomenting ſecretly, into open invaſion. To his Temporal Forces, the Pope of* Rome *might likely enough add his Spiritual ones. And it would then be ſeen what would be got by making ſo uncertain an acquiſition in neighbouring Countries, when by doing ſo, certain hazard muſt be run at home in her own Dominions.*

Amidſt theſe two contrary opinions there vvas one in a middle vvay betvveen them, vvhich was,

That the Queen, without accepting of the Soveraignity, or uſing any other title of Protection, ſhould aſſiſt the Flemiſh with a good ſtrength of men. That for ſecurity of the expence which ſhe ſhould be at in aſſiſting them, they ſhould put ſome good Town of Zealand *into her hands, and ſome other alſo in* Holland. *And that the Forces which ſhould be maintained by the United Provinces ſhould be under his command whom ſhe ſhould ſend in Chief with her men. Thus having gotten footing in thoſe Maritine parts, and her Authority likewiſe being in the above ſaid manner extended further within Land, the Queen might wait for what time would produce, who is the beſt Counſellor, and whoſe advantages are infallable to thoſe that can diſcern and make uſe of them.*

The Queen inclined to this opinion. And becauſe *Antwerp* was already in very great danger, ſhe gave order for the immediate ſending over of 3000 Foot into *Zealand* to facilitate the relief of that City. And the Flemiſh reſolved to put *Oſtend* for the preſent into her hands. But this was not performed, becauſe the Aid came not time enough. Wherefore they paſt on to the chief Negotiation, and theſe following Capitulations were agreed upon between the Parties intereſſed.

That

That the Queen of England *ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt the States of the United Provinces with* 5000 *Foot and* 1000 *Horſe, (all of them to be paid by her) and that ſhe ſhould ſend a Commander in chief over with them, who ſhould have the Government of their Forces, and the chief Command over all their Souldiers. That to ſecure the repayment of the monies which the Queen ſhould ſpend, the States ſhould put* Fluſhing *and the* Ramekins *into her hands in* Zealand, *and the* Bril *in* Holland, *and leave the ſame Artillery and ammunition of war in them which was at the preſent. That when the war ſhould be ended, and the monies repaid, the Queen ſhould be bound to reſtore the ſame Towns, in the ſame condition as they were now aſſigned over unto her. That the United Provinces ſhould not make peace with the Kings of* Spain, *nor league with any other Princes, without the Queens conſent; neither ſhould the Queen come to any particular treaty with the King of* Spain, *without the knowledge and approbation of the United Provinces. That to boot with the Queens General Governour two other of her State-Miniſters might intervene at all the Councels and negotiations of the United Provinces. That in the default of any Governour of Province or Town, the States ſhould name two or three perſonages, of which one ſhould be choſen by her General Governour, with the participation of the Provinces Councel of State. That in caſe war were to be made by Sea for the common ſervice, the States ſhould concur thereunto with equal Forces to thoſe that the Queen ſhould therein imploy, and that her Admiral ſhould have the chief Command over them all. That the General Governour, and the other of the Queens Officers ſhould ſwear obedience not only to her, but to the States alſo. That all of them ſhould inviolably maintain the wonted Priviledges of the Country, and that there ſhould not be the leaſt alteration of Government made in thoſe Towns whereinto there ſhould any Engliſh garriſons be put; and that ſuch Garriſons ſhould be ſuffered to live, for matter of Religion, according to the manner of* England.

Theſe were the moſt eſſential Articles. Which being agreed upon, ſudden order was given for the putting of them in execution. The Queen declared the Earl of *Leiceſter* for ſupreme Head of her Forces, of whom mention is made in other parts of this our Hiſtory; and many of the Nobility of *England* prepared to go along with him. That year in this interim ended, and the year 1586 inſued. In the beginning whereof, *Leiceſter* being imbarked with all his people, arrived at the *Hague* in *Holland* about the firſt week of *February*, where he was received with all the expreſſions of Honour and joy that the States could make. The Places which were aſſigned over unto him were of very great importance. *Fluſhing* and the *Ramekins* were the chief Key of *Zealand*; and the *Bril* was likewiſe a Port-Town of very great concernment in *Holland*. The Garriſons being placed according to agreement, the States did ſo very much intreat *Leiceſter*, that to boot with the chief Command of their Forces he would likewiſe accept of the general Government of their whole Country, as he inclined to yield thereunto. At which the Queen ſeemed to be diſpleaſed, and forthwith ſent an Expreſs to complain thereof. But the States renewing the ſame intreaties to her, ſhe did not any further repugn it; thinking perhaps that ſhe had already ſo highly offended the King of *Spain*, as he would be but little pacified though ſhe ſhould forbear this ſecond irritation. Beſides, to ſay truth, 'twas hardly to be believed but that this declaration of the States had been ſecretly made known unto the Queen, and that *Leiceſter* would not have accepted of it without her tacite conſent. But howſoever it was, *Leiceſter* accepted of the Adminiſtration: He diſtributed his own men, and thoſe of the Provinces where it was moſt needful, and prepared to impede the progreſs of the Kings Forces as much as might be, and to do all that he could expect was to be done by his men.

Ferneſe, through the acquiſition of ſo many chief Cities, and particularly that of *Antwerp*, did verily believe to put an end to the troubles of *Flanders*, either by ſome way of fair Agreement, or by abſolute Conqueſt. Wherefore he was wonderfully moved to ſee this Victory which he had ſo aſſuredly fancied unto himſelf, either by the one way or the other, taken from him by this Engliſh ſuccour, and the King thought himſelf thereby ſo highly offended, as he did not long delay the reſenting of it, as you ſhall ſhortly hear. But though the Enemy had received ſuch a ſuccour, yet *Ferneſe* did not doubt but that as his Forces were far the greater, ſo likewiſe ſhould his ſucceſſes be. He therefore reſolved as ſoon as the winter ſhould be over, to march with his Army into the field. The Enemy, though they had loſt *Maſtrick*, were yet maſters of two Towns of great concernment in that lower ſide of the *Mauſe*; the one was *Graves*, which belongs to *Brabant*, and the other *Venlo* in *Ghelderland*. It made very much for *Ferneſe* to have all thoſe parts at his devotion, to the end that he might the better unite his Forces on both the ſides of ſo important a River, and that he might likewiſe with the leſs impediment carry them on the other ſide of the *Rhine*. Wherefore he reſolved by all means to make himſelf maſter of thoſe two Towns. And though the winter were not yet over, he reſolved to ſend Count *Nansfield* to ſtraiten *Graves* at a diſtance, and gave him ſuch men as were requiſite for that purpoſe. He gave order likewiſe for the beſieging of *Venlo*, after the ſame manner. And being much preſt thereunto by the Archbiſhop of *Collen* he likewiſe ſent the Signor *d' Altapenna* Governour of *Ghelderland*, to make the like preparation againſt the Town of *Fuys*, where the Enemy had ſtill fortified themſelves more and more, and ſtill more prejudiced the adjacent

parts

parts by their continual excurſions. When *Mansfield* was come before *Graves*, he planted two Forts upon the two banks of the *Mauſe*, that he might have the freer paſſage over the river; and he raiſed ſome others more within land, towards where the Town ſtood. The River did very much help the fortifying of the Town on the River ſide, and on the Land ſide the Enemy had likewiſe very well baſtion'd the walls. The Souldiers that were in it were moſt of them Engliſh Foot, part of thoſe that *Leiceſter* had brought over with him; and their Commander in chief was the Lord of *Hemert*, a Dutch-man. The Enemy did very much ſtrive to preſerve that place, and *Leiceſter* prepared to relieve it: He to that purpoſe ſent out a good proportion of Horſe and Foot; and the Kings men were not wanting in making ſuch oppoſition as was needfull, though they had not men enough as then to keep thoſe that were within from making excurſions, and hinder the deſigns which the Enemy had without. During this uncertainty of the Siege on the one ſide, and of the Succour on the other, there hapned divers actions and skirmiſhes, one of which proved very bloody. The Engliſh intended to relieve the Town chiefly by the way of a greater Dike which ran along the *Mauſe*; and to this purpoſe they had fortified themſelves upon the Dike, and had likewiſe prepared divers Barks upon the River. Wherefore taking their time, they began to march with ſome Squadrons of Foot, and advanced very boldly towards the buſineſs. The Royaliſts were very watchful on their part; and reſolving to keep back the ſuccour, they likewiſe marched boldly to encounter the Enemy. The buſineſs was very hot for a while, till the Engliſh began to give back and to retreat, which made the Kings men the more forward in advancing; but being too jovial in their purſuit they did ſo diſcompoſe themſelves, as being ſet upon by a freſh Squadron of Engliſh Foot, they were driven back, and routed with much ſlaughter. The moſt of theſe were Spaniards, of *Don John d' Aquila's* Brigado, and the loſs was great, for there was ſlain above 200. of which ſeven Captains, together with divers inferior Officers. Yet could not the Engliſh force the Dike which was firſt poſſeſt by the Spaniards: but by their favourable ſucceſs they ſuccoured the Town by ſome Boats by the way of the River, and ſo made them continue the longer in their vigorous defence. The Prince of *Parma* was much diſpleaſed with this ſucceſs; wherefore he gave preſent order to *Altapenna* to leave the Siege of *Nuis* for the preſent, and to come to that of *Graves*. And he himſelf came thither ſoon after in perſon, and brought the whole body of the Kings Army with him, the ſooner to end this Siege. *May* was already over; and the Prince being exceedingly deſirous to end the Siege of *Graves*, that he might the ſooner go to thoſe of *Venlo* and of *Nuis*, he cauſed great haſte be made in finiſhing the Trenches, Batteries, and whatſoever elſe might the ſooner expedite the making of Aſſaults. Great ſpeed was then made of all the Works, in ſo much as within few dayes two Batteries were raiſed, and a dozen Peece of Artillery placed upon each of them, wherewith they began to play upon the Town; the one was placed on the River ſide, the other on the Lands ſide. The former plaid upon a Flank, wherein the Enemies chiefeſt defence on that ſide lay; but they might notwithſtanding reſiſt a long while. And the Earl of *Leiceſter* being already come firſt to *Utricht*, and then to *Arnhem* with good Forces, he gave the beſieged good hopes of being relieved; when the Lord of *Hemert* with ſome of his Captains, being poorly timerous, began to treat of a ſurrender. Nor did the Prince refuſe to give them any Conditions they could deſire; that he might the ſooner rid his hands of that enterpriſe. He came forth then with ſafety to Perſons, Arms and Baggage; but he ſoon repented his doing ſo; for not many dayes after *Leiceſter* put him, and all the Captains that partook with him in the Surrender, to an ignominious death.

The ſiege of *Graves* being ſo haply ended, *Ferneſe* went ſuddenly to that of *Venlo*. He had then a very gallant Army: For he muſtered above 20000 foot, and 3000 horſe, all choice men; And the ſeveral Nations whereof they conſiſted, vyed which ſhould out do other in each Military action. *Ferneſe* being incamped before *Venlo*, he quickly took and fortified all the chiefeſt Avenues without; and then turned himſelf to begirt thoſe within, with his wonted works. A certain Iſland which they had fortified, ſerved the beſieged for a good defence on the river ſide. *Ferneſe* would by all means deprive them of this advantage. And becauſe the river was not fordable, and that it was not ſufficient to annoy the defendants in the Iſland barely by Artillery, he made four of the greateſt Barks that were in thoſe parts to fall down from *Maſtrik*, reſolving to aſſault them therewithal nearer hand. On their flanks he raiſed a firm parapet of planks, the better to ſecure the ſouldiers who were to enter into them: and he put into each of them a Company of Spaniſh foot, with a Captain over each Company. The Barks accoſted the Iſland on divers ſides; and the order which was given them was, That the ſouldiers which were within them, ſhould all of them make the attempt at one and the ſame time; and that they ſhould be ſeconded from the river ſide by the Artillery. Nor could the event have proved more lucky; For the Fort being played upon from the river ſide by the Artillery, the Spaniards diſcharging of their muskets, their landing, and the driving of the enemy from the Iſland, was almoſt done at one and the ſame inſtant. There were but few of them ſlain; the reſt ſaved themſelves in ſome boats. This infuſed much terror into the beſieged: But they were incouraged by *Leiceſter*, and chiefly by *Sebinek*, who had his wife and

a ſiſter within the Town: wherefore his private Intereſt concurring with the common Cauſe he did all he could to bring in ſome ſuccour: But *Ferneſe* had ſo ſhut up all the Paſſes, as it was too hard a matter to effect. Yet *Schinck* did ſeveral times endeavour it, till all hopes being loſt, he gave over the deſigne. The Kings men this mean while played furiouſly upon the Town from ſeveral parts; and thoſe Nations who before ſtrove who ſhould advance furtheſt, ſtrove now who ſhould be the firſt to give the aſſault: But the defendants not willing to expect it, reſolved to yield. The Conditions were almoſt the ſame that were given at *Graves*. From hence *Ferneſe* went with all ſpeed to before *Nuis*. And with him did the Elector of *Cullen* joyn, at whoſe intreaties it was that the Army marched thither. The Town was already a little curbed by ſome Forts; but thoſe within had not forborn making of many ſtout ſallies; and ſeemed ſtill more reſolute to defend it. This Town lies upon the *Rhine*, as you have heard: and the River makes an Iſland juſt in the face of it, not far from the walls of the Town. Here the enemy had particularly fortified themſelves; and from thence *Ferneſe* would by all means drive them. The care of this was given unto the Spaniards, who did attempt it boldly. But the enemy iſſuing out with like courage, made good the Iſland, and ſlew ſome of the Spaniards. Who notwithſtanding returned more reſolutely than before, and at laſt the defendants were forced to yield. *Ferneſe* allotted all that ſide to the Spaniards, to accoſt the Town on that part; and planted a good number of Cannon againſt the walls. On the land ſide he placed the Italians with a like battery. In other places he likewiſe ſet thoſe of other Nations againſt the Town; in ſo much as the beſieged were ſoon brought into great ſtraits. One battery play'd after another, and ſometimes they plaid all together. The wall towards the River was very well defended by a great Tower; but the Spaniard did aſſault it ſo fiercely, as at laſt they lodged themſelves there. Whereby the Town was ſtill more infeſted on that ſide, and was ſtill in more danger to be taken. Nor had the Italians reduced them to leſſer ſtraits on their ſide. Wherefore the beſieged failing in their courage, and the Governour of the Town being ſorely wounded, they began to think of ſurrendring. The Army was much incenſed againſt this Town; for they found that the Townſmen were inclined to receive in the enemy; beſides, many of the Inhabitants were Hereticks, and were ſtill openly diſpoſed to favour that aforeſaid Apoſtate Biſhop *Truxes*. Whilſt then there was a ceſſation of Arms by agreement, and that they were upon Treaty of Surrender, and that they were weighing the Conditions: The Spaniards and Italians deſpiſing all good Military diſcipline, aſſaulted the Town with blind fury on two ſides at once. The enemy aſtoniſhed hereat, endeavoured as much as they could to defend themſelves; but had no good ſucceſs. For the Royaliſts being thereat more incenſed after they had overcome all obſtacles, entred the Town in a hoſtile manner, and in exceſs of anger, which ſoon turned into down right fury, they put all they met with to the ſword. Nor did bloud ſatisfie their cruelty. Neglecting the avarice of plunder, they fell to fire the Town; which they did in ſo many places, as the Town which was almoſt wholly built of wood, was ſuddenly all on a fire. One houſe ſerved to fire another; and the diviſion of ſtreets no whit availing, the flames flew from one ſide to the other, and in a rapid motion ſpread themſelves over the whole Country. And that the Town might be the ſooner, and the more miſerably deſtroyed, the wind conſpired with the fire, whereby it was in very few hours wholly reduced to aſhes. With much adoe two Churches were ſaved, whereinto many ſacred virgins, together with other women of the Town, had recourſe for ſhelter. And the Marquiſs of *Vaſto* did in particular ſhew himſelf generouſly pious in ſaving them all from the fury of the ſouldiers; he being greatly reſpected by the Army, no leſs in conſideration of his bloud, than of his valour and imployment.

Before the Duke of *Parma* (for ſo we ſhall call him hereafter, (his father Duke *Octavius* being now dead) went from about *Nuys*, the Biſhop of *Vercelles*, who was the Popes Nuntio in the City of *Cullen*, came unto him, and in the name of Pope *Sextus Quintus* preſented him with the Trunchion and Helmet, which the Popes do uſe to beſtow as a token of their eſteem and affection, to ſuch Princes as deſerve well of the Church. The Ceremony was ſolemnly performed in the Camp; and the Elector of *Cullen*, and Duke of *Cleves* would be preſent at it, for he was likewiſe come at that time to viſit *Ferneſe*. And at the ſame time the Marquis of *Vaſto* received the Order of the Golden Fleece. Which the King had ſent unto him a little before; and *Ferneſe's* ſelf put it about his neck. The enterpriſe of *Nuys* having received this Tragical end, the Camp paſt to before *Reinburgh*, which Town depends likewiſe upon the biſhoprick of *Cullen*, and lies lower upon the *Rhine*. It was then in the enemies poſſeſſion; and the Archbiſhop and *Ferneſe* did both of them deſire to ſee it reduced under the Catholick power. The enemy had fortified it very well: and had likewiſe munited a certain Iſland, which ſtands before the Town. *Leiceſter* thinking it too great a ſhame, that *Ferneſe* after having made ſo many acquiſitions, even as it were before his eyes, ſhould likewiſe make this; reinforced his Army as much as he could, reſolving either to relieve the Town, or to make ſome diverſion by beſieging ſome of the Kings Towns. He was on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, in the Province of *Overiſel*; ſo called for that the river *Yſel* runs through it. On the right hand thereof ſtands

Zutfen;

Zutfen; one of the Towns of greateſt importance in all thoſe parts. *Leiceſter* bethought himſelf to take this place; and in order thereunto, he would firſt take *Deoſburg*, a little Town upon the ſame river, but which might help him in his chief deſigne. There were 300 Walloons foot in *Deosburg*, who aſſiſted by the ſituation of the place, might make it good a long while; but as ſoon as the enemy had opened their Trenches on their ſide, and ordered their Batteries, the defendants offered to parley; and put the Town into *Leiceſters* hands. From hence he went with his whole Camp to *Zutfen*: the City had a great Fort made of earth on the ſide oppoſite to the River, and two leſſer ones which did ſo much the more defend it. *Leiceſter* incamped himſelf on both ſides the river, and having made a bridg of boats, the better to joyn his Camp together, he endeavoured firſt to take the Fort, hoping that the taking thereof would facilitate the taking of the Town, *John Baptiſta di Taſſis*, of whom you have heard before, was Governor of the Town. Who forthwith advertiſed *Ferneſe* what danger the City was in of being taken, unleſs it were very ſpeedily relieved: for they had not proviſions anſwerable to the circuit of the place. *Ferneſe* had already made ſome progreſs againſt *Reinburg*, and had taken the Iſland; yet fearing he ſhould not take the Town time enough to ſuccour the other, he left the Iſland well munited, and reſolved to tarry no longer before *Reinburg*, but to go ſpeedily to the relief of *Zutfen*. Wherefore in great haſte making a bridge of boats over the *Rhine* at *Burick*, and raiſing a Fort at each end thereof, he went with all his Army to the other ſide, and marched towards the enemy. As he was upon his march, he was advertiſed that there were 2000 Rutters on that confine of *Germany*, who were raiſed by the Count de *Meurs*, to aſſiſt the enemy. He therefore choſe out 1500 horſe, and put one of the Spaniſh foot behind each of them, commanding them that with all ſpeed they ſhould march thitherward. And he himſelf followed with more men to back them.

The Rutters expected not ſuch an incounter, and therefore marched not in any good order, nor in any ways provided to fight; wherefore meeting at unawares with the Kings men, they were ſoon routed and defeated. The Duke continued his march from hence, and came ſo neer *Zutfen*, as he prepared to ſend in ſuccour; to this purpoſe he put all his Camp into battel array, and made the Marqueſs of *Vaſto* advance with ſome Troops of Horſe, all of them almoſt Italians; with a great Squadron of Foot, compoſed of Spaniards, Italians, and Walloons, and with many Cart loads of the neceſſarieſt proviſions to be brought into the City. The Horſe went in the Van, with whom the Marquis coming up unto the Enemies, ſome Troops of Engliſh Horſe boldly oppoſed them, and charged ſo home, as they diſorder'd them, and inforc'd them to give back; but reaſſuming courage, they fell to fight again; and the combat was ſuch, as for a while the ſucceſs was doubtful: The Marqueſs plaid his part manfully: The Italian Troops were commanded by *Apio Conti*, the Marqueſs *Hannibal Gonzaga*, the Marquis *Bentivoglia*, *Georgia Creſſia*, and Count *Nicolas Ceſis*; who ſtrove all of them who ſhould moſt ſignalize themſelves upon this occaſion. But the conflict ſeemed moſt to favour the enemy; for *Creſſia* was taken priſoner, and *Gonzaga* dangerouſly wounded. When the Kings ſquadron of foot advanced, and heartning the horſe, ſtopt the violence of the enemy; and afforded time for the Duke himſelf to come up. He came in battel array, with reſolution to fight, if the enemy ſhould endeavour with all his forces to hinder the ſuccour. But *Leiceſter* would not hazard himſelf ſo far; but making a retreat be ſounded, ſuffered *Fernſe* to paſs on; who entred himſelf in perſon into *Zutfen*, and left the Town well provided. Then going ſuddenly out again, he entertained himſelf thereabouts till *Leiceſter* had quite given over the ſiege; and winter drawing on, after he had put good Garriſons into all the Towns that formerly and of late were reduced into the Kings obedience in thoſe parts, he returned about the midſt of *November* to *Bruſſels*, with much honour for having made ſo many, and ſo conſiderable expeditions in ſo ſhort a time. The Duke being gone from *Zutfen*, and having diſtributed his Army into their quarters, *Leiceſter* returned again to aſſault the Forts which were raiſed on the banks oppoſite to that Town. One of the leſſer was ſuddenly taken by aſſault. And Count *Hollack* was the firſt that entred it, the more to incourage the reſt; and in the action he received an honourable wound. The other leſſer Fort made no better reſiſtance. The greateſt Fort yet remained, which might have held out longer; but *Taſſis* inclined rather to withdraw the men into *Zutfen*, the better to defend the City in caſe the Enemy ſhould reſolve to Begirt it. *Leiceſter* did notwithſtanding diſpoſe of all his men about it, and did as it were beſiege it at a diſtance, that he might do it neerer at hand when the ſeaſon ſhould permit him; he returned from hence to *Holland*, and made his abode in the *Hague*, where the States of the Provinces were than met: They ſeemed but little ſatisfied with *Leiceſter*, either in his Civil or Military Government; they ſaw what atchievements the Duke of *Parma* had continually made, whilſt he was a looker on in moſt of them; nor could they endure that together with the Towns depoſited into the Queens hand, he ſhould put Engliſh garriſons into divers other Towns as he had done: they therefore ſtill grew more and more ſuſpitious, judging that ſuch proceedings tended more to domination then to defence; and that *Leiceſter* intended to uſe rather an abſolute, than a limited power; nor did they forbear to acquaint him with their ſenſe,

in a decent and moderate way: but he ſtriving to juſtifie his actions ſundry ways, ſought to appeaſe the States, and to diſſolve the Aſſembly; which not being able to do, he reſolved to go for *England*, ſeeming to depart angry; and the States ſeemed no leſs offended: The diſtaſtes on both ſides paſt afterward ſo far on, as the Provinces ſent ſome of their Deputies to the Queen with complaints againſt *Leiceſter*: and he on the contrary ſought to croſs all their negotiations. Theſe diſcords made much for the Duke of *Parma's* advantage; which as he very well knew, ſo did he not fail to make uſe of it. The new year of 1587 was already begun; and the Souldiers were all in their winter quarters; wherefore by divers practiſes he wrought it ſo as that ſome Towns of very great importance fell into his hands. *William Stanly*, an Engliſh Gentleman, was Governor of *Deventer*; and Collonel of a Regiment of the ſame Nation: This man agreeing with *Taſſis*, who was Governor for the King in *Zutfen*, reſolved to put the City of *Deventer* under the Kings obedience. *Stanly* was a Catholick, and ſeemed to do it chiefly out of the zeal to Religion; yet he was largely rewarded by the King; and ſo much the rather, for that he drew along with him to the Kings ſervice all the Engliſh which were with him at *Deventer*; which were the greateſt part of his Regiment and he ſtill kept the command of them, together with the title of Collonel. By his example, *Rowland York*, who kept the Forts of *Zutfen*, delivered them up not long after to *Taſſis*. The Caſtle of *Vouve* not far from *Bergenapzome* was likewiſe a little before faln in *Ferneſe's* hands, which is a ſtrong place, and might much facilitate the taking of *Berghen*. The people of the confederate Provinces did mightily ſtorm at theſe new loſſes made by treachery, to boot with thoſe which were formerly taken by force.

Were theſe the aids; were theſe the advantages which they expected from England? *Was this the fruit that they reaped by the Earl of* Leiceſters *Government? At his coming into* Flanders *he made miracles be expected at his hands: but how ſoon were theſe Miracles turned into ſhame? How many places had the Duke of* Parma *taken whilſt he looked on? And how much to his diſhonour, had he in particular relieved* Zutfen? *That hereupon departing for* England, *inſtead of ſiding with* Flanders, *he was become their enemy. Nay, he had rather made himſelf Soveraign than Governour thereof; having placed* Engliſh *where he pleaſed in lieu of native* Flemiſh. *That he did now oppugne the cauſe of the Provinces before the Queen, inſtead of defending it. Since then it was not known when he would return, or how minded, wherefore ſhould not the Provinces the mean while by their own authority reſolve upon what was beſt for their common ſervice?*

They delayed no longer, but immediately ſummoned the States General. Who when they met, it was reſolved amongſt them, that Count *Maurice* of *Naſſaw* ſhould immediately take upon him the Government of the Militia, and that having Count *Hollack* for his Lieutenant, he ſhould provide for all neceſſary occurrences of the war. The Aſſembly took alſo divers other reſolutions, and ſent their complaints again into *England* againſt *Leiceſter*, and againſt the other Engliſh commanders which he had left in *Flanders*; and preſt very much that the Queen would remedy ſo many diſorders. The Queen was hereat troubled: wherefore ſhe ſuddenly diſpatcht away the Lord *Buckhurſt*, one of her prime Privy-Councellors: to the end that he, together with Collonel *Norris*, (who had many years before ſerved the United Provinces with great praiſe and reputation) might endeavour to compoſe the differences between thoſe Provinces and *Leiceſter*, and free the Flemiſh from thoſe jealouſies which they ſeemed chiefly to be fallen into by reaſon of him. This mean while the ſharpneſs of the winter was over, wherefore the Duke of *Parma* reſolved to take to the field again. He much deſired to cleanſe the Province of *Flanders* ſo throughly, as that the Enemy might be maſters of no place there. They had ſtill therein, (as hath been ſaid) *Oſtend* and *Sluce*. The Duke therefore reſolved firſt to beſiege the latter, that he might afterwards do the like to the other, according as he ſhould find opportunity. His Camp was at this time very much leſſened; for many of his ſouldiers were loſt in the ſo many expeditions of the laſt year, and many were imployed in guarding the Towns that were newly taken. He thought notwithſtanding that he might beſiege *Sluce* with but a moderate number of Souldiers, that Town ſtanding as it were in the midſt of Mariſh places, and having but little dry ground about it, where it was requiſite to take the Paſſes, and to defend them. He therefore reſolving upon this, try'd firſt to deceive the Enemy by feigning another enterpriſe. He ſent *Il Signor d' Altapenna*, together with Marquis *Vaſto*, into the utmoſt Confines of *Brabant*, and gave them ſo many Horſe and Foot as he thought neceſſary for that purpoſe. They went their wayes, and with ſeveral appearances infuſed fear into the Enemies in thoſe parts; in ſo much as Count *Maurice* and Count *Hollach* came ſuddenly thither. Having made this diverſion, *Ferneſe* turn'd preſently upon *Sluce*, and towards the end of *May* incamped before it. *Sluce* does not lye altogether upon the Sea-ſide, as doth *Oſtend*, but a little more within land: yet there runs a Channel on the right hand of it, whereinto the Sea enters, and is large enough to receive any whatſoever Veſſel; on the other ſides thereof ſome other leſſer Channels joyn with this greater, ſo as there is but little manageable earth, unleſs it be of one ſide only, which is towards the part called *Bruges*, becauſe it lies neareſt to that City. An Iſland of about two leagues about

lies

lies almoſt over againſt *Sluce*, between the bigger Channel, and ſome others on that part, which fall all of them into the Sea; and it is called *Caſſante*. *Sluce* might be releived by Sea from *Fluſhing*, particularly by this Iſland, and by Land from *Oſtend*, which lies upon the ſame Sea-coaſt towards the Weſt about ſome five leagues from *Sluce*, *Fluſhing* lying much upon the ſame diſtance towards the Eaſt. The Enemy had a Fort midway between *Oſtend* and *Sluce*, which was very commodious for bringing ſuccour to the beſieged on that ſide, which was called the Fort *Blanchemberg*. When the Duke was incamped about the *Sluce*, he forthwith went about to take the Fort. The Enemy had not provided very well for it; as well for that they were buſied about other things of greater neceſſity, as for that they did not expect the Kings Forces at that time thereabouts. This Fort being ſet upon by the Kings men, made not much reſiſtance; yet thoſe within it would wait till the Cannon was brought, which when they were preſented, they made no further defence. The Fort being left well guarded, the Duke returned preſently to his already begun enterpriſe. He had not much above 8000 Foot with him, and but a very few Horſe; for there was no need of any more, in that ſo low and watery ſituation. Many of his Souldiers were gone to the diverſion which was to be made by *Altapenna*, and the Marquis *Vaſto*. The Quarters being taken and fortified, the firſt thing the Duke did was to plant a Fort upon the Iſland of *Caſſante*, in a certain bending of the greater Channel which waſheth *Sluce*. By it ſuccour might be brought from *Sluce*. And becauſe the Fort was not able to hinder the bringing of it, there were ſome great Barks placed in the midſt of the Channel, faſtned one to another, and well furniſht with Marriners, Souldiers, and Artillery, whereby the paſſage of the Boats with which the Enemy might endeavour to relieve the Town was ſo much the more diſturbed. The Duke, the better to defend the Boats, made ſome Works over againſt them on each ſide of the River. The Channel was not notwithſtanding above three quarters of a mile over; and as for the reſt, no relief could be brought by them. Yet to be the ſurer on that ſide, the Duke ſent ſome Horſe and Foot into the Iſland of *Caſſante* to watch over all the proceedings of the Enemy on that ſide which was neareſt *Fluſhing*. He then bent towards the taking of the Town. He could not accoſt it (as hath been ſaid) ſave onely on the ſide towards *Bruges*; and the ground was there likewiſe very ſoft. *Min heer Groneveld* was Governour of *Sluce*, a valiant Souldier, as he very well proved himſelf to be in this defence: He had with him 2000 good Souldiers, part of which were ſent unto him by the Governour of *Fluſhing*, at the firſt apppearing of the Kings men. No ſooner then did the Kings men begin to approach, but that the Defendants iſſued out in accuſtomed ſallies to oppoſe them. The Fort of *Bruges* was well fortified with good Flanks; and the beſieged had likewiſe raiſed a Fort without the Gate to keep the Kings men the further from the Ditch. *Ferneſe* knew that this Fort was by all means to be won, which he reſolutely went about. It was oft-times aſſaulted, and as oft ſtoutly defended; but at laſt the Enemy were glad to quit it. Hereby the Royaliſts had the better conveniency to make their approaches. The Marquis of *Renty* had the chief care of the Trenches, who was one of the chief Lords of *Flanders*, and of moſt credit for valour and fidelity. By him the Works were with great vigilancy led on: but being too fervent and forward therein, he was ill wounded, and was inforced to withdraw from thence. Monſieur *de la Motta* ſucceeded in his place, a man of quality likewiſe, and of like valour and fidelity: But he proved no more fortunate; for as he was with equal fervency ſurveying the Works, he received ſo dangerous a wound in one of his Arms, as to ſave his life it was cut off. In the defence of the Trenches, *John d' Aquila* a Spaniſh Camp-maſter, together with many Captains, and Souldiers of inferior condition were ſo ſorely hurt, as the Royaliſts could not pay dearer for their endeavours on that ſide. And yet they ſuffered very much on another ſide. To come to the Trenches, the Kings men were of neceſſity to paſs over a Bridge which lay ſo open to the wall of the Town, as thoſe within might with great ſafety to themſelves ſhoot at them. The Royaliſts placed a great Cloath before it, ſo to make the Enemy ſhoot at leſs certainty. But notwithſtanding this, the damage was very great which they received, and continued ſo to be till the Royaliſts had advanced further, and ſo bereft the Enemy of that advantage. This was the condition of the Siege, when the Earl of *Leiceſter* being ſent by the Queen, who had agreed the buſineſs between him and the Flemiſh as well as ſhe could, returned from *England*. He arrived in *Zealand* about the middle of *June*, and brought with him a good recruit of Engliſh Horſe and Foot. When he came to *Fluſhing*, he met Count *Maurice* there likewiſe, who had left *Holland* to grapple with *Altapenna* and *Vaſto*. When they came to treat of relieving *Sluce*, the reſolution was to endeavour it by Sea. To this purpoſe as many ſhips as was needful being provided, about 5000 Foot and 600 Horſe were put aboard them, with all other neceſſaries to ſecure the City when they ſhould have brought in the ſuccour. Within a few hours the Fleet appeared in the Channel, and *Leiceſter* within ſight of the beſieged ſtrove to encourage them, and ſignified to them by ſigns, that for certain he would relieve them. But having diſcovered further into the Channel, he found that paſſage ſo blockt up, and ſo ſecured, as he thought it was impoſſible to be overcome. The

Fleet

Fleet ſtood inſuſpence three dayes in the ſame place, between their deſire of effecting the ſuccour, and the difficulty of doing it; at laſt weighing anchor, he ſteered towards *Oſtend*, the Councel having reſolved to endeavour the ſuccour on that ſide by land. *Ferneſe* being aware of the deſign, forthwith reinforced the Fort of *Blanchemberg* with ſome foot and horſe: which obſtacle was to be removed by the enemy, before they could relieve *Sluce*. And ſo they reſolved to do, as ſoon as they had landed the men, to whom they added the whole Garriſon of *Oſtend*; they marched againſt the Fort of *Blanchemberg*. The loſs thereof was of as great conſequence to *Ferneſe*, as the getting of it was to them: wherefore leaving the ſiege every where well provided, he himſelf together with all the reſt of his men, marched towards the enemy. They were already ready to play upon the Fort; but when unexpectedly they ſaw the Kings men in their faces, after they had awhile conſulted whether they ſhould fight or retreat, they would not at laſt joyn battel; but withdrew again to *Oſtend*. From thence they returned again with the ſame Fleet, to the ſame place where they were formerly near *Sluce*. But *Ferneſe* returning likewiſe ſuddenly back, gave them no greater hopes of ſuctouring the beſieged. So as they fell off again, and appeared there no more.

The hindring of this ſuccour did much incourage the Kings men; and though it had the contrary effect upon the beſieged, yet did they not omit to make reſiſtance. The Kings men had not as yet made any formal batteries. The work of the Trenches was prolonged longer then they thought it would have been, by reaſon of the condition of the ground of the oppoſition made by the enemy, and divers other things. But at laſt the Trenches were advanced as far forward as was requiſite: wherefore they delayed no longer to play upon the Town. This could only be done (as hath been ſaid) on the part towards *Bruges*. They raiſed but one only battery; marry it was one of the greateſt that hath been ſeen in as many ſieges as hath been made in *Flanders*. For 40 great pieces of Canon were planted thereupon. And at the firſt bout in the ſpace of eight hours they made above 4000 ſhot, as was particularly counted: which made a breach in the wall neareſt the gate, of above 200 yards long. The breach being made, before the Royaliſts reſolved upon the aſſault, they ſaw that the defendants had raiſed a great half moon behind the wall, and that they had ſo fortified themſelves there, that it would have coſt them much bloud to enter by aſſault. Nor were ſome defences wholly taken away which were thruſt forth from out the wall that was plaid upon. So as *Ferneſe* thought it better to advance by the wonted way of filling up of ditches, with mathooks and mines; and ſpare his ſouldiers bloud, though he were ſomewhat longer in getting the Town. By which way at laſt (after the enemies had made all poſſible reſiſtence, in defending the ditch, in meeting with their Mines, and in all other manner of oppoſition) the ſiege was brought to an end, and the Town ſurrendred upon all the moſt honourable conditions that could be deſired. The 2000 of the Garriſon that were in it, were reduced to little more then 600. and more of the Kings men were loſt in this ſiege, then in the three preceding ones of *Grave*, *Venlo* and *Nuys*. This mean while the before mentioned diverſion was made by *Altapenna* and *Vaſto*; but the motion was afterwards turned neceſſity, for the enemy thinking likewiſe to raiſe the ſiege from before *Sluce* by diverſion, had aſſembled a good ſtrength of men about *Balduke*, and threatned that City. The Kings men being then paſt from *Brabant* into *Ghelderland*, had no other end but to wait upon the enemy, and rather to hinder their proceedings, than to make any further progreſs themſelves. They notwithſtanding advantaged themſelves by getting the Town of *Ghelders*, which by Treaty was delivered up to *Altapenna*. Collonel *Paton*, a Scotchman was Governor thereof; who fearing leſt *Leiceſter* would take that Government from him, and beſtow it upon ſome Engliſhman, would by this act of perfidiouſneſs prevent the act of injury, at leaſt by ſome ſo reputed. But the Royaliſts on the contrary received two great loſſes. The one was, that *Altapenna* as he would have relieved the Fort of *Engelen*, received a mortal wound whereof he died the next day. The other, that the Count of *Hollack* did within a few days take that Fort. The name whereof was afterwards changed to *Crevecoeure*, alluding to the ſorrow which the loſs thereof would cauſe in the Kings men; they were both really great loſſes. For *Altapenna* was a Gentleman of much valour, great command, and of very great fidelity; and that Fort guarded a Paſs over the *Mauſe*, which was of the greateſt importance for the ſervice of *Balduke* of any that was thereabouts. The Duke of *Parma* having taken *Sluce*, would preſently have beſieged *Oſtend*. But the enemy had ſo well munited that place, and it was ſo difficult a buſineſs to keep it from being relieved by reaſon of its ſituation, as the Duke forbear doing it at that time. Moreover the reſolutions which the King of *Spain* had put on againſt the Queen of *England*, ſummoned him to other deſignes. The loſs of *Sluce* had this mean while cauſed much quarrelling between the Flemiſh and the Engliſh; each blaming the other for not relieving it. The Flemiſh imputed it to *Leiceſter*, as having endeavoured it too late; and *Leiceſter*, complained of the Provinces, for that they had not time enough furniſhed him with requiſite proviſions. Wherefore the Queen weary of hearing ſo many complaints; as alſo of being at ſo great expence; or rather finding her ſelf diſdeceived in her hopes of coming to greater Authority amongſt the Flemiſh: ſhe thought it better to

move

move ſome Treaty of accommodation in the Affairs of *Flanders*. Which it may be believed ſhe was chiefly perſwaded unto, thereby to try whether ſhe could avoid the Tempeſt of Arms which the King of *Spain* already threatned her withal. She thought the King of *Denmark* might be a fitting inſtrument for this purpoſe, wherefore ſhe turned her ſelf to him. Nor was he backward therein; but readily imbracing it, ſent *John Ronſovio* forthwith to *Bruſſels*, who was well received by the Duke of *Parma*, and was afterwards well approved of by the King of *Spain*. The Schools from whence the negotiations of Princes proceed, are always full of deep myſteries. And though it be deſired, their hidden and reſerv'd ends, either cannot or ought not to be penetrated into. It was notwithſtanding conjectured, that the Queen and King deſired interchangeably to delude one another in this kind of negotiation, ſo as thoſe proviſions which were making on both ſides, might be a little ſlackened. The United Provinces ſeemed moſt averſe to this kind of negotiation. For their anſwer to *Leiceſter*, who had ſundry times made ſeveral propoſals to them about it, was reſolutely this.

That they would never return again under the King of Spains *obedience: and that though the Queen ſhould abandon them, they would not notwithſtanding deſiſt from doing what they could in their own defence even till the laſt gaſp.*

But whatſoever ſhould come of it, or what ever the end of this Treaty might be, the King and Queen reſolved to ſet it on foot; and chooſing *Burborg*, a little Town between *Dunkirk* and *Gravelin*, for the place, they ſent ſome particular Commiſſioners thither to that end. In the Kings name there did intervene Count *Aremberg*, Knight of the Golden Fleece; Monſieur *de Campigni*, Lord Treaſurer; and *John Richardotto*, Preſident of the Councel of *Artois*. And for the Queen, the Earl of *Darby*, Knight of the Garter, and two others of her privy Councel: whilſt arms were handled in *Flanders* in one part, and this Treaty was in hand in another, many frequent conſultations had been had, and were yet had in *Spain*, touching in what manner the King ſhould reſent the injuries done unto him by the Queen of *England*. The King had been provoked long before this by the Queen of *England*, by her continual fomenting the troubles of *Flanders*; yet he thought he might diſſemble the offence, becauſe ſhe diſſembled the injuries: But the King was ſo moved at this laſt action, wherein ſhe had by ſo many helps ſo openly revived the rebellion of *Flanders*, when it was almoſt extinguiſhed, as he thought, he could no longer forbear, ſhewing how ill he took it, by declaring open war againſt her; Yet openly to make war upon *England*, was of great conſequence to the affairs of *Spain*; ſo as the King before he would reſolve thereupon, would have it very well diſputed by his ableſt Miniſters of State. *Alvaro di Baſſano* Marqueſs of *Santio Croce*, a Perſonage very much cryed up for Naval Militia, was one of thoſe that perſwaded him moſt to this enterpriſe: he bore a great command at this time over the Kings Fleets in the Ocean; and by reaſon of his imployment, hoped it would fall to his ſhare to be the prime man in this famous expedition. Wherefore, whilſt they were treating one day of this buſineſs in preſence of the King, he ſpoke thus.

When I conſider (moſt mighty Prince) the glory and advantage of the propoſition in hand, and the hopes of ſeeing it happily effected, I confeſs I cannot forbear exhorting your Majeſty with all the power and efficacy I have, by all means to lay hold of it: your Majeſty chiefly glory in the Auguſt Cognomen *of moſt Catholick: and that you have much more made it good in your actions, than uſed it in your Title. What greater glory can you then deſire, then, in the firſt place, to reſtore ſo great and ſo noble a Kingdome, as is* England, *to due obedience to the Church, and to the ancient veneration of the Altars? And what greater renown, then to beat down Hereſie there, where her moſt rebellious enſigns are raiſed up; that Iſland being made as it were an inexpugnable Sanctuary thereof? How much hath Piety and Religion flouriſh'd formerly in that Kingdome? How many Catholicks are there yet there? And how do they long to ſee an end of that bitter perſecution which they ſuffer there? And to proceed to the advantage of the propoſal: It is well known, that* Spain *can reap no greater advantage, then in being no longer oppoſed by* England. *From thence are the Indies infeſted, and your Fleets threatned. From thence is the Rebellion of* Flanders *fomented, and the manifeſt uſurpation of the Domination thereof aſpired unto. And finally, From thence proceeds all the greateſt damages which the Crown of* Spain *ſuffers at this preſent: nd from thence will the greateſt evils alwayes derive, which ſhall at any time hereafter befal it. And for the happy ſucceſs of the interpriſe; why ſhould not your Majeſty aſſure your ſelf thereof? Your forces at Sea have formerly been moſt powerful: How much more formidable will they be made now by the addition of* Portugal? *And your reſent ſucceſſion to that Kingdome does plainly denote, that God hath been thereby pleaſed the more to facilitate this enterpriſe: 'Tis then to be believed that the Spaniſh Fleet by Sea will be of that Potency, as it will not to be withſtood by all the maritime Forces of* England, *though aſſiſted by* Holland *and* Zealand. *The Army by land which the Duke of* Parma *hath lately increaſed in* Flanders *may at the ſame time correſpond with the Fleet which ſhall come from* Spain. *When the Channel ſhall be poſſeſt by your Fleet the Army may be eaſily conveyed over into the Iſland: Where when it ſhall be landed, and all your Majeſties Forces joyned, what ſhall withſtand them from entring ſuddenly into the heart of the Kingdome? For as being an Iſland, nature defends it only by ſituation, no uſe being made to fortifie it by induſtry.*

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When this shall be once done, and England's *fomenting be ceased, it is not to be doubted, but that the Rebellion in* Flanders *will soon cease likewise. Fire lasts as long as do the materials wherewith it is fed; when those fail, the greatest fires go out, and end in ashes.*

John Idiaques, one of the Kings Officers most imployed in Court at that time, appeared in Councel to be of a contrary opinion. *Idiaques* had been for many years Ambassador, first at *Genua*, then at *Venice*; and after his return to Court the King had always imployed him in managing the most important affairs of the Crown. He spake thus.

The first thing that is to be taken into consideration (most mighty Prince!) is, in my opinion, the difficulties of the undertaking which is now in dispute. And to speak my mind freely, I think them so great, as there is but very little hope of good success. England *(as every one knows) is so scituated, hath such Forces, such Inhabitants, and is governed after so peculiar a manner, as it will be too hard a matter for any Forreign Nation to land there, much more hard to keep there when they are landed. That Kingdome is inclosed and fortified on all sides by the Sea; the Havens there are but few, and any Fleet may be easily kept from entring thereinto. The* English *yield not to any Nation of the World for skill in maritime affairs; and their maritime Forces, together with those that will be added to them by* Holland *and* Zealand, *may without doubt oppose whatsoever Fleet* Spain *can set forth, at least by way of defence. But say that our men were landed in the Kingdome, how can we hope to establish them there? Usually in the making of Conquests, some internal disposition is required, and there is a continual necessity of externals aids to maintain them. There can no safe correspondency be hoped for from the* English, *it being a Nation which will suffer no other Government then its own: And succour from elsewhere will be so hard to be effected, so expensive, and so uncertain, as the Forces of* Spain *which are already so distracted will never be able to supply them. Hath not your Majesty experienced by your marriage with Queen* Mary, *how much the* English *do hate all manner of Forreigners, and how contrary all the Laws of the Kingdome are thereunto? Is not the Rebellion of* Flanders *sufficient to let out the best blood of* Spain, *without adding thereunto that which you shall suddenly see arise in* England? *Then since there is so little hopes of any good success in this affair, methinks it were better to let it alone, and so to resent the wrongs done unto you by the Queen, as fighting with her at her own weapons, not to come to open war upon her States. If war shall be made, and the design not succeed, how much more will she oppress the Catholicks of* England *and of* Ireland? *How will she foment the troubles in* Flanders? *nourishing still her own desire of usurping the government thereof? And how much more justly shall she plot all manner of mischief with the* Hollanders *and* Zealanders *to the Crown of* Spain *in the* Indies, *and in all other parts? So as by this enterprise no glory or advantage will redound to your Majesty, but shame and loss. Let your Majesty therefore bend all your might to end the Rebellion of* Flanders. *The Duke of* Parma's *Army being reinforced by Land, and the Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand *being set upon by Sea with the same Forces which would be imployed against* England, *your Majesty may safely believe to see that Rebellion subdued, and the Church restored to its former right, as also your Royal Crown. If in the mean while the Queen of* England *shall continue to aggravate her offences yet more against your Majesty, then may you resent your self against her in open war with more expedition, more advantage, and more happy success. The former success will doubtlesly very much help the other: whereas on the contrary, if the design of assulting* England *misgive, as it is to be feared it will; for my part I fear (and I wish my fears may prove false) the Rebellion of* Flanders *will never have an end.*

The Duke of *Parma* being desired to signifie his mind in this point, seemed to incline to this second opinion. And howsoever, if the business concerning *England* were to proceed, he said that some Port or Haven in *Zealand* was first to be won; and this out of two very important reasons: The one, that upon any occasion the Spanish Fleet might have some safe and near refuge; and the other, that the Kings Havens in the Province of *Flanders* might not be hindred by the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, in the Duke of *Parma's* transporting his Army into *England*. The King staggering between these two opinions, was a while in dispute with himself which of them to follow: But in fine it appeared, that the securing of *England* did so absolutely draw with it the putting an end to the Rebellion of *Flanders*, as it was resolved in *Spain* to make all the speed and all the greatest preparations that might be for the execution of this enterprise. The King was afterwards the more encouraged herein, by the disposition he found in the Pope not only of approving, but of favouring the design. *Sixtus Quintus* was then Pope, who appeared very zealous in maintaining the universal cause of the Church. In the particular of *England*, he considered what had befalln in the time of *Pius Quintus*, by whom he had been made Cardinal. When Pope *Pius* found that the Queen of *England* grew still more perverse in prosecuting the Catholicks, and to do all ill to Religion both at home and abroad, he at last published an Apostolical Bull, wherein was contained such punishments against her, as the Church in like cases had alwayes wont to inflict. But instead of being thereby bettered, the Queen grew more cruel and impious. Nothing was seen or heard of in that Kingdom, but a perpetual, irremissible fury against Catholicks; some were banisht, others imprisoned, others deprived of their goods together with their Country, and many bereft both of goods and life: The Priests were chiefly persecuted; and Heresie triumphing over

their

their punishments, and to see their Ministry already wholly routed out, 'twas thought the Queen intended fully to extinguish all the remainder of Catholick Religion, and all the foot-steps of that Piety which for so many Ages had so exceedingly flourisht there. Nor was her hatred towards the Church bounded within her own Dominions; it was known how greatly, and how continually she fomented the Heretical factions of *Germany*, *France*, and *Flanders*, to nourish troubles there, and particularly to beat down the Catholick Religion: by her means likewise *Scotland* was greatly subverted; and her beheading of the Queen of *Scots*, who had been alwayes very zealous in the Catholick cause, was generally detested by all the Catholick Princes of *Europe*, and in particular had caused much horror in the Pope. Wherefore joyning this with many other actions whereby the Queen did so cruelly afflict the Church, and disturb the publick peace almost every where, he considered he was not to let slip the occation now presented of favouring the King of *Spains* aforesaid enterprise, thereby to advantage the Catholick cause universally over all *Europe*, and particularly in *England* and *Ireland*. To this purpose he thought it fit to make a Subject of *England* Cardinal; and this was Doctor *Allen*, who was one of the ancientest and most qualified Ecclesiasticks, both for learning, wisdom, and goodness, of all those of that Nation that were abroad. *Allen* was then at *Rome*; and the Popes intention was to send him into *Flanders*, and then into *England* (in case the design should succeed) there to excercise such Ministerial duties, as should upon such occasion be most needful for the service of the Church, and particularly for those Catholicks.

The Pope being thus minded, the King applied himself with all fervency to the business, and to make very exceeding great preparations both by Sea and Land. He gave the care of the maritime preparations to the Marquis *de la Croce*, and destin'd him to the Naval command. As for the Land, he would have the greatest Forces be raised in *Flanders*; and that the Duke of *Parma* should carry that Army which was under his command over into *England*, and that he should have the chief command thereof, as also of all the rest who were brought in the Fleet to land in the Island. These orders being given out by the King, the noise thereof began to be heard throughout all his Kingdoms; each of them strove which should provide most ships, greatest store of victuals and warlike ammunition, in so great ampleness as so high a design did require. Great preparations of all these things were made in *Cicily*, in the Kingdome of *Naples*, and in all the maritime Coasts of *Spain*, and especially in the building of great abundance of ships, whereof the Fleet was to be composed. Such men as were necessary for the service were also raised in all parts; and in fine, the resolution was to make an Armado so powerful in all conditions, as the like had never been known at any time to be upon the Sea. The Duke of *Parma's* diligence in making preparations in *Flanders* in behalf of the enterprise was this mean while no whit less. After the getting of *Sluce* he went to *Bruges*, and kept there as in the fittest place of all the Province of *Flanders*, to dispose of all things necessary for the transporting of his Army into *England*: To recruit it with men, the King had given order that *Biaggio Capizuchi* in *Italy* should raise a Brigado of Foot in the State of *Urbin*: and that *Carlo Spinulli* should do the like in the Kingdom of *Naples*; That the Marquis of *Brogant*, brother to the Cardinal *Andrea d' Austrea*, should raise another in *Germany*, greater then ordinary: That the rest of the German Nation that were on foot, should be filled up; and that the like should be done amongst the Burgonians and Walloons: That a good body of men should be sent from *Spain* to recruit the old Brigadoes: That in fine, the field Army of *Flanders* should be composed of 30000 Foot, and of 4000 choice Horse; all of which, or at least the greatest part were to be imployed in the expedition for *England*. An infinite provision of things was required to transport such an Army, and to provide it with all things necessary to lead on the enterprise successfully on that side. They purposed to imbark the men at *Newport* and *Dunkirk*; and a great number of vessels was necessary to transport them: And though these were rather to be for burthen, than war, and rather low built than high; yet the assembling so many of them, brought with it both great expence of time and monies: and amongst other things, a great number of Artificers were requisite to be had to do the workmanship, and of Mariners to govern them. The Duke of *Parma* had great scarcity of both these, and was likewise jealous of them, by reason of such mens being inclined to follow rather the Hollanders and Zealanders, (in whose Seas they were for the most part born and bred up) then the Kings party, where their profession was but little practised; insomuch as the Duke was glad to send for some from the *Baltick* Sea, and to make provision of them in divers other parts of the lower side of *Germany*. The aforesaid Vessels were most of them built in *Antwerp*, and many in *Gaunt*, *Newport*, and *Dunkirk*. Those of *Antwerp* were to be brought by the *Scheld* to *Gaunt*, and from thence to *Bruges* by a Channel cut by hand, which goes from the one City to the other. And upon this occasion the Duke cut another channel likewise from *Bruges* to *Newport*, to the end that the Vessels might fall the more commodiously into the sea, and there joyn with those of *Dunkirk*.

During the noise of so great preparations made in all parts of *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*, to assault *England*, that year ended; and the year 1588 commenced; which was particularly re-

markable for this enterprise sake. The design was not notwithstanding publickly declared; but the King striving as much as he could to conceal it, made it be given out, that so great a preparation by land and by sea, was intended against the Rebels in *Flanders*. And to keep them likewise in suspence, he caused the begun negotiation between him and the Queen touching the accommodation of the Affairs in those parts to be continued. Other reports were given out, that the King intended a good part of the Fleet by sea for new designes which he had upon the *Indies*. Some times the preparations seemed to cool: But at last they grew to such a greatness, and so many signes appeared of their being precisely destin'd for *England*, as there was no room left for doubt: The Queen, seeing herself threatned by so great a tempest, betook her self to make all such preparations likewise on her part, as might be necessary to withstand it. She gave order to *Charls Howard*, Admiral of *England*, a Lord of a very Noble family, and of great imployment, that he should powerfully reinforce her usual Fleet; and that he should make all other such provisions as were needfull to furnish it with Souldiers, Mariners, Victuals, and Ammunition of War. But she gave unto him *Sir Francis Drake*, for a particular assistant herein; one that was then the most esteemed amongst all the English for sea affairs, and famous likewise thorowout all other Nations, for many memorable sea-voyages which he had made, and for many enterprises which he with great boldness had effected. Such a preparation required great expence, and a great inclination of the Kingdom to effect it: Wherefore the Queen called a Parliament without the Authority whereof the Kings of *England* cannot receive any supplies of monies upon any extraordinary occasion: the Parliament being met at *London*, the Queen would one day appear there in person, and went thither in the greatest glory that might be. Where being placed under her cloth of State, and having so composed her countenance, and other gestures of body, as might most take the Assembly, she spake thus,

What a weight of war, my Lords, and you my beloved of the House of Commons, is threatned against me at this time by the King of Spain, *each of you who know the preparation, will easily believe the designe: nor is the pretence less apparent. That King complains that I have always favoured his Rebels (as he is pleased to term them) of* Flanders. *And especially with so many forces, and so openly in these their last necessities. I confess the action; and do still more commend the advice given unto me therein by my Council. Since in effect I could do nothing which was more praise worthy for Justice, or more necessary for convenience. Every one knows the near Confederacies which past between the Kings my predecessors, and the house of* Burgony, *whilst the Provintes of* Flanders *were under the Government thereof. Nor was this a bare Union between Prince and Prince; but it extended from Nation to Nation; and almost from private man to private man; so great were the considerations both of neighbourhood, Traffick, and the conformity of Government, and of all other Interests, to make both peoples as it were but one and the same. Every concern being then so united between the Flemish and the English, how could I abandon those, and not abandon these? Nothing is more just then to defend the oppressed: nothing more becoming a Regal condition, then to take such into protection. And if the most remote people may merit such a favour, how much more may our neighbours deserve it, and those between whom and us there is so near a conjunction. Nor ought the Flemish to be ere a whit less assisted by me, out of justice, then out of conveniency. You see whether the vastness of the Spanish Empire is arrived. And how much more this Kingdom in particular, is now indangered by the addition of the Crown of* Portugal *thereunto. The designe of oppressing* Flanders *is apparently seen, to the end that such Forces both by land and by sea, may be planted there, as may serve to make* Spain *impose what Laws it shall please, both upon the North and West. In this case* England *and* Ireland *being incompassed therewith, why may we not fear that they may suffer the like evils as* Flanders *should have done? So as by my succouring of those Provinces, I pretend to have at the same time secured my own Dominions. Here it is that the King of* Spains *shoe wrings him; and hence it is that he accounts that an injury, which I have done in mine own necessary defence. And could I appear more moderate then in refusing the Soveraignty which the United Provinces did so freely and unanimously offer me? And yet how justly may I complain of so many injuries done to me by him? What, hath he not endeavoured to make* Ireland *rebel against me? What are his continual machinations to the same purpose with the Catholicks in* England? *and what doth he not in all other parts in hatred to my Kingdoms and to my person? It may then be safely concluded that he now makes open war upon me, not out of any true reason, but out of a false pretence: and that his true end is to invade this my Kingdom, and to endeavour by all the power he hath to get the Dominion of it. I therefore summon and exhort you my faithfull Subjects to the defence thereof: to the defence, I say, of a Kingdom which is more yours then mine; I being more yours then mine own. The marriage from whence I derive, was established by Parliament: by the Authority of Parliament was I brought to the succession of the Crown which I wear. The Religion which I follow is imbraced by the Parliament. I have acknowledged the Parliament to be my Father: and as I may say, have taken the Parliament for my Husband. For I have forborn marriage to avoid bringing of a foreign Prince hither, who by new Customs and imperious demeanours might trouble, not so much my own quiet, as the common happiness of the Kingdom. By the miseries of* Flanders *it may be comprehended, what those of* England *would*

be,

be, if the Spaniards ſhould enter here. We ſhould ſoon ſee new Tribunals of Inquiſition, new yokes of Citadels, new Laws, new burthens, new Cuſtoms, horror, cruelty and violence every where. I know you would not willingly fall into this condition; and that to keep from doing ſo, you will of your ſelves do all that lies in your power. This conſiſts chiefly in providing ſuch Subſidies as ſo great an occurrency requires. Wherefore I beſeech you to give them ſo, as that the preparations on our ſide, may juſtly counterpoiſe thoſe which the enemy doth by ſo many ways order on his behalf. For what remains, every one knows what advantage the aſſaulted hath over thoſe that do aſſail. We ſhall particularly have the advantage very much, by defending a Kingdom to which the ſea ſerves for a Bulwark on all ſides. With our Forces, thoſe of our Confederates in Flanders *will joyn; and all the Northern parts will unite themſelves with us, when they ſhall ſee this new deſign of the Spaniards to invade* England, *after having endeavoured ſo cruelly to oppreſs* Flanders. *I the mean while, who may term my ſelf no leſs your ſervant than your* Queen, *will perform what it becomes me to do; and though a woman, reſt confident you ſhall find a manly ſpirit in me. And that I will chearfully incounter death, if it ſhall be requiſite, ſo to end my life upon ſo worthy an occaſion.*

The Queen was indued with a very great wit, and with almoſt all ſorts of learning: which ſhe had particularly ſtudied in her younger years. And by reaſon of her then great age, and and the opinion which was had of her ſingular gift of Government, ſhe was generally no leſs reverenced than beloved by her Subjects: Wherefore it is not to be expreſt, what affection her Parliament ſhewed to wards her, and what indignation againſt the King of *Spain*, in their anſwer. 'She was aſſured by both the Houſes, that in her ſervice, and the ſervice of the 'Kingdom they would ſpend both their fortunes and their lives; and that they would be as 'ready to give Subſidies, as ſhe had been in deſiring them.

To this their diſpoſition of will, the univerſal diligence of effects did ſoon correſpond. Exact Guards were forthwith put into all the Ports of the Kingdom. Many men were raiſed for the Fleet by ſea, and to make two Armies alſo on land. The one under the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was ſent for back into *England* by the Queen; and the other under the Lord *Hunſdon*, who was likewiſe very much eſteemed of in the Military profeſſion. *Leiceſter* was chiefly to defend the banks of the *Thames* which runs through *London*, and to keep the Spaniſh Fleet from entring thereinto. And *Hunſdon* with his Army, which was the greater, was to keep more within land, and to guard the City of *London*, and the perſon of the Queen. All this while the aforeſaid Treaty of agreement in *Flanders* was continued by their Commiſſioners between the King and Queen. But this Treaty ſuddenly vaniſht: For the Spaniſh Fleet being ready to put to Sea, and ſuch preparations as were needful being likewiſe made in *Flanders*, the King would no longer defer the execution of his deſign.

The Fleet conſiſted, as it was generally reported, of 160 Sail of Ships, moſt of them Men of War, the reſt were for Carriage: They were almoſt all of them Galleouns, except ſome Galleaſſes and Gallies, which were to be rowed upon any occaſion. The Galleouns were like ſo many Caſtles in the Sea; they had high Towers in their Fore and Hinder-Deck, their Maſts were of an unmeaſureable greatneſs, their bodies were of a vaſt bulk, and the very leaſt of them bore no leſs then 50 great Guns. 22000 Foot and 1200 Horſe, all of them almoſt Spaniſh, were imbarked in the Fleet; amongſt the which there were above 2000 Voluntiers, all of them of the beſt Families of *Spain*. Of ſo great expectation was this enterpriſe, and ſo much had the King laboured to have it perform'd in the gallanteſt way that might be. The Fleet was to ſet forth about the beginning of *May*, and to hoyſt ſail. To haſten the which, the Marquis of *Santa Croce* was gone to *Lisbon*, where he was ſeiſed upon by ſo ſudden and ſo fierce a diſeaſe, as he dyed thereon in a few dayes ſpace. A great loſs, and whereat the King was very much grieved; who preſently ſubſtituted *Alonſo Peres di Guſman*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, in his place; a Perſonage of a very great Family in *Spain*, but one who had never been out of thoſe Kingdoms, and who was no wayes knowing in the maritime profeſſion. He mad haſte to *Lisbone* to execute the Kings commands: but howſoever, this change of Admiral retarded the expedition for many dayes, inſomuch as the Navy could not get from *Lisbone*, in the Haven whereof the rendezvouz was, till the end of that moneth. *John Martines di Ricalde*, one very much verſt in Sea-affairs, was next in command under the Duke; nor were there wanting other Commanders of very great experience, who governed the particular Squadrons into which the Fleet was divided. At the ſame time the Kings Army in *Flanders* was in a fitting poſture for the deſign on that ſide: All the new men which were expected were come, and a great many of the Gentry were likewiſe come to fight under the Duke of *Parma* upon this occaſion; He gave a very honourable reception in particular to the Marquis of *Burgaut*, a Prince of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. There were come thither from *Italy* Don *Amadeo* of *Savoy*, Don *John* of *Medicis*, *Veſpaſian Gonzaga* Duke of *Sabionetta*, together with divers other *Italians* of very good quality. And from *Spain*, the Duke of *Paſtrana*, with divers others of very good eſteem in that Nation alſo. But to return to the Fleet. As ſoon as it was well got out of the Haven, a great Tempeſt aroſe, which did greatly diſorder and divide it; and was cauſe of the loſs of ſome of their Bottoms that were rowed with oars, which could by no means be ſaved. So as it was neceſſary together the Fleet together again, which could

not be effected till the midſt of *July*, at *Gorigna* in *Galatia*, not without great labour and ſuffering. It put forth again to Sea from hence. The General went in a Gally called St. *Martin*, famous for the Victory which the Marquis of *Santa Croce* had got in it in the buſineſs of the *Terzeri*. This ſhip was the *Capitana* or Admiral, and from thisdid all the other ſhips receive their orders. The Fleet advanced with a favourable wind, and about the end of *July* came within ken of *England*. Nor did the adverſe Fleet delay appearing, which conſiſted of not above one hundred Men of War, all of them very much inferior in body to thoſe of *Spain*, but much ſuperior in nimbleneſs and agility.

As ſoon as the *Spaniards* were entred into the Engliſh Channel, *Luis di Guſman* was inſtantly ſent by the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* to the Duke of *Parma*, to let him underſtand of his arrival in thoſe parts, and to ſolicite him to doe what was requiſite on *Flanders* ſide. The Spaniſh Fleet deſired nothing more than to fight and to grapple with the Enemy: wherefore as ſoon as the Engliſh Fleet appear'd, the other put themſelves in order. The Ocean never ſaw a more glorious ſpectacle then now. The Spaniſh Navy put it ſelf into the form of a Half-moon, there being a huge ſpace between the one Horn and the other. The Maſts, Sail-yards, the towring Fore and Hind-Caſtles which were ſeen to riſe up in ſuch an hieght and number from ſo great Piles, appear'd a Horror full of wonder, and made it be doubted whether it was a Wood upon the Sea or Land; and whether of thoſe two Elements had the greateſt ſhare in ſo glorious a fight. Thus was the Fleet ordered. It came but ſlowly on, even when their ſailes were full: and the waves ſeemed even to groan under, and the windes to be weary in ruling ſuch a weight.

Their end was, as I have ſaid, to come up cloſe to handy blows with the adverſe Fleet; thinking themſelves much too good for them, the difference between their ſhips and ſouldiers being conſidered: but the deſign of the Engliſh was clean otherwiſe: they deſired to ſhun all formal battel, knowing their diſadvantage therein. They conſidered that if they ſhould be worſted, *England* would be loſt: whereas if the Spaniards ſhould come by the worſt, all their indamagement would conſiſt in the loſs which they ſhould thereby ſuffer. The Engliſh therefore reſolved to annoy the Spaniards onely a looſe off, and to wait till ſome one of ſo many great Machines might quit the company of the reſt, which then they might aſſault; for they thought it impoſſible but that this might happen among the Spaniſh ſhips, either by ſome tempeſt, or change of winde, or ſome other accidents which are uſually ſeen in Navigation: and it was not long ere they met with ſuch an occaſion; for a great Galleoun of *Biſcay* falling on fire, it was forced to tarry behinde; as likewiſe the greateſt Galleoun of *Andaluſia*, the main Maſt whereof broke in two: Wherefore Sir *Francis Drake* invironing both the one and the other of them, with divers of his ſhips, took them both. In the firſt which was torn and conſumed was *John di Guerra*, paymaſter to the Fleet, with good ſtore of money. And in the ſecond, *Pietro di Valdes*, Camp-maſter of a Spaniſh Brigado, and a very valiant ſouldier. This firſt loſs was a great one, and did forebode others which enſued. In the beginning of *Auguſt* the two Fleets were in ſight one of another again: it fell out, that the Galleoun St. *John* of *Portugal*, wherein was the Admiral *John Martinus di Ricalde*, was divided from the reſt: The Engliſh did not let ſlip the occaſion of aſſaulting it; and were likely to have tane it, had not the General himſelf with his great Galleoun St. *Martin* come into the aid thereof: which for ſome hours did almoſt it ſelf alone ſuſtain the violence of the whole adverſe Fleet. The Engliſh ſhips had a great advantage, as I have ſaid, in being ſo manageable and dexterous: they were equally nimble in aſſaulting and in retreating; they tack'd about with all windes; they joyn'd and then ſever'd again in an inſtant, as it made beſt for them. And their building was chiefly advantagious, in that they could eaſily ſhun the banks of ſands, whereof the Engliſh Channel is full, and all the Sea Coaſt thereabouts. To this was added, that their cannon ſhot did ſeldom or never miſs: whereas the Spaniſh ſhips which were built ſo very high, did full thunder in the air, without almoſt ever touching the Engliſh veſſels; and therefore the two Galleouns of the General and Admiral were ill handled by their Cannon ſhot: and upon that occaſion a Galleaſs was likewiſe but ill treated, which at laſt ran on ground on the Coaſt of *France*, neer *Haure de Grace*, the Captain thereof being ſlain and but few ſaved that were in her. The Catholick Fleet advanced afterwards further into the Channel, and came at laſt between *Calis* and *Dover*: from thence the Duke of *Medina* ſent *Roderigo di Tolis* to the Duke of *Parma*, who was ſtill at *Bruges*, to adverti ſe him thereof, and did very much ſolicit him to imbark his men, and to do whatſoever fell to his ſhare. The Duke of *Parma* went preſently from *Bruges* to *Newport* and began to imbark his men; ſhowing notwithſtanding, that it was impoſſible for him to put from that place and *Dunkirk*, unleſs the D. of *Medina* would firſt free thoſe two Havens from the ſhips wherewith the Hollanders and Zealanders did as it were beſiege them. He affirmed, That this was the agreement made with the King; That his ſhips were therefore only to tranſport the Army; That they had no proviſion of Artillery; That they were no waies able to buckle with thoſe of the Hollanders and Zealanders; And that, in fine, he would not raſhly make the King of *Spain* loſe the moſt flouriſhing Army that

that was ever ſeen in *Flanders*, and conſequently *Flanders* it ſelf, which would be left without any Forces or defence. This mean while the Spaniſh Fleet was advanced ſo far, as it might be ſeen from *Dunkirk*, where it caſt anchor by reaſon of a great calm, which rendred it immovable; and ſo happened to be in the midſt between the Engliſh Fleet, and that of the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*. Thus did all the Fleets ſtand ſtill for one whole day, till the night came: when it was dark ſome veſſels all on fire of a middle ſize might be ſeen to come at adventure towards the Spaniſh ſhips: they were eight in number, and came at a diſtance one from another, that they might enter on divers ſides upon the Spaniſh ſhips: they had not yet forgot the ſo hideous Fire-boats which were ſeen in the ſiege of *Antwerp*. Wherefore the Spaniards on the ſudden thought that theſe flaming veſſels of the enemies were of the ſame ſort, and were to work the ſame effect: They made no delayes; but aſtoniſhed with blinde fear, which was yet made more blinde by the darkneſs of the night: not ſtaying till the Enemies fire-boats came amongſt them, they began to weigh anchor, that they might run away. And ſuch was the fear, that many of the ſhips cut their cables, leſt they ſhould not ſave themſelves time enough: And as if Fortune would favour the Enemies invention, the winde roſe on a ſudden, by the blowing whereof the Spaniards feared the flames would gather force. One ſhip gave againſt another; thoſe that were fartheſt off thought the danger neareſt: the confuſion was ſuch as would allow of no command; and the horror of the night increaſed the diſorder every where, which howſoever would have been great enough by day. The aforeſaid fire-boats were notwithſtanding chiefly made for terror, and to make it be believed that they were ſuch as were thoſe of the ſiege of *Antwerp*. The Spaniſh Ships having avoided thoſe imaginary fears of fire, could not ſhun the other true apprehenſion of indamagement by a ſtorm which aroſe at Sea. At the appearing of day the Fleet found it ſelf in a great diſorder, and ſo parted, as many of the greateſt Galleouns being ſever'd from the reſt, they were ſuddenly ſet upon by the two adverſe Fleets. In on of thoſe Galleouns called the St. *Mathew*, was the Camp-maſter, *Diego di Pimentel*, and in another which was called the S. *Philip*, was *Francis* of *Toledo* for Captain. Both theſe ſhips fought a good while, and were ſuccour'd by the *Capitana*, which made them hold out the longer; but ſhe being likewiſe many times ſhot through and through, was at laſt forced to leave the other two, and ſeek to ſave her ſelf; the other two continued a valiant fight, till being born by the wind upon the ſands, both of them periſht; *Franciſco Tolledo* being drowned in the Sea, and *Pimentel*, with ſome others taken priſoners. A Galleaſs of *Naples*, over-ſet likewiſe upon the Coaſt of *Calis*, in which was *Hugo di Moncada*; who together with almoſt all that were in her, betaking themſelves to ſwim, were moſt of them drowned. Theſe great loſſes being had, and the Sea ſtill threatning greater; the Duke of *Medina* and his Councel thought fit, by all means, to carry back the Fleet to *Spain* as ſoon as poſſible might be: and it was already plainly ſeen, that it was impoſſible to cleanſe the coaſt of *Flanders* from the Enemies ſhips, as it was abſolutely neceſſary to do, if the Catholick Army were to be tranſported into *England*. Moreover, it was already known how well the Queen was provided for them within land: to which purpoſe, ſhe being pleaſed to ſhew her ſelf couragiouſly on Horſe-back to both the aboveſaid Armies; the applauſe of ſuch an action is not to be expreſt, nor what courage the Queen did both receive herſelf, and infuſe into others by doing it.

The Duke of *Medina* reſolving then to return for *Spain*, it was thought beſt to lanch farther into the Northern Sea, and take a greater compaſs, to ſhun the danger of the ſhelves of ſand which lye ſo thick upon the Weſtern coaſts of *England Scotland* and *Ireland*. The General gave orders to this purpoſe; and amongſt other orders, commanded, that if the Fleet by occaſion of new Tempeſts ſhould be again diſordered, all the ſhips ſhould come to *Corugna*, and there ſtay one for another; nor was it long ere the apprehended danger hapned; and ſo unfortunately, as the former order could by no means be obeyed. Hardly had the Fleet ſet ſail towards the North, when one of the herceſt tempeſts aroſe, that peradventure was ever ſeen at Sea: The day was at an inſtant turned to night; nothing but thunder and lighting, and other fatal ſignes were ſeen or heard every where throughout the air; the wind aroſe, and grew ſo high, as the waves transformed into mountains, and mounting up unto the skies, made voraginous caverns in the Sea: inſomuch, as the Mariners did almoſt loſe the uſe of their eyes; all the operation of their hands, and all ſuch orders as are uſed to be obſerved between Pilot and Pilot, between ſhip and ſhip. Which driven on by the fury of the winds, gave forceably one againſt another; till enlarging themſelves by the ſame violence, they were at laſt diſperſt here and there, and whether ſo great and oppoſition of fortune would carry them. The Admiral *Ricalde* was one of the firſt that vaniſht from the Navy, and ſome other ſhips followed after his, more by conſtraint than choice. They thought at firſt that they were carried to the Iſland of *Orkney* in *Scotland*: but at laſt they fell upon *Ireland*, where after being ill dealt withall by the Sea, they were but badly treated by the Inhabitants of thoſe parts. Yet before they could get thither, and afterwards in their return for *Spain*, ſome of thoſe ſhips periſhed unfortunately; and amongſt the chiefeſt and beſt qualified *Spaniards* which were there

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loſt was *Alonſo di Leiva*, General of the Gallies in *Sicily*, who choſe to quit that Command, and to be a voluntier in this ſo famous Enterpriſe.

It would be too long to relate how many others of Quality periſhed in this imployment: It will ſuffice to ſay, that there were not any parts of the Engliſh, Scotiſh, or Iriſh coaſts which were not innobled either by ſhipwracks, or by the death or impriſonment of ſome of the choiſeſt and beſt born Perſonages of all *Spain*. Some other ſhips came up to the Admiral *Ricalde* in *Ireland*; but all of them ſo ſhattered, as they had much adoe to recover *Spain*, and in the remainder of that voyage many of them periſhed. The place whereunto the reſt came for refuge, was St. *Anderos*, where *Ricalde* within a few dayes dyed, as alſo another chief Commander at Sea, called *Oquendo*; together with divers other perſons of quality, who through their ſo great ſufferings at Sea, dyed almoſt as ſoon as they came to Land. The Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, after having together with the common dangers fallen into many particular hazards of his own, arrived likewiſe about the end of *September* at the Port of St. *Anderos*, from whence he acquainted the King with his arrival, and gave him a full account of the whole ſucceſs of that expedition. This was that which befell the Spaniſh Armado which was ſent to aſſault *England*. Few enterpriſes were ever longer premeditated; few ever made with greater preparations; and none ever executed with greater misfotune. So fallacious do the deſigns of Mortals uſually prove: And thus the Divine Providence doth often in the ſecret Decrees of Heaven determine things contrary to what Humane wiſdom hath in her pride determined here below.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

BOOK V.

THE CONTENTS.

After the unfortunate ſucceſs of the Spaniſh Fleet, the Duke of Parma *goes from the Provinces of* Flanders *into that of* Erabant. *The ſituation of the Enemies new Fort, called* Schinck-Sconce: *What was the occaſion of making it, and how prejudicial it is to the Kings affairs and thoſe of the Archbiſhop of* Colen *in thoſe parts. At the Archbiſhops deſire, the Prince of* Sarray *is ſent by the Duke to recover* Bona. *The Duke hopes to get* Bergen ap Zome *by ſecret intelligence, but is deceived. He ſends Count* Charles Mansfield *to beſiege* Vachtendonch, *who takes it.* S. Gitrinburg *is delivered up unto him by the Garriſon thereof. The mean while he again ſtraitens* Reinberg. Schinck *dyes in attempting to ſurpriſe* Niminghen. Reinberg *ſoon after is ſurrendred. A Spaniſh Brigado mutinies, to* Ferneſe's *great diſpleaſure: which is increaſed by the loſs of* Breda. *Count* Maurice *raiſeth a Fort-Royal againſt* Niminghen. *The Duke of* Parma *prepares to go into* France. *The King of* Navar *and Duke of* Parma *compared together in Military qualities. The Duke goes from* Flanders, *comes to* Meos; *finds* Paris *reduced to the greateſt extremity of famine; reſolves to uſe all means to ſuccour it. The King of* Navar *oppoſeth him with all his Forces. The Dukes ſtratagem in ſhunning Battel, when he ſeems moſt deſirous to fight. The mean while he unexpectedly aſſaults and ſtorms the Town of* Lagny *upon the* Mearn, *and relieves* Paris *with great ſtore of victuals. The King of* Navar *retires much incenſt from thence. The Duke of* Parma *beſiegeth, and takes* Corbel *upon the* Sene. *From thence he returns to the* Low-Countries. *The King follows him, and endeavours to diſcompoſe him. But the Duke marches in ſo good order, as without receiving any conſiderable damage, he leaves* France, *and returns to* Flanders.

THE Spaniſh Fleet being departed with ſo unfortunate ſucceſs, the Duke of *Parma* went preſently with his Army from *Bruges*. Whileſt he was in thoſe parts attending the expedition for *England*, he had not omitted to do what was fitting for the ſervice of the affairs of *Flanders*. We told you before that at the inſtant intreaties of the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, the Duke had recovered the Town of *Nuys*, and beſieged *Reinberg*, both which places appertain to that Church. Being diverted from *Reinberg*, and drawn to relieve *Zutfen*, he could not as then do more in ſervice of the Archbiſhop. This mean while things went very much the worſe for him. *Schinck* was never quiet. Neither was it well known whether the vivacity of his underſtanding, or his vigorous proceeding was the greater. The *Rhine* after having run for a long ſpace in one only Channel, not being able any longer to keep within its own bounds, falls into two Currents, which became almoſt as capacious as the firſt. By theſe two is the Iſland of the antient Battavians formed, and the ſame name (though ſomewhat corruptly) is at this time preſerved there. *Schinck* thought it would be very convenient to build a Fort upon that point which the two arms of the river make. Wherefore preſenting himſelf before Count *Maurice*, he ſpake in a Military manner thus.

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Since my fortune was not (moſt illuſtrious Count) to ſerve under you Fathers Enſignes, I will wholly dedicate my ſelf to you, who are left in his place. And doubtleſly you will imitate him much more in valour then in bloud. What Martin Schinck *is, his actions have already ſhewn. Being ungratefully dealt with by the adverſe ſide, I will never be at quiet till I have revenged my ſelf. To this end I beſeech you hear a Propoſal of mine. Why do not we fortifie that point which is made by the* Rhine, *where it divides into two branches? How much advantagious will it be to raiſe a Fort there? All Veſſels which paſs from the one or the other part, will be inforced to ſtrike ſail, and to pay Tribute to it. It may be called the Bridle of the* Rhine. *And from thence may the banks thereabouts be overrun, and ſtill new progreſſes be made; and thoſe already made the better confirmed. In fine, no fort can be more advantagiouſly ſeated. I deſire no more but the trouble of building it, and of keeping it; and tho it may be called by my name, that I may be the more obliged to defend it. Either my Military induſtry deceives me, or the enemy cannot receive a greater blow than this upon the banks of* Rhine.

Count *Maurice*, though he was yet very young, knew that *Schincks* propoſal muſt needs be of great conſequence: and he repreſented it ſo unto the States, as they reſolved it ſhould be done. And it was not long ere the Fort was made defendable, with ſuch flanks every where as the ſituation moſt required. It was afterwards munited with a good Garriſon, and with all things elſe that was thought neceſſary for the ſecurity thereof. This is the ſo famous Fort called *Schincks* Sconce, poſſeſt for almoſt fifty years together by the United Provinces: but which is of late years ſo much in every mans mouth, by reaſon that the Cardinal Infanta of *Spain*, did firſt ſo fortunately ſurpriſe it, and made it be ſo valiantly defended ſince; and for having been immediately indeavoured to be regained by ſo many ways, and by ſo great Forces by the United Provinces. From this Fort did *Schinck* every day make excurſions thereabouts, watching continually for ſome occaſion of ſurpriſal. *Nimmighen* is not far from thence; the taking of which by ſtealth, it being a City of ſuch importance, was his chief deſign. But not thinking that he was then able to do it, he betook himſelf to ſurpriſe ſome Town belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Collen*, which might make amends for the late loſs of *Nuys*. Upon the ſame ſide of the *Rhine*, a little above *Collen*, ſtands the Town of *Bona*, which is one of the beſt that ſtands upon that river. *Schinck* gathering a number of men ſuddenly together, came by night to the aforeſaid Town; and through intelligence that he held with ſome that were within, placed a Petard againſt the gate which opens upon the river, broke it open and ſuddenly made himſelf Maſter of that Town. The Archbiſhop of *Collen* had recourſe immediately to the Duke of *Parma* for help; who though his mind were then fully bent upon the expedition for *England*, would notwithſtanding ſend him aſſiſtance. Whilſt then the preparations to aſſault *England* were at the hotteſt, the Duke diſpatched away *Charls de Croy*, Prince of *Simay* with 6000 foot, and 1200 horſe, to endeavour therewithal, and with thoſe which the Archbiſhop ſhould add thereunto on his part, the recovery of *Bona*, and to put it abſolutely into his hands. *Simay* went his way, and came before the Town. The foot which he had along with him were Italians, Loraineſes and Germans: and the horſe were almoſt all Spaniards and Italians. *Schinck* had provided the beſt that he could for the Town; but yet not ſo as that it could make any long defence. The Kings men drawing near it began to ſtreighten it: it might be eaſilyeſt relieved on the ſide next the water; wherefore *Schinck* had raiſed two Forts on the contrary ſide of the river. The Kings men thought it therefore requiſite to raiſe one themſelves on the bank where the Town is ſituated, which they forthwith did. The chief care of this was given to the Italians, whoſe Campmaſter was *Carlo Spinelli* But as much as they endeavoured to advance this work, as much did the beſieged ſeek to hinder it. Divers actions followed therefore hereupon, wherein the Royaliſts had the better at laſt; with particular praiſe to *Alexander di Monti*, who was one of the Captains of that Brigado. The Kings men having placed themſelves thus advantagiouſly in the chiefeſt part of the river, they thought it was beſt to take away the two aforeſaid Forts from the enemy, which were on the oppoſite ſide of the river, before they ſhould begin to play upon the Town; to the end that they might have no hope of relief. To this purpoſe *Simay* ſent over as many men as were needfull to the other ſide of the river, and playing firſt upon the weakeſt Fort, they ſoon took it. The other was ſomewhat greater and better munited; they were therefore ſomewhat longer in falling into the ditch, when as the Italians could not be kept from falling to the aſſault, though the betteries which were begun, were not yet perfected. But they paid dearly for their too great boldneſs; for they were beaten back, many of them being wounded, and many ſlain. The Fort was again plaid upon and at laſt taken. The Kings men intending then to ſtorm the Town, prepared batteries in divers parts againſt it. But the defendants, weighing their hopes of keeping it, with the apparent danger of loſing it, would not hazard themſelves in making any longer defence. Wherefore they reſolved to put the Town immediately into the Archbiſhops hands. And the ſouldiers which were come into it from elſewhere, were ſuffered to go out upon honourable conditions. *Simay* having thus acquitted himſelf of that ſiege, returned immediately to the Duke of *Parma*, who was already preparing to go from the

Province

Province of *Flanders*. Before he went from thence two Scottish Souldiers who were of the Garison of *Bergben up Zoom*, came secretly to treat with him, and had plotted with him how to put a great Fort, which was close by *Bergben* into his hands, which when he should have gotten, he might easily make himself Master of the Town: the having whereof would be of great advantage to the King. The Duke listned therefore willingly to this practice, and promised great rewards to the two Souldiers who were the Projectors. Resolving therefore to make tryal of it, he sent Count *Mansfield* before, with such men as was thought necessary; but he desired that the Count might first get footing in the Island of *Tolen*, near unto *Bergben*. Which pass being taken, the chief execution of the Siege would be afterward the more ease. When *Mansfield* was come thither, instead of finding the enemy unprovided, as he hoped he should have done; he found them so well prepared, as he could by no means get into the Island. They were to wade through divers Channels, and then to pass over certain Banks, and they met every where with so stout opposition, as he was forced, and not without great prejudice, to retreat. The river of *Zome* passeth thorow the Town of *Bergben*, and a little beyond, it falls into a great Channel, where the Enemy had raised a great Fort, and this was the Fort which was by secret intelligence to be put into the Dukes hands. When the Fort should be taken, all relief would be cut off from the Town, and consequently it would be the sooner taken. The Duke himself was already come into the parts about *Bergben*: and one of the two Scots was in the Camp, who still fed him more and more with hopes of effecting the business. Wherefore the Duke, chusing out 3000 Foot, the greatest part whereof were *Spaniards*, the rest *Walloons*; and giving them unto the Camp-master *Zanchio di Lieva*, for their Commander, he sent them towards the Fort upon the coming on of night. The Souldiers were divided into Squadrons; the first whereof being come unto the Gate, the Scotchman entred, and was followed by many who thought the business already done. But the fraud quickly appeared; for some thirty or forty of them being entred, an Iron Percullis was suddenly let down which shut up the gate, and all those the Kings men that were within were cut in pieces: and a great hail of musket-shot was poured out upon those without that were neerest the Gate, so as many of those were likewise slain, and many wounded. The cheat being discovered, the Duke withdrew from *Bergben*; and fortifying some neighbouring places, the better to bridle that Garrison, and the excursions which it was used to make, he returned to *Brussels* about the midst of *November*.

Before the Duke went from these parts, he sent Count *Mansfield* into *Gheldersland*, to take *Vachendunch* from the Enemy. This is a little Town, not far from *Venlo*: but the low situation thereof, and the Fortifications which the Enemy had made about it, made it considerable; and the neighbouring Country was thereby much indammaged. The Count went, and having past the *Mause* at *Venlo*, he sate down before *Vachendunch*; the men that were with him were almost all of them *Germans*. The Souldiers that were in the Town, though they were but few, seemed notwithstanding resolute to defend it. Wherefore when the Count drew near, those within failed not in making all necessary defence. Yet the Royalists advanced every day, till at last they might come to their Batteries: Then entring into the Ditch, and falling to work with their Mathooks and Mines, they proceeded so far, as the Defendants not being able to hold out longer, were inforced to surrender the Town.

With the end of this Siege did the Year likewise end, and the next of 1589. began. The King's Army was this mean while mightily diminished. The Marquis of *Borgaut* with the most of his Germans was gone from *Flanders*; and all the Souldiery of the other Nations were much lessened. The Pay grew likewise every day scarcer; insomuch as it was feared some disorder might happen by way of Mutiny, to avoid the which the Duke had been still very careful. And though he had acquainted those in *Spain* with the danger, yet he found but little remedy, by reason of the excessive expence the King had been particularly at in the late expedition for *England*. *Ferneſe* was much afflicted to find himself in this condition; but chiefly for fear lest the King should quickly send him to succour the Catholick League in *France*, to the so great prejudice (as doubtless it might be feared) of the affairs of *Flanders*. To these afflictions of his mind, the like of his Body was added. The Duke had abstained from all sorts of Wine from his first coming into *Flanders*, for fear lest the Gout (a disease hereditary to his Family) might make him the less able for military exercise. In his strongest days he might have suffered such an abstinence, but increasing in years, his blood began to be corrupted, and some signs of a Dropsie appeared in him; which being increased by his labours and sufferings, grew to that pass, as it brought him (as you shall shortly hear) irreparably to his end. Now to return to the new Year, and to relate the successes of the beginning thereof: The Duke had an occasion of making an acquisition of great importance; but which soon drew with it a much greater loss. *Edward Lanzavecchia*, a Souldier of great experience, and who of the Italians was well esteemed by the Duke, was Governour of *Breda*. *Breda* is a place of great consequence in *Brabant*; not far from St. *Getrudenberg*, a place likewise of very great concernment. In St. *Getrudenberg* was a Garrison which was almost wholly *English*; who being ill paid, and but badly satisfied in divers other things, made it be feared that some novelty might happen there. Count *Maurice* knew how af-

fairs went there, and ſought to appeaſe the Garriſon with ſome Pay; but the Souldiers having received part of their monies, grew more earneſt to have all the reſt: wherefore growing again importunate, they came from deſires to threats, nor was it long ere they broke forth into open mutiny. They ſaid notwithſtanding, that the would maintain the Town for the Queens ſervice. Nor could Colonel *Norris*, a gallant Countryman of theirs, who was ſent to them by Count *Maurice*, and told them that the Queen would be offended at this action of theirs, prevail any thing with them. The mean while *Lanzavecchia* would not loſe this opportunity. From the very firſt time that the Garriſon had begun to be in commotion, he had underhand uſed all means to increaſe it, and to bring them at laſt to deliver up the Town to the Duke of *Parma*. To this purpoſe he offered them large rewards in the Dukes name; and particularly, that whatſoever Pay was due unto them by the States, ſhould be forthwith paid them, and five pays more by way of donative. Such a practice was ſhameful, and would admit of no colour to honeſt it: yet the Garriſon kept it ſtill on foot, till growing more familiar with infamy, they reſolved privately to conſent thereunto, and to put it preſently into execution. Count *Maurice* was this mean while upon his march with a conſiderable ſtrength, to force the Gariſon to their due obedience. On the one ſide he had taken a certain Bank, whereby to draw nearer to the Town, which is ſeated very low; and had provided certain ſhips in the Channel by which the Town is watered, on the other ſide, from which he prepared to play upon them with his Canon. The Gariſon delayed then no longer. The intelligence being ſoon diſcovered, they oppoſed Count *Maurice* every where, and made the Kings men march at the ſame time, that they might deliver the Town up unto them: The Duke himſelf would be preſent at this ſucceſs: wherefore leaving *Bruſſels*, and gathering the Garriſons of the neighbouring Towns haſtily together, he ſuddenly marched towards St. *Getrudenberg*, reſolving to inforce *Maurice* ether to fight, or to retreat. *Maurice* was not ſtrong enough to oppoſe the Kings men by land; and his men who were in the Channel could not eaſily be brought to joyn with thoſe on land. So as drawing off from the Town, the Duke entred thereinto; and cauſing full ſatisfaction to be given to the Gariſon according to the agreement made by *Lanzavecchia*, he put a Garriſon of the Kings thereinto, and returned again to *Bruſſels*, St. *Getrudenberg* about the midſt of *May* fell into *Ferneſes* hands, who left the ſame *Lanzavecchia* there for Governour, continuing him ſtill notwithſtanding in the government of *Breda*. All the Souldiers who had ſurrendred the Town, paſt immediately under the Kings Colours; and the States made a ſevere Proclamation againſt them for ſo deteſtable and perfidious an Act. A little before this the Archbiſhop of *Colen* was come himſelf in perſon to the Duke of *Parma*, and had very earneſtly deſired him that he would by all means beſiege *Reinberg* again. The Duke ſeemed willing thereunto, and gave order to the Marquis of *Barambone* Governour of *Gbelderland*, that he ſhould immediately ſtraiten the Town; but rather with intention to hinder the Gariſon from making excurſions at the preſent, than to make a formal Siege before it. The Marquis of *Barambone* was one of the chief Lords of *Burgony*, and had the command of a Regiment of that Nation. He then went his way with that his Regiment, and with ſome other Regiments of *Walloon* Foot, and ſome Troops of Horſe. *Schinck* had fortified a little Village near *Reinberg*, called *Bliembech*, from whence the Enemy might the better make excurſions into the neighbouring parts. Wherefore *Barambone* reſolved firſt to take this place from them: Yet he had a tough buſineſs of it; he was forced to batter it, and to ſpend ſome time before it; till at laſt the Enemy agreed to come forth, and the Kings men entred the Village. Hence *Barambone* went to *Reinberg*, and ſate down before it; but not by way of any cloſe ſiege, becauſe (as hath been ſaid) he had not men enough to that purpoſe: wherefore it was not hard for *Schinck* to relieve it often; though upon a certain occaſion he was routed, and loſt many of his Souldiers. The Duke of *Parma* in this interim, after the taking of St. *Getrudenberg*, hoped to get further advantages thereabouts. He therefore diſpatcht away Count *Charles Mansfield* with a great body of Souldiers, to take firſt ſome weaker places, that he might afterwards the eaſilier force *Hueſden*, a good Town, very well fortified and garriſon'd. The Count took *Hemert*, and *Brachel*, places of ſmall importance, and hoped by intelligence to get into *Romerſvel*, a more conſiderable Town, and by the getting thereof to come the more eaſily by *Hueſden*. But neither did his intelligence take, nor could he by any means compaſs his other great deſign. This expedition proving but weak, the ſame *Manſfield* was ſent by the Duke towards the *Mauſe*, to try whether he could get the Caſtle of *Loveſtein*, ſituated upon the lower point of the Iſland of *Bomele*, as hath been formerly ſaid. But he found both that Town, and all others in thoſe parts ſo well provided for by the Enemy, as he could do nothing conſiderable there. *Schinck* this mean while overran all thoſe parts; and the terror occaſioned by the Sconce which he had newly built, and which was uſually called by his name, ſtill increaſed. Finding out an occaſion to aſſault ſome of the Kings Foot-Companies, who paſt over the *Rhine* to aſſiſt *Verdugo*, and who conveyed ſome monies, to *Groningen*, he haſted towards them; and meeting with them at unawares, he routed the men, took away their monies, and retired ſafely to his own Sconce. His chief deſign was, as we have ſaid, againſt *Nimeghen*. Where the *Rhine* divides it ſelf at the point of *Schincks* Sconce, leaving its former name, the left branch thereof is called *Wahale*, upon the right

ſide

ſide of which branch ſtands *Nimeghen*, not above ſix hours march from *Schinck's* Sconce. *Schinck* being exalted in his imagination by ſo many advantages which he had gotten in thoſe parts, watcht continually for ſome opportunity to ſurpriſe *Nimeghen*: the Citizens whereof were very watchful, and already a great hatred was contracted between them and *Schinck*. But it was not long ere he loſt his life in that deſign. And thus it fell out. Having made a great preparation of Boats and men, he went from his Sconce, and from thence entred the *Wahele*, to try a new ſurpriſe upon *Nimeghen*. He intended to come thither unexpectedly in the greateſt obſcurity of night, and to aſſault the City on the Rivers ſide, where he thought he might eaſlieſt atchieve his enterpriſe. But were it either that he did not well compute his Navigation, or that his Boats were over-heavy loaded, he could not get within ſight of *Nimeghen* till it was day. Yet the greater the difficulty was, the greater grew his daring. Wherefore advancing ſome of his fleeteſt Boats, he gave order that by all means the Souldiers which were in them ſhould endeavour to get upon the bank, and to make it good, till he with the reſt of his men ſhould come up to them. The firſt Souldiers ſucceeded in what they undertook: But a great rumour ariſing amongſt the Citizens at the firſt news hereof, many of them haſted to that place. *Schinck's* men were on the contrary coming up againſt them; and thoſe that were firſt landed having taken a certain houſe which ſtood near the wall, and near one of the gates, ſtaid there, and fought very manfully. In this interim comes *Schinck* himſelf, and with couragious words, which were accompanied with no leſs couragious actions, he began to hearten his men, and chiefly with the hopes of plunder which they ſhould have by the winning of ſo rich a City. Thoſe within the Town were already in danger; when all the people joyning together, and men and women, old men and children, ſacred and profane perſonages, ſtriving who ſhould outdo one another, the Enemies were beaten back on all ſides; who could hold out no longer, but being driven from the houſe which they had taken, and from the gate which they threatned, they were forced at laſt to think of retreating. Nor could that be done without great diſorder and prejudice, by reaſon of the difficulty in imbarking, and of the advantage which thoſe of the Town had over them upon ſuch an occaſion. Yet *Schinck* for a while made an undaunted reſiſtance, and many of his men proved themſelves to be Souldiers worthy of ſo valiant a Commander. But at laſt being wounded and bleeding apace, and a great many of his men being likewiſe wounded and ſlain, he could withhold his men no longer from throwing themſelves headlong into the Boats. Many of them could not get to them time enough, who were all cut in pieces; others ſtriving to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, periſht in the River; and others who were got unto the Boats not finding any room there, for that they were already too full, were made a prey either to the River which ſwallowed them up, or to the Enemy who ſlew them from the bank. Five of their Boats ſunk, as being too heavy-loaded; in one of which unfortunately was *Schinck*: So this was the end he made. At which thoſe of *Nimeghen* were ſo overjoyed, as for many days there was nothing but feaſting and jollity heard of in the Town.

It was now *July*, at which time the Marquis of *Barambone* had not advanced much nearer about *Reinbergh*: wherefore the Enemy hoping to relieve it, prepared ſuccour, and ſent it chiefly under the Command of Colonel Sir *Francis Vere*, an Engliſh-man, who had already gain'd the opinion in thoſe parts of being a gallant Souldier, and whom the United Provinces made uſe of in their moſt weighty military occurrences. *Barambone* was advertiſed hereof, who ſpeedily made it known to *Mansfield*; deſiring him either to joyn with him in perſon, or elſe to ſend him ſome of his men. *Mansfield* promiſed to come ſpeedily to him, and in the mean while ſent ſome Companies of Spaniſh and Italian Foot. *Vere* withheld not for all this; but haſtening his expedition the more, began his march with 3000 choiſe Foot. Which when *Barambone* underſtood, he began likewiſe to move. They came with great reſolution, the one to relieve the Town, the other to hinder the relief: So as the buſineſs was gallantly diſputed for a while, and many fell on both ſides; but at laſt *Vere* prevailed, and routing the Kings men, and killing many of them, he entred Victor into the Town, and did ſo provide for it, as it might preſerve it ſelf, though amidſt the Enemy, for ſome months. A little after the conflict came *Mansfield*, who took upon him the managing of that Siege, *Barambone* having occaſion to leave it. The Town kept from ſurrendring afterwards till the beginning of the next month of *February*. And becauſe nothing inſued of great importance, we will therefore here rid our ſelf of this ſucceſs, to continue the narration of others which more require it; though little conſiderable hapned that Summer, or the Autumn following, either in the field, or any where elſe.

Wherefore the Duke of *Parma* having this leiſure, went to the Mineral waters of the *Spaw* in the Country of *Liege*; which being drank, are obſerved to be very good for obſtructions. He went thither to apply that remedy to the infirmity of the Dropſie, which began already to threaten him very ſorely. About the end of Autumn he returned to *Bruſſels*; and to his great grief, ſaw the year end with the Mutiny of a Spaniſh Brigado under *John d'Aquila*. That Brigado was many Payes behind-hand, and was quartered in *Cortray*, a great Town in the Province of *Flanders*: where the Souldiers beginning to reſcent themſelves, and breaking ſoon after out into terms which ſavour'd much more of threats than of complaints, it was not long ere

they threw off all obedience, and at last resolved to mutiny. The remedy was, suddenly to apply all means which might satisfie them; which was done: For the Duke finding, though not without much difficulty, monies sufficient to satisfie them, made them be paid; so they returned readily to their former obedience. This was the first Mutiny that hapned after the Duke of *Parma*'s so many years government in *Flanders*. And he was very much troubled thereat, as well the condition of the disorder considered within it self, as for fear it might take deeper root by example.

Now the Year 1590 began. In the beginning whereof the Kings party suffered a loss which did likewise very much afflict *Ferneſe*. *Edward Lanzavecchia* was Governor of *Breda*, as likewise of St. *Getrudenberg*, as hath been said. He kept at this time in St. *Getrudenberg*, upon occasion of the making some Fortifications in that Town, the better to secure it from the Enemy. Yet he went often over to *Breda*, which is not above three hours journey from the other place. The mean while his Son *Paulo Antonio* commanded in his stead in *Breda*, who was Captain of an Italian Foot-Company; and with him were five other Captains of the same Nation, all which had their Foot-Companies in *Gaſton Spinola*'s Brigado, a Sicilian; and moreover the Marquis of *Vaſto*'s Troop of Horse was there, commanded by his Lieutenant *Tarlatino*. A River called *Merch* runs by *Breda*, upon which stands a noble Castle, which is rather for habitation than for strength. Three leagues from this Town the River falls into a large Channel in *Holland*, and some Barks of Merchandize were to pass to and fro (having Passports to that purpose) upon that River. All the while that the Governor *Lanzavecchia* kept in *Breda*, he had always caused diligent search be made in every Boat that past, lest by some trick or other he might run hazard of supprisal. But his Son being but young in years, and yet younger in experience, was neither so considerate, nor yet so diligent. In other parts of this History you have heard of a certain kind of Earth called Turf, which for want of wood serves for firing. This is much used in *Friezeland*, *Holland*, and in other of the lower parts of *Flanders*. It fell out so therefore sometimes, as that some Barks of Turf came from *Holland* into the *Merch*, it being the speedier way to bring them either into *Breda*, or some neighbouring Towns thereabouts. Upon this occasion there was a Mariner, a master of a Boat, that was better known than the rest, and particularly by those souldiers who did most usually guard the Castle, whereby all those Boats were first to pass. This Mariner went to Count *Maurice*, and told him that a good many Souldiers might be hid underneath the Turf in his Boat, and that so he might hope through some stratagem to surprize the Castle by night, and by a fresh supply of men enter easily afterwards into the Town. *Maurice* was pleased with the plot, and resolved to make trial of it as soon as he could. The Turf-Barks are usually of a great length, supplying in length their want of breadth, the lesser Rivers and Channels not being capable of broader. The Bark being fitted as it ought to be, the Mariner came to *Breda*. Underneath the Turf, which was upheld by great poles, were 80 Souldiers, all choise men; and Captain *Charles Haraweger*, an ancient and valiant Souldier, had the command of them. The Bark being come into the Castle, *Paul Antonio* gave order that it should be searched according to custom; but the order was so carelesly given, as the other Officers were as careless in the execution thereof. The Mariner was hereby encouraged; and passing from one thing to another, and from more serious affairs to sports and jollity, he wrought it so, as to delay the time till night came on: His craft increasing in him, he mingled wine with his pastimes, inviting those few Souldiers to drink who were come to search the Boat. Nor did they refuse the offer. Being well warm'd with wine, it was not long ere they fell asleep; the rest were already withdrawn into the Castle to take their rests. When loe the Enemies came out of the Bark, and assaulted the Kings men on all sides; who being astonished at the first, were soon aware of the surprisal; and being more dejected than they ought to have been, not making almost any opposition at all, they poorly left the Castle to the Enemy: some of them were hurt, and some slain in this first assault, and *Paul Antonio* was taken prisoner. The oldest and most esteemed Souldier of those in the Town was *Tarlatino*: to whom all the rest had recourse, intreating him to take upon him the care of defending the Town, till succour might be had from some of the Kings neareſt Towns: but he would oblige himself to nothing, but to do his part on Horse-back. Wherefore all the other Captains being much abased, and in great confusion, they could neither break down the Bridg whereby the Town was joyned unto the Castle, nor yet secure some one Gate of the Town, were it but for some few hours, to allow time for succours to come in on the Kings behalf. This mean while in assistance of the Enemy came Count *Hollack*, and soon after Count *Maurice*; at whose entrance the Garrison went shamefully and basely out, and left the Town wholly unto the Enemy. The Italian Souldiery never did a more unworthy act than this: But the chief of the aforesaid Garrison did soon pay dearly for their shameful dealing; for being by order from the Duke brought to *Brussels*, some of them were according to Martial Law sentenced to death, and others to other punishments, which were publickly performed.

The Duke desired to try immediately whether he could recover *Breda*, before the Enemy should

ſhould have fortified himſelf more ſtrongly there. Wherefore he preſently ſent Count *Charles Mansfield* away to take a Fort which the Enemies had upon the mouth of the *Merch*; hoping that when the Avenue ſhould be ſhut up, *Breda* might be kept from being ſuccour'd by that River; and that the ſame impediment being put on St. *Getrudenbergs* ſide, the Town could not make any long reſiſtance. *Mansfield* endeavoured to take the Fort, but in vain. Wherefore he raiſed up another in oppoſition to it, and began afterwards to begirt the Town. Count *Maurice* had provided very well for it; yet for his greater ſecurity, he betook himſelf to the uſual remedy of Diverſion: He therefore went with very conſiderable Forces towards *Nimeghen*, and threatned a ſiege. This loſs which would have been much greater than the other, made *Ferneſe* uſe all means to prevent it: Wherefore he ordered Count *Mansfield* to riſe from before *Breda*, and to go with all ſpeed to relieve *Nimeghen*. Count *Maurice* had this mean while paſt from threats to effects, and had begun with great vigilancy to begirt that City. Yet *Mansfield* came time enough to bring in ſuccour, nor would he depart from thence till he ſaw it totally ſecured. And *Maurice* on the other ſide, before he would depart from thence, would leave a curb there which might keep it in great ſubjection. To this purpoſe the Enemy had formally endeavoured to build a Fort on the oppoſite bank of the River, but were always hindered. *Maurice* returning now with greater reſolution to the ſame deſign, reſolved to erect there a Fort-Royal, which might command *Nimeghen*, and which might ſerve then as it were for a ſiege at large; which as ſoon as might be he might reduce to one much ſtraiter. Having therefore got together a great many Pioners, and making the Souldiers work as well as they, he began to erect the Fort in the very face of *Mansfield*; and to ſecure the work, placed ſufficient guards whereſoever it was requiſite. *Mansfield* had orders from *Ferneſe* not to hazard the Kings men, which were the flower of all his Army; but to return, when he ſhould have relieved *Nimeghen*. *Ferneſe* gave him this Commiſſion, becauſe he himſelf had received a very ſtrict one from the King, to go into *France* with all the ſpeed he could, to aſſiſt the Catholick League in that Kingdom: wherefore *Mansfield* would not adventure further, to keep *Maurice* from building the Fort, though he knew how much the making and keeping of it would redound both to the honor and advantage of the Enemy, and that undoubtedly it would at laſt be the loſs of *Nimeghen*. All which fell out. For the Enemy were puſt up with pride, to ſee the King's Forces withdrawn thus: *Nimeghen*, by the continual playing of the Enemies Artillery, was forced to leave the commerce of that River free; and ere a year was over, *Maurice* returning to ſtraighten that City, compell'd it to yield, and to come under the Flemiſh Union.

The Duke of *Parma* was again returned to the *Spaw-waters*; hopes being given him, that the more he ſhould uſe them, the more good he ſhould receive by them: But he could not tarry there ſo long as he ought. A little before this, the Duke *de Mayn*, Head of the Catholick League in *France*, had received a ſore defeat by the King of *Navar* at the Battle of *Jury*, where Count *Egmont* was kill'd, who had brought a great body of Horſe from *Flanders* to aſſiſt the League, by order from the King of *Spain*, who began already openly to favour it with his Forces. After this misfortune, the Duke *de Mayn* was gone himſelf in perſon into *Artois*, to ſpeak with the Duke of *Parma*, and to agree with him in what was beſt to be done for eſtabliſhment of the Cauſe, which the Catholick King had publickly declared he would imbrace as his own. Wherefore ſetting all other things apart, the Duke of *Parma* was gone to treat with the Duke *de Mayn* upon the occurrent neceſſities of the League; and the reſult was, that *Ferneſe* ſhould go himſelf in perſon with powerful Forces, as ſoon as poſſibly he could, to aſſiſt it. Wherefore applying himſelf wholly to this ſo important expedition, the affairs of *Flanders* muſt of neceſſity be very much weakened every where; in ſo much as before the Duke departed, Count *Maurice* made many incurſions, to advantage himſelf particularly in the Provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, by the taking of many places, but yet not of ſuch weight, as requires any more expreſs declaration of them here.

July was now well nigh over, and *Ferneſe* was ſtill ſollicited to paſs into *France*, and to provide againſt the danger of *Paris*; about which City the King of *Navar* was incamped, threatning to reduce it to ſuch neceſſity as it ſhould ſoon fall into his hands. At this time Pope *Sixtus* had likewiſe very fervently imbraced the Catholick cauſe of that Kingdom; and Cardinal *Henry Cajetan* was already in the City of *Paris*, from the Pope, by title of Legate; a perſonage who for the nobleneſs of his bloud, and for his perſonal adornments, made that imployment the more remarkable. *Bernardino de Mendoza* was at the ſame time likewiſe there as Ambaſſador from *Spain*: to whom the King would have *John Baptiſta de Taſſis*, come from *Flanders*, Muſter-maſter General of his Army in thoſe Provinces; both of them men excellent at Counſel and Government. *Ferneſe* was continually more egg'd on by all theſe to paſs ſpeedily into *France*. He foreſaw to his infinite diſpleaſure, how prejudicial this would be to the King in his own States of *Flanders*, and had oftentimes with much efficacy repreſented the danger thereof, and ſhewn the natural inſtability of the affairs of *France*, and how uncertain the event of affairs then on foot in that Kingdom was to be reputed. But the contrary opinion being more prevalent in *Spain*, he could not chuſe, but muſt apply himſelf to execute the Kings commands with all vigilancy

gilancy and induſtry. Preparing then for his departure, he by the Kings appointment left Count *Peter Erneſtus Mansfield*, Father to Count *Charles*, to execute his place in *Flanders*: and with him was his ſon, who had the chief care of the Forces; and with ſuch men as were thought more neceſſary for defence, than offence during the Dukes abſence. To follow then this ſo great, and ſo memorable diverſion, we will accompany the Flemiſh Forces, and will paſs into *France* with them; not medling notwithſtanding with any other negotiations, of which that Kingdom was then full: for we will not have this our Hiſtory to tranſgreſs its confines; and we do believe, that as it will not be irkſome to us to relate, ſo it will not be unpleaſing to others to read the ſucceſſes of war, which upon this occaſion happened between two of the moſt famous Commanders, and doubtleſs the moſt cryed up that were then in *Europe*.

The King of *Navar* was not as yet full forty year old; and the Duke of *Parma* was ſome few years above forty, each of them in faces very much differing, had an equal Martial aſpect; each of them were naturally addicted to arms; the King was upon occaſions bred up therein; and the Duke likewiſe did upon occaſions ſpend his time therein; they were both of them popular in winning the Souldiers love; but no leſs ſevere in maintaining the power of Command. The King was more ready in reſolving; and the Duke more circumſpect in ripening his reſolutions. The King loved Battels, it being the cuſtom of *France* ſo to do; the Duke a well-wiſher to induſtrious advantages, according to the manner of waging war in *Flanders*: but in the divetſity of action, they were notwithſtanding ſo conformable in Reputation, and in glory of Souldiery, as few will be found amongſt either the Modern, or ancient Commanders, more famous at one and the ſame time, who in ſuch a difference have continually ſo much reſembled one another.

The Duke of *Mayn* had very much preſt the Duke of *Parma* at their meeting, that if *Ferneſe* could not go then himſelf in perſon to relieve *Paris*, he would at leaſt furniſh him, *Du Mayn*, with ſome men to recruit his Forces in *France*, whereby he might indeavour that ſuccour; the which *Ferneſe* eaſily granted; and to that purpoſe gave him a Brigado of Spaniſh Foot, under the Camp-maſter *Antonio di Zunica*; and another of Italians, under *Camillo Capizucchi*, and moreover 500 Horſe. But *Du Maine* could never compaſs his deſign: wherefore the Duke of *Parma* haſtning his departure, went from *Bruſſels* in the beginning of *Auguſt*. The Army which he carried with him conſiſted of 14000 Foot, made up of Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and Walloons; and 2800 Horſe, which were of two ſorts; the one of the Flemiſh uſual Train-bands, and the other of the aboveſaid Nations. The Prince of *Semay* commanded the former, and Marqueſs *de Remy* the others, for that Marqueſs *Vaſto* was not then in *Flanders*: and the Lieutenant General of the Horſe being likewiſe wanting, *George Baſti* ſupplyed his place, who was Commiſſary General of the Horſe, and a gallant ſouldier. With the Duke were the Princes of *Aſcoly*, and of *Caſtelvetrano*: the Counts of *Arembreg*, and *Barlemonte*, with divers other Flemiſh Lords; and Count *Charles Mansfield* General of the Artillery, not being to be diſpenc'd withal in *Flanders*, the Duke had aſſigned that command over to Monſieur *de la Motte*, one whom he greatly eſteemed, and who for many famous military acts, had won the ſame opinion of all Men. Amongſt the Camp-maſters, *Peter Cajetan*, Nephew to the Legat was particularly in very great eſteem; and *Alonſo d' Idiaques*, as well in conſideration of himſelf; as for the reputation that *John* his father was in, in the Court of *Spain*, who hath been ſpoken of before. The Duke of *Parma* being come with this Army to the Frontiers of *Flanders* towards *Picardy*, he called all the Commanders together, and gravely advertiſed them whither he was going. He told them,

That the Kings Forces were now entring into a Country which did naturally hate the name of Spaniard. *That thoſe of the League had now invoked the Kings Forces, and deſired his protection, meerly out of neceſſity and Intereſt. That therefore they were to be reputed of the like nature, that is to ſay, ſoon jealous, and therefore apt to change. That then out of all conſiderations, as well Civil as Military, they were to procced ſo in leading on, and in the ordering of this Army, as not to hazard any action, nor put any in execution without great maturity. He deſired, that if Military Government were ever well obſerved under him in* Flanders, *it might be now exactly obſerved in* France, *that therefore he ſtraitly commanded every Captain to be all of them very diligent in the performance of their duties. That they ſhould not permit the Souldier to do any the leaſt imaginable prejudice unto the Country people. That they ſhould always march in as good order as if they had the Enemy before them. That they ſhould be very accurate in fortifying their quarters. That to afford the better commodity for all things neceſſary, he would make ſhort marches. That he would be moving by the Sun riſing, and be in his lodging before it ſhould ſet; Munite the Camp continually well: bring it into as little a compaſs as he could; have diligent Guards kept on all ſides; and eſpecially in ſafely conveying the victuals which were to ſerve for the great neceſſity of* Paris. *For what remained, that they ſhould all follow him courageouſly; That he hoped that* France *would now prove a Theatre ſtill more and more to confirm the honor due to the King of* Spains *Forces in* Flanders, *that he would not be wanting on his behalf; but that he would expoſe himſelf to all labour, and ſhew himſelf no leſs equal to every one of them, in incountring dangers, than he was ſuperior to them all in point of Command.*

Ferneſe

Ferneſe preſt very much the obſervance of theſe things; and to move others the more by his example, after he once began to march, he was almoſt every hour every where, and more by night than by day: he always marched with his Army in good order, which he divided into three parts. The Marqueſs of *Renty* had charge of the firſt; the Duke himſelf took the charge of the ſecond, and Monſieur *de la Motte* guided the third; after whom followed twenty pieces of Canon. In this manner, and with ſhort marches, the Duke came on the 23d. of *Auguſt* to *Maux*, a City not above ten Leagues from *Paris*: Here did the Duke *du Mayn*'s Army joyn with him, which was about 10000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe; the Souldiers of both the Camps were ſelected men, and under well diſciplin'd Enſigns. *Paris* was this mean while reduced to the very utmoſt of neceſſity; after that ſo numerous a people had ſuffered what poſſibly was to be undergon in point of Famine, their neceſſity grew at laſt ſo great, as they muſt either dye, or throw open the gates to the King of *Navar*. The Duke of *Parma* was much troubled at this news; for he would by no means be precipitate in his Counſels, and yet found the neceſſity of haſtning the ſuccour. He therefore incouraged the Pariſians, and put them in great hopes, that he would in a very ſhort time free them from that ſiege. The Legate incouraged them to ſufferance, and the Spaniſh Officers; but chiefly the Duke of *Nemours*, who was Governor of *Paris*, and brother by the Mothers ſide to the Duke *du Mayne*. Wherfore the people overcoming their miſery with new conſtancy, did with unexpreſſible anxiety number the hours, in expectation of being ſuccour'd. When the Duke of *Parma* marching from *Maux* with both Armies joyned in one came towards *Paris*. The King of *Navar* was then in his haight of hopes, that that City would every day fall into his hands. The *Seine* runs through it, and two other Rivers accompany the *Seine* near *Paris*: the one is the *Marne*, two leagues before the *Seine* comes to the City Walls; and the other the *Oyſe*, a little lower on the contrary ſide. Theſe Rivers are the Nurſes which continually gives milk to this vaſt City; to boot with the wonderful abundance of its own Territories. The King had poſſeſt himſelf of all the Avenues as well by the rivers as by the land. Upon the *Marne* he made *Laigny* in particular be guarded; a good Town, having a large Bridg, and *Corbel* upon the *Seine*, on the ſame ſide, which is a great Town, and provided likewiſe of a Bridg. He cauſed likewiſe the places of the greateſt paſſage upon the *Oyſe* to be guarded. And thus *Paris* being kept from victuals on all ſides, it was reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity of Famine. When the King heard *Ferneſe* was on his way and that he already drew near *Paris*, he called together all the chief of his Army, and exhorted them, that they now would make their accuſtomed Military worth appear more than ever. He ſaid,

That the Duke of Parma *was now in* France *with the Forces, and ſenſe of* Spain. *That the true intention was to oppreſs that Kingdom, under pretence of defending the League; and that the Duke came with ſo great Forces to effect it as ſoon as he could. That thoſe of the League who called in ſuch aſſiſtance were perfidious: and the reſt no leſs perfidious who wade ſo falſe a cloak thereof. That therefore ſuch oppoſition as was fitting was to be made by thoſe that were true Frenchmen by birth, and faithful to their legitimate King, againſt the Forces of theſe Rebel French, and the Spaniards their Enemies. That it was Gods pleaſure the Crown ſhould fall upon him; and that he hoped the Catholicks ſhould very ſhortly receive ſuch ſatisfaction as they deſired in matter of conſcience. That the adverſe Forces were great; but his no whit inferior. Nay for number and goodneſs of Horſe he was far above them. That therefore he deſired to come to Battel as ſoon as might be. And that he thought to endeavour it on his ſide, was a no leſs generous, than profitable reſolution. That when the enemy ſhould once be routed, they knew not where to get new Forces; and ſo the Battle being won, the war might be ſaid to be ended. That on the contrary, if any ill ſhould befall his men, he could much more eaſily return again into the field. But why ſhould they doubt victory? were not many of the Spaniards forces of* Flanders *joyned with the Rebels of* France *in the late battel of* Yury? *yet where the cauſe was juſteſt, there was the greateſt valour ſhewn, and there did fortune ſmile. That doubtleſs the preſence of ſo gallant a Commander as was the Duke of* Parma, *in the enemies Army, ought to be conſidered: That therefore it was more neceſſary to uſe all ſuch preparations as ſhould be thought moſt advantagious upon ſuch an occurrency, not only in point of valour, but alſo of diſcipline. That to this purpoſe he had called this Council wherein were ſo many and ſo famous Commanders in War. He deſired them that they would ſpeak their opinions; as well for what concerned the continuing of the Siege, or the raiſing of it, as in the other point of provoking the enemy to battel. That he would ground his opinion upon theirs; nor ſhould his acts come ſhort of thoſe words which he now had ſpoke.*

The principal and moſt eſteemed Chieftains of War that were with the King, were the Duke of *Monpenſier*, Prince of the Bloud; the Duke of *Nevers*, the grand Prior; the Marſhals of *Aumont* and *Bironne*: the Lord his Son: *Meſſieurs de Ghiſne*, and *de l' Averdine*, who were all Catholicks. The Duke of *Trecuullia*; the Vicecount *Turenne*, and *Meſſieurs de la Nue*, and *de Chatillon*, who were *Hugonots*. It was firſt conſidered whether the Kings Forces were ſufficient both to continue the Siege, and to march to withſtand the Duke of *Parma*. And it was joyntly reſolved they were not ſufficient to do both theſe at one and the ſame time. Wherefore the common opinion was, that they ſhould raiſe the Siege, and go with their whole ſtrength to

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incounter with the Duke of *Parma*, and to endeavour by all means, but also upon all advantages, to provoke him to battel. That very oft, and in very many wars, the most cry'd up Commanders had raised Sieges; that to do so now would little advantage *Paris*, if thereby the Duke of *Parma* might be kept from relieving it: for that numerous people would soon consume whatever victuals they could at present receive from the inlarged Gountry; that the relief being hindred, the King might soon re-assume the siege; and that then that City would immediately fall into his hands: and he should with the greater glory compass his design. The King was very much troubled to think he must be inforced to rise from before *Paris*; but conforming himself to the opinion of his Captains, and to what his own Military experience did dictate to him, he raised his Camp on the last day save one of *August*; and marched towards where the Army of the League was quartered. In the Kings Army then was above 20000 Foot, and above 6000 Horse. His whole body were French, except it were some Dutch and Swissers. All the cavalry were choice men; for the better half of them were Gentlemen, who served upon their own inclinations, and much more out of honor than for gain: The King went from *Paris* to lodg in the Village of *Celles*, some four leagues from thence. This Town is situated in a spacious Champain, having notwithstanding some appearances of waters and woods about it. From this plain you mount by easie ascents upon two little hills, betwixt which when you have gone a little, you afterwards descend towards *Maux*. The King possest himself of all that Champain about *Celles*, till he came to those two little hills. And the Army of the League was come to lodg on the other side towards *Maux*; where the Duke of *Parma* had fortified himself in all places where it was necessary, and the King of *Navar* failed not to do the like on his side. Who was not well got thither, when desirous to make his enemy acquainted with his intention to fight, he sent a Herald with a Challenge to the Duke *Du Mayn*, telling him,

That it would be much better to end all the Differences by another pitcht Battel, than to carry them further on to the peoples so great misery.

The Duke *du Mayn* excusing himself, that he could not give the Answer, for that he had not now the Supream Command, sent the Herald to the Duke of *Parma*; who returned answer,

That he was used to fight as he thought fit himself, and not at the pleasure of his Enemy. That he would not refuse battel, when it should not become him so to do; and that upon other occasions, he himself would offer it, when he should think good.

There was only the two aforesaid Hills between the Kings quarters and the Dukes; wherefore their being so near, caused some skirmishes dayly. The Duke kept four whole days in his quarters; in which time he himself had several times advanced towards where the King lay, to the end that he might the better and more distinctly observe his Quarters. He then began to move with his whole Army. He had with great secresie resolved to cozen the Enemy, and his own men too; and when he should feign as if he intended to joyn battel, to avoid it, even as when the two Armies were neareſt falling on, and to gain the Pass over the Rivers on the upper side, and so free *Paris* from the siege. This was the design, which he thus executed. He made the Marquis of *Renty* advance with the Vantguard; and with him were the Prince of *Semay*, and *George Basty*, with most of the Horse, all of them almost Lanciers. He placed the Duke of *Mayn* in the Battel with the greatest strength of Foot; and put Monsieur *de la Motte* in the Rear with the rest of the Foot and Horse. As for his own person, he would not oblige himself to any one part, but be at liberty, that he might the better effect what he intended. Having caused the Army to move in this manner, and giving out that he would draw the Enemy to battel, he gave order to the Marquis of *Renty*, that when he should be come to the top of the Hills, he should descend slowly, and should extend the Lanciers on both sides in large wings, the more to obfuscate the eyes of the Enemy. He commanded him therewithal, not to offer, or to accept of any occasion of fighting, without some new orders from him; and that he would in the mean time let him know what should happen from time to time. The Army of the League appearing thus, the King of *Navar* thought verily that they came with an intention to fight, and all his Captains were of the same mind; insomuch as it is not to be expreſt how much they were overjoyed, and especially the King, in seeing that offered which they had so much coveted. His Army was then suddenly put into the best and most advantagious order that could be; and was likewise divided into a Vantguard, a Battel, and a Rearguard, over each of which the King appointed a Head, reserving leave to himself to be very where where need should most require. The Marquis of *Renty* marched this mean while in the same order as he was commanded by the Duke, and after him followed the Duke *du Mayn*. When *Renty* had extended the Lances, and darkned the sight of the Enemy, *Ferneſe* made then no longer delay; but coming up to the Duke *Du Mayn*, and taking him by the hand, said unto him with a merry and smiling countenance,

We shall have fought very well, and have overcome too, if we relieve Paris.

He then commanded *Renty* to halt in that place, but yet still to make as if he meant to fall on,

on, till the night should come. Then turning the Battail into the Van, and ordering *La Motte* to follow, so as *Renty* might fall into the Rear, he bent on the left hand towards the *Marn*, and towards *La Laigne*, which was not far from thence, resolving to make himself master of that Town. He then acquainted *Renty* with his design; and commanded that Trenches should be raised both there, and every where else towards the Enemy, and Fortifications, to the end that the resolution which he had taken might not be disturbed by the Kings Army. Drawing towards night near *Lagny*, he staid at *Pompons*, a Village within less than half a mile of that Town; giving order that the whole Army might be assembled thereabouts, and with all diligence might there munite themselves. The King this mean while could not imagine why *Renty* first halted, and then returned back; Nor could he ever perswade himself, that the Duke of *Parma*, in the face of such an Army as was his, should assault *Lagny*, especially the Town being on the other side of the River, and the passage over the Bridg in the Governor of the Town's hands. He therefore advanced some Troops of Horse to discover the Duke of *Parma*'s design; who being entertained by *George Basty*, returned as uncertain as before. In which time, the Duke causing the Fortifications about his Camp to be made with incredible vigilancy, he brought them to such a pass, as he thought he might now prepare to batter the Town. *Lagny* lies, as it hath been said, on the left side of the River: on the right hand (on which side were both the Camps) there is an open Borough just over against it, to which men pass from the Town over the said Bridg. *Ferneſe* suddenly possest himself of the Borough or Suburbs; and that very night, which was the fifth of *September*, planted ten pieces of Canon there to play from that opposite side without delay upon the Town. Monsieur *de la Fin* had the keeping thereof, and had 1200 *French* in Garrison, who seemed all very ready to defend it, hoping chiefly in the King, who was so very near them. *La Fin* thought the Duke would do little good with his Battery, the Bridg being between him and them, which would hinder the assault. But he was soon deceived: For the Duke causing a Bridg of Boats to be thrown over the River three miles more upward, he past over a good number of Foot, and sent over *George Basty* with them with some Troops of Horse; he ordered the Foot to prepare for the assault, so soon as the Battery should have made its operation. The King of *Navar* storm'd at this success, when he came to know it; and would not willingly suffer *Lagny* to be lost, whilst he looked on. Some of his Captains propounded that he should pass over the River, and go with his whole Army to the relief of that Town. Others were of opinion, that he should go with all his Forces against the Works which the Enemies Camp had begun to make, and should endeavour to throw them down, and to fight the Duke. The first advice was very dangerous; for the Duke of *Parma* might assault the Kings Army, and defeat some of them at least, as they past over the River. And the second might be thought bootless; for the Dukes Works, especially towards the Enemies Camp, were already raised to a good height, and so well guarded, as there was small hopes of forcing them any where. The King notwithstanding took the second advice; and having drawn out his Army into large Squadrons, came to assault the Army of the League: but he found it in so very good order within its Fortifications, which were continually increasing, as he was at last forced to retreat, and much to his grief, to see the Town of *Lagny* not long after storm'd, taken, and plundered before his eyes; for so indeed it was. For the Duke of *Parma* having given order that a Battery should be planted against the Town, and that his men should pass over in manner aforesaid, caused the Walls of the Town to be immediately plaid upon abundantly, and preparation to be made at the same time for the Assault. The Walls were but weak of themselves, and had no Rampires: wherefore a sufficient Breach being soon made, the aforesaid Souldiers strove who should first get upon the Breach. The *French* for a while shewed equal courage; but being overcóme by the first number, and by new Recruits which came hourly in to assist the Enemy, they must yield at last. Monsieur *de la Fin*, with some few others, was taken prisoner; the rest were put to the Sword, and the Town suddenly sackt. *Lagny* being taken, great store of victuals was immediately conveyed into *Paris*: where the Joy and Jubile was so great as is not to be expresst; nor can it be said how much they celebrated *Ferneſe*'s vigilancy, cunning, and military worth. The Bridg of *Charranton* and of St. *Maure* did without any contestation fall almost at the same time into his hands; places situated likewise upon the *Marne*: And so *Paris* might be the more securely victualled likewise on that side.

After this so prosperous success on the behalf of the League, the King of *Navar* thought, that if the Duke of *Parma* had formerly refused to fight, he would much more do so now that he had compast his ends: And as for bringing him into any other difficulty, he thought it would be too hard a matter to effect, *Ferneſe* having so great Forces and being so well provided of all things necessary. On the contrary, the Kings Forces began already mightily to decrease, both through great sicknesses which had happened amongst them, and for that the Gentry that were in his Army, having no more hopes neither of getting *Paris*, nor yet of coming to a pitcht Battel, were not willing to be any longer under Command in that condition; moreover, maintaining themselves for the most part upon their own expence, they could no longer be at so great

charges. The King then resolved to be gone from about *Paris*, and to go to S. *Dennis*, intending to dismiss most of his men for the present, and to reserve only a flying Army, that he might wind and turn about every where, where it should make most for his advantage. When he was gone from his Quarters, those wherein the Army of the League was, were wholly free; yet the King in his retreat would try whether he could do that unexpectedly by way of stratagem, which he could not effect by Siege. He thought it might so fall out, as that the *Parisians* being relieved, and wholly drowned in enjoying the effects thereof, and in restoring themselves with sleep and rest, and with the ease of negligence, might neglect to keep that Guard about the Walls by night which they formerly had been very vigilant in doing. He therefore resolved to try whether by Scalado he might come to assault the Town by night. Passing therefore over the *Sene*, (for he thought the Walls might be more negligently kept on the other side where the Armies were not) he with great silence formed three Squadrons of Foot, and sent them with many Ladders about midnight towards the Walls; the one of them came to the Walls of St. *Germans*, the other to those of St. *Mibil*, the third to that which is between St. *Jaques* and St. *Marcelles*. But the success did not any where answer the expectation. The Duke of *Nemours*, who was Governour of *Paris*, was exceeding vigilant, and had not any ways lessened his Guards, though the Siege was raised; wherefore the Kings men were every where courragiously repulsed and beaten back. *Paris* had not well escaped this first danger, when it fell into another greater than the former: For the King entertaining himself thereabouts, and suffering the present fear of the City to pass over, he turn'd to make the same trial again on St. *Marcelles* side only. There were but two Ladders set up at first, to discover in what posture the Guards were thereabouts; and truly they found them to be so weak, as if the number of Ladders had been greater, the Surprise might easily have been effected: but the first that got up being thrown down to the ground, so many others came afterwards to defend the Walls, as the King had no more hope of any good success. Wherefore retiring with all his Forces to St. *Dennis*, he lightn'd himself as 'twas said before he meant to do; and kept with himself the Marshal of *Byron*, and the Baron his Son, together with a select and choice number of men, to make use of them upon all occasions where it should be most necessary.

This mean while the Duke of *Parma's* Army was likewise much lessened. To the sicknesses which reigned more there then in the Kings Army, many other sufferings and disaccommodations were added and victuals began to grow scarce, by reason of so many Souldiers having lain thereabouts, and particularly the Kings Army so long. For these reasons the Duke resolved to return to *Flanders*; and carrying with him the honour of so glorious a Succour, not to wait the hazard of some unthought of adverse Fortune. To boot that the King of *Spains* occasions touching his own affairs of *Flanders*, which every day received prejudice by the Dukes absence, did apparently require his speedy return into those Provinces. He acquainted the Duke *de Mayn* with this his resolution, who was thereat mightily afflicted: He had well hoped that the Duke of *Parma* would have tarried much longer in *France*, and that the League would have received many more advantages by his abode there. He was therefore very much prest by those of the League who were of greatest power, not to depart; at least not so soon. And finding him resolute in his opinion, they fell into divers suspitions and Complaints. They seemed to believe,

That this proceeded more from the premeditated cunning of Spain, *than from the particular necessities of* Flanders. *That the intention in* Spain, *in their assistance of the League against the King of* Navar, *was only to make it be able to resist, not to prevail. That* Paris *was no sooner relieved, but the Duke of* Parma *would be gone. That he had let slip the occasion of giving the King of* Navar *Battel, though he were much superior to him in Forces: and now that the King had dismist a great part of his men, wherefore would not the Duke make use of so apparent an advantage? Wherefore did he not with all speed endeavour to suppress totally the Heretical Faction, and establish the Catholick party for ever in that Kingdom?*

Ferneſe was much scandalised to hear of these speeches; yet thinking it was best to dissemble, spoke to the Duke *Du Mayne* in moderate terms, and which might serve to satisfie him and the rest of the Adherents to the League. Saying,

That the King of Spain's *intentions could not be more sincere in his succours which he had so often afforded unto* France. *And in these his last so potent Powers, what could he do more, than almost wholly abandon his own particular affairs of* Flanders? *Did he ever demand any Towns or Hostages in pawn for his security? He always measured the Faiths of others by his own: And in matter of Religion, made that the interest of* Spain, *wherein* France *was particularly concern'd. That even for the benefit of the League it self, it was not fit to lose* Flanders: *For that if the Catholick Forces should be wanting there, those would certainly be wanting which had at all times been, and might still be the greatest and readiest for the service of Religion in that Kingdome. That he was therefore inforc'd by all means to return to* Flanders: *but that he would leave such a strength of men in behalf of the League, as the cause thereof might not only be always sustained, but by new atchievements, be still more advantaged.*

The

The Duke *Du Mayne* finding this to be *Farneſe's* reſolution, earneſtly deſired him, that before his departure he would at leaſt endeavour to take in the Town of *Corbel* upon the *Seine*; ſo as that River might be free likewiſe for the bringing of victuals to *Paris*.

The Legat *Cajetan* was at this time gone from *France*, upon the death of *Sixtus Quintus*; and had left in his place Monſignor *Sega*, a *Bullonian*, Biſhop of *Piacenſa*, a Prelate of great worth, for divers imployments of Nuntiature, and for other negotiations which had won him great honour. This Monſignor *di Sega* was induced by the Duke *Du Mayne* to make the ſame intreaties which he effectually did to the Duke of *Parma*; who was unwilling to hazard himſelf in a new Siege; eſpecially knowing that the chief Commander in *Corbel* was a Frenchman, and a very gallant Souldier, called *Rigant*, who had given proof of his worth in *Flanders* under Monſieur *de la Nue*. Yet not to give further occaſion of jealouſie to thoſe of the League, he reſolved at laſt to beſiege that Town, and encamped before it about the midſt of *September*. *Corbel* lies upon the *Seine* on the left ſide, and hath a ſtone-bridge which paſſeth over to the other ſide: the Town is but little, and no ways ſtrong, having Walls after the ancient form, without any bar-works: the defence thereof conſiſted therefore in the valour of the Souldiers, and in the example which they ſhould receive thereof from their Commander. The Duke of *Parma* was not long in drawing near it with his Trenches. Thoſe within the Town ſallied out, and couragiouſly reſolved to oppoſe him: *Rigant*'s vigilancy was very great; he was always the firſt at undergoing labour, at incountring dangers, and in whatſoever elſe was neceſſary, as well in action as in command; inſomuch as the Duke had already loſt many men, and the Siege proved much longer than at firſt it was thought it would have done: But reſolving to ſee an end of it ſuddenly, after a great Battery, he made it be ſo furiouſly aſſaulted, as *Rigant* being ſlain, the Aſſailants entred the Town, and cutting the Gariſon in pieces, did with great hoſtility plunder it. The Duke was notwithſtanding troubled about it till the midſt of *October* following; and had not *Rigant* been ſlain in that aſſault, the Town peradventure would not have been taken ſo ſoon. *Corbel* being taken, the Duke ſuffered his men to reſt till the beginning of the next month: he then betook himſelf to return for *Flanders*; and the more to deceive the Enemy, he went not the neareſt way through *Picardy*, but through *Campania*; thinking that the King of *Navar* would quickly follow him; and that it would be beſt to leave the King in doubt what his intention in retreating might be. He kept the ſame order in going out of *France*, as he did in coming into it. He divided his Army into four parts, to the end that each part being leſs incombred, they might all of them proceed on the faſter; and upon occaſion be the readier to ſuccour one another. He gave the Van to the Marqueſs of *Renty*: the firſt Battle to Monſieur *de la Motte*: he kept the ſecond Battle for himſelf; and gave the Arrear Guard to *George Baſti*. In this laſt part was the greateſt danger likelyeſt to conſiſt: for the King of *Navar* might infeſt them behind: this was therefore furniſht with ſelect men; and in particular *Peter Cajetan* was placed therein, and *Alonzo Idiaques*, with their two Brigadoes of Foot. The Duke of *Parma* being gone from *Paris*, he was not well got into *Campania*, when he might hear of the loſs of *Corbel*; and not long after, the like of *Lagny*: ſo ill were they kept by the Pariſians, who had taken upon them the care thereof. Upon this occaſion the Duke was again intreated to ſtay, and to return back to the recovery of thoſe two Towns: But he being ſcandalized to ſee his pains ſlighted through ſo much negligence; to boot, that his neceſſity of returning into *Flanders* did daily more and more increaſe, would not any whit delay the purſuing of his intended journey. The King of *Navar* was by this time got to *Compigny*, a Town which lies towards *Champagnia* and *Picardy*: and having here gathered together a choice number of Foot, but more Horſe, wherewith the eaſier to infeſt the Enemies Camp; as they retreated, he paſt on and followed them. He loſt no occaſion of drawing near them, and of endeavouring to indamage them, or any ways to moleſt them: he ſet on them ſometimes on the ſides, ſometimes on the front, but oftеſt on their back: ſometimes only threatning, ſometimes ſuddenly aſſailing them; but never adventuring upon any greater engagements, by reaſon of the too much inequality of his Forces. This his altering of places, and of aſſaults, did not notwithſtanding make the Duke of *Parma* any whit vary his order in marching. His Squadrons marched the ſame pace, kept the ſame diſtances, environed on all ſides with the carriages, which ſerved for well fortified Trenches; ready to fight if provoked, but ſtill upon ſuch advantages, as might cauſe the Enemy to repent. The way was continually cleared by the Carabines: and their quarters were every night very carefully fortified. Thus did the Duke of *Parma* march amidſt ſlight skirmiſhes for ſome days. He was already entered into *Picardy*. The King willing to have one other bout with the Duke, ſent ſome Squadrons of Horſe againſt the Dukes Van about the end of *November*: the Dukes Horſe came out to oppoſe them, and the diſpute grew very hot. Of the French, the Baron of *Bironne* in particularly, ſhewed himſelf very forward; who unwilling to yield to the greater power of the Enemy, was ſo engaged amongſt them, as his Horſe being ſlain under him, he had undoubtedly been taken Priſoner, had not the King himſelf, deſpiſing all danger, reſcued him and fetch'd him off. The night coming on, ended the diſpute. The next day the Duke of *Nevers* came in to the Kings aſſiſtance with ſome new

Forces which he had gathered up thereabouts, and ſome other Forces from elſewhere came likewiſe in to the King. The Duke of *Parma* was at this time about *Guiſe* upon the utmoſt confines of *France* towards *Flanders*. Here did the King again aſſault the Duke in the Rear. At firſt the Dukes Carabins came forth againſt the Curaſſiers; and the former not able to withſtand the Curaſſiers, had been ill handled, had not *George Baſti* come in unto them with a great Squadron of Lances and beaten back the ſhock of the Curaſſiers. But theſe being again reinforced by ſome of the Kings men; and on the other ſide *Idiaques* and *Cajetan*'s Foot coming in to aſſiſt *Baſti*'s Horſe, a very hot skirmiſh had likely to have been; had not the King conſidering his diſadvantage made his men retreat in a warlike poſture. The Dukes men purſued them no farther, leſt they might break their eſtabliſh'd order of marching. And here did end the King of *Navar*'s aſſaults and all the moleſtations which *Ferneſe* till then had ſuffered by them. Who being come with all his Army ſafe into the confines of *Flanders*, he and the Duke *Du Mayne* parted. He again confirmed more than ever hopes in the Duke *Du Mayne* of new and potent ſuccours in aſſiſtance of the Leagues; and aſſured him that he himſelf would very ſpeedily be their Conductor. The mean while he left with him about 4000 Foot, and 500 Horſe; thinking that ſuch a recruit might ſerve for the preſent, to boot, with a Regiment of Germans which was formerly maintained in the ſervice of the League, and defray'd by the King of *Spain*, under the command of Count *Colalto*. The Duke paſſed forward, and diſtributing the ſouldiery into Gariſons, to reſt themſelves after ſo great labours: he came about the beginning of *December* to his winter quarters which was uſually in *Bruſſels*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders,

PART II. BOOK VI.

The Duke of Parma, *after his return from* France, *finds the Kings affairs in* Flanders *but in ill condition. Advancements made in many parts by the Enemy. They take* Zutfen *and* Deventer: *both of them places of great importance. The Duke incamps before the Fort, oppoſite to* Nimeghen; *does all he can to take it from the Enemy: Count* Maurice *draws near it with great Forces to relieve it. This mean while* Ferneſe *receives preciſe orders from the King, to prepare ſuddenly to return again to* France: *he therefore immediately raiſeth his Siege.* Maurice *maketh uſe of this occaſion. He goeth to before* Hulſt *a Town in the Province of* Flanders, *and quickly takes it. From thence he goes to before* Nimeghen, *and hath the like good fortune there. The League in* France *does this mean while decline daily. Their danger of loſing the City of* Roan, *which is ſtraitly beſieged by the King of* Navar. *Wherefore the Duke of* Parma *preſently enters* France. *The Army of the League joyns with his. They march towards* Normandy *to relieve* Roan. *The King of* Navar *marches to oppoſe them. A noble fight between both the Camps at* Umaile, *wherein the King is hurt, and in danger to be taken. The Army of the League advances, draws near* Roan, *and puts ſome ſuccour into it: It then falls further off, and the King reinforceth his ſiege. But at laſt the Duke of* Parma *forceth him to quit it. The Colleagues enter forthwith into the* Peninſula *in the County of* Caux, *and beſiege* Caudebeck. *In diſcovering the Place the Duke is wounded, and is much diſturb'd in continuing his command. The King makes uſe of this occaſion. He poſſeſſeth himſelf of the entrance into the* Peninſula, *and reduceth the Colleagues to great ſcarcity of all things. The Duke that he may not be forced to fight upon too much diſadvantage, reſolves to ſecure his Army by paſſing over the River. Which he fortunately doth. He then leaves* France, *and returns with ſpeedy marches to* Flanders. *New ſucceſſes on that ſide to the advantage of the Enemy; and to* Ferneſe's *great grief. His affliction is increaſed, by his growing every day worſe and worſe in his health. And yet he is again commanded by the King to return with all ſpeed poſſible into* France. *To this purpoſe he goes to* Arras; *and diligently prepares for his third paſſage into* France. *But his ſickneſs increaſing ſtill upon him, he dies.*

With the Dukes return to *Flanders*, we will return to our former narration: though we ſhall be ſoon diverted from it, by the new neceſſity put upon the Duke of returning again into *France*. Great had the ſufferings been which he had undergone in his firſt journey, wherein thoſe of his mind were more than thoſe of his body. He had learned by experience how hard a buſineſs it was to joyn the Kings deſigns together with thoſe of the League. That the King after the vaſt expence he had been at in his late expedition againſt *England*, did now conſume himſelf in theſe diſburſments which he was at for the League of *France*. And that in the interim his own Territories of *Flanders* was but ill furniſhed with men, mony, and almoſt all things elſe; in ſo much as doubtleſs much damage was to be expected thereby. To boot with the men that were left with the Duke *Du Mayn*, it was neceſſary to place many on the Frontiers which lay towards *France*: to encourage the League nearer at hand; and that they might be ready to march in the behalf thereof, when it ſhould be needful, at any hours warning. So as the Kings Gariſons in *Flanders* were much leſſened; even in the moſt important places. And the Towns themſelves left but ſlenderly provided with victuals

ctuals or warlike ammunition to maintain a Siege, if the Enemy ſhould ſit down before them. Which they, knowing their own advantage, were not long adoing, as we ſhall ſucceſſively relate. Amongſt other things which had mightily afflicted the Duke of *Parma* whilſt he was in *France*, one was the mutiny which happened at that time in *Emanuel de Vega*'s Spaniſh Brigado which remained in *Flanders*: which the Duke after his return, did very much reſent at both the *Mansfields* hands; they not having been diligent enough, as he thought, in preventing it. And the diſorder grew ſo much the greater, becauſe it was above a year before thoſe people could be paid, and, reduced to their former wonted ſervice.

At the begining of the year 1591. the Enemy did not delay ſeconding the good conjunctures on their parts. Colonel *Norris* an Engliſh man, of whom we have often ſpoken, was in *Oſtend*; who with that Gariſon which was then very numerous, by reaſon of a new recruit of men which the Queen of *England* had newly ſent thither, overran all the parts thereabouts. Yet the Fort of *Blanchemberg*, which lies between *Oſtend* and *Sluce*, as hath been ſaid, was a great obſtacle in his way. Reſolving therefore to free himſelf thereof, he aſſaulted the Fort ſo unexpectedly, and upon ſuch advantage, as he ſoon took it; and it was ſoon after diſmantled. This happened in the Province of *Flanders* about the midſt of *February*. Not long after the Enemy made two other ſurpriſals in *Brabant*. The one was of the Caſtle of *Weſterlo*; and the other of *Turnehaut*, which is one of the greateſt Villages in all *Brabant*. There is likewiſe a Caſtle in this Village, into which, as alſo into the Village, ſome Souldiers did enter in Country Attire; as having ſomething to ſell, and without any difficulty made themſelves Maſters of them both. But theſe were but ſlight acquiſitions in reſpect of others which Count *Maurice* intended to make, and which he ſufficiently did that year, as you ſhall hear. He prepared neceſſary forces for this purpoſe. And therefore aſſoon as the ſeaſon would permit him to go into the field, he deferred not to be moving. He judged that his greateſt advantage did at this time invite him to the further ſide of the *Rhine*, towards *Frieſland*, by reaſon of the great diſtance from thence of the Kings ſtrongeſt Forces; as alſo of the Duke of *Parma's* own perſon. Wherefore turning thitherward about the midſt of *May*, he reſolved to beſiege *Zutfen*; and with an Army of 10000 Foot and 2000 Horſe, well furniſhed with Artillery, and with whatſoever elſe was neceſſary for this and other Sieges, he ſate down before it. A little while before he came thither, the Fort which did defend the City on the contrary ſhore, was fallen into his hands, by the like ſtratagem as the aforeſaid Caſtles of *Weſterlo* and *Turnhaut* had formerly done. Having got this advantage, he ſuddenly begirt the Town on all ſides; and with great celerity opened his Trenches, and prepared for battery. But the Gariſon in *Zutfen* was ſo ſmall, and the Town was ſo weakly provided of all other neceſſaries, as at the end of three days thoſe within the Town, before the Artillery had played ſo much as once, began to treat, and ſoon after ſurrendred. The Town *Deventer* is but two leagues off from *Zutfen*. Both theſe Towns lie upon the *Yſel*. And you have already heard how Colonel *Stanly* an Engliſh-man, put *Deventer* into the Duke of *Parma's* hands. Amongſt other Commanders of great eſteem, Count *Maurice* had with him Colonel *Vere*, an Engliſh-man. This *Vere* did of all the reſt, chiefly deſire that they might immediately go to the recovery of *Deventer*; and that he might have the greateſt ſhare in that affair to make amends for the fault which was by all the Engliſh attributed to *Stanly*. Count *Maurice* was eaſily perſwaded hereunto. He therefore without delay turning upon that City, began to beſiege it on both ſides the River; and ſecured the paſſage to his own men by two Bridges, whereby he alſo hindred the Enemy from bringing in relief. Count *Herman de Berg* was Governour of *Deventer*: he was eldeſt ſon to *William de Berg*, who married a ſiſter of the Prince of *Orange*, ſo as this *Herman* was full Couſin-german to Count *Maurice*. He proved to be very judicious and ſtout, and very faithful to the King, though he was very young. But he had ſo ſmall Forces in the Town, and was ſo ill provided of all things elſe, as he could not think to make any conſiderable reſiſtance. He prepared notwithſtanding to do what he could: and acquainted Colonel *Verdugo* (who commanded the Kings Forces in chief in thoſe parts) with the danger that he was in. Count *Maurice*, having advanced his Trenches, raiſed batteries on three ſides. The greateſt was placed towards that part of the City which looks upon the River. And Colonel *Vere* took upon him the guidance hereof, to do it ſo as might ſpeedilyeſt effect the work. And immediately he began to batter the Walls with ſuch violence as above 100 yards thereof fell at the very firſt battery. The defendants retreated more inward; and Count *Herman* was not wanting in valiantly performing his part; when he received ſo grievous a wound, as he could no longer continue in the work that was begun. Wherefore the beſieged being the more diſcouraged; and the Townſmen doubting leſt the enemies aſſault might occaſion the plunder of the City, a Treaty was had of ſurrender upon fair conditions: whereunto Count *Maurice* eaſily gave way. And thus in a few days he made this ſecond acquiſition, which was far greater than the former. From thence he went hoping to ſtorm *Stenwich*; but *Verdugo*, who had not men enough to relieve *Deventer*, had enough to ſecure *Stenwich*. Wherefore Count *Maurice* turning upon *Delfziel*, (a place of importance of it ſelf by reaſon of its ſituation; and more particularly to facilitate the Siege of *Groningben*, when (as was his intention) he ſhould be

in

in a fitting posture to incamp before it) made himself soon Master thereof; and then faced about, to effect by these his advantages, other premeditated resolutions. The Duke of *Parma* was this mean while on his march, and having mustered all the Forces he could get in *Buremond*, he marched towards the parts about the *Rhine*, intending to pass over it, and hoping to relieve *Deventer*, and secure it, which next to *Groningen*, was the place of greatest concernment in those parts. But hearing that it was lost, he resolved to attempt some enterprise; and feigning (to abuse the Enemy) that he would assault *Schinck* Sconce, he passed over the *Waball* at another place, and incamped himself. Before the Camp opposite to *Nimegben*, from whence the inhabitants of that City received much prejudice. That side of the City which was opposite thereunto was continually infested by the perpetual playing of Artillery from that Fort; in so much as all the houses on that side were already beaten down. The Garison of the Fort did as much command the passage of the River, as did the Inhabitants of the City. Excursions on all sides were very frequent. And in fine such, and so grievous were the molestations, as it was apparently seen that the Royalists must either win that Fort, or else they must very quickly lose the City. It was about the midst of *June* when *Ferneſe* began to besiege that Fort. But he could not come before it so on the sudden, but that Count *Maurice* had reason to suspect his intention. Wherefore he sent the Count of *Solmes* thither with good Forces, and new provision of Victuals; whereby the Fort was so well provided, as Count *Maurice* did no ways fear the loss thereof, at least not so soon. The Duke having ordered his Quarters, and fortified them on the out-side, he began to advance inward with his Trenches: But the Kings men paid dearly for all their works: for the Enemy sallying out oft-times, made strong opposition on all sides: Yet after some days they came to Battery, of which Monsieur *de la Motte* had the chief charge, and wherein he used all diligence: but yet proceeded but slowly. For the walls of the Fort being made of Earth, which as it was thick, was also soft, the shot of the Artillery could not any ways considerably indamage it. And it was likewise very hard to come to the filling up of the ditch, which was very broad and deep, and was well defended on all sides. But in this interim *Ferneſe*'s Cavalry received such a blow, as did still much lessen his hopes of getting the Fort. Count *Maurice*'s Camp lay very near the Dukes Camp, in so much as there passed divers skirmishes betwixt them. And the Kings men could not provide necessary forrage for their Horses, without continual danger of some ambuscado. The Duke had given command that his men should avoid coming to any set business, by reason of the condition of the Country, which was very advantagious for the adverse party. *Pier Francisco Nicelli*, Captain of the Dukes Life-guard, going one day forth for Forage, with divers other Captains of Horse, he could not guide himself as he ought to have done: but suffering himself to be surprised in a narrow passage, wherein he was inforced to fight, he was quickly routed by the Enemy, and lost many of his men. He himself, and divers other Captains were taken prisoners: and of 400 of the Kings Horse which were in this conflict, very few were saved. The Duke was mightily displeased hereat; but yet he did not give over his Siege, but streightned the Fort more and more; when expres Orders came to him from *Spain*, whereby the King did precisely command him, that leaving such Forces in *Flanders* as should be sufficent for defence, he should pass again with all the rest as soon as might be to succour the Catholick League in *France*. This Order being received, the Duke prepared presently to rise from before the Fort. In his retreat his men were to pass over the *Waball*; not without danger of being indamaged by the Enemy. But he with very great forecast soon secured himself from all danger: For causing a great Trench to be suddenly raised, and making it be continued even to the River, with redoubts and flankers to shelter and defend his men at their imbarking, if the Enemy should go about to hinder them, he passed over the River without any obstacle, Count *Maurice* not being minded to molest him, by reason of the difficulty he saw he should have to do it. At this retreat, wherein the Duke won great applause, it being done in the face both of the Fort, and of the Enemies Camp, was Prince *Ranucchio*, the Dukes eldest son, who was then come from *Italy* to serve under his father in *Flanders*. And he was not only present at the success, but had his share in the execution thereof, it being his fathers pleasure that he should be the last man that should see the retreat compleated. The Army being brought safely over to the other side, the Duke came to *Nimegben*. This City would never accept but of a very slight foreign Garison, to preserve it self in the greater liberty, and because it thought it was able to defend it self of its self alone. The Duke was greatly displeased hereat: And knowing that there had been already some underhand dealing in the City, in favour of the Enemy he used all possible diligence to get the Inhabitants give way to the augmenting of their Garison; but he could not prevail with them: Wherefore he went his ways, and left *Verdugo* the better provided with Forces; to the end that if that if need should require, he might the easilyer succour that City. It was now about the end of *July*; and because the Duke had received good by the *Spaw* waters formerly, he went thither again to seek help for the Dropsie, which daily threatned him more and more. Being come thither, he began to give all requisite Orders for the raising of Horse and Foot in *Germany*, in *Burgundy*, and in the Low-Country it self, to the end that he might leave sufficient Forces for defence in *Flan-*

ders,

Herr, and yet carry such a strength of men with him, as the succour which he should now bring unto the League might exceed the former.

Count *Maurice* this mean while did not omit making further advancements. Leaving the aboveſaid Intelligences on his behalf on foot in *Nimeghen*, he went from thence to go where he might make his designs the more advantagious, by their being the leſs expected. Great was the accommodation he had of transporting his men from one place to another by Rivers and Sea-gulfs. Imbarking about the midſt of *September* with 4000 Foot and 600 Horſe, he unexpectedly landed with them in the Province of *Flanders*, and fell upon the Country of *Walſe*, to take the Town of *Hulſt*. This is a place lowly ſituated, and of great concernment; for it commands all the Country thereabouts. The Kings men, for the better defence of that Town, guarded ſome neighbouring places; which Count *Maurice* ſoon made himſelf maſter of: Then begirting the Town, wherein there was but a ſmall Garriſon, and but ſlender proviſion of all things elſe, he ſoon brought the Inhabitants to Parley, and afterwards to ſurrender the Town. Collonel *Mondragone*, Governor of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, was upon his way to relieve it; and the Duke had ſo wrought with the Spaniſh Mutiniers, though they were not yet altogether appeaſed, as they were content to joyn with *Mondragone*. But the Surrender prevented the Succour. Wherefore the Kings men returned back, and the Town was by Count *Maurice* furniſht with all things neceſſary. He then imbarked his Army again; and recruiting it both with Foot and Horſe, he overran all the Maritime Coaſts of *Flanders*, threatning *Newport* and *Dunkirk*; but did this rather more to deceive the Royaliſts, than for any ſetled deſign he had in thoſe parts. His true deſign was to return upon *Nimeghen*, and to uſe all poſſible means to take it. Wherefore re-entring by the ſame way of the Rivers and Maritime gulfs into *Ghelderland* about the midſt of *October*, he ſtaid in the *Wahal*; and throwing over a Bridg near *Nimeghen*, to the end that he might have that paſſage free, and that he might the better be victualled, he diſpoſed of his Camp thereabouts. At the ſame time that he prepared with Forces without, Intelligences were held on his behalf within the Town, which had ſo good ſucceſs, as there was little need of the Forces without. The Garriſon, which conſiſted of ſome few *Germans* and *Walloons*, went ſometimes out; but were not able to make any conſiderable oppoſition. *Verdugo* was at this time alſo moving, though not ſo ſoon as need required; for his Forces were no ways anſwerable thereunto. Wherefore thoſe who favoured Count *Maurice*, taking occaſion upon his delay, began to make a Tumult. This boldneſs ſoon ſpread from a few to many; who ſtill increaſing the commotion, drew all the reſt to be of the ſame mind; and they all agreed to ſurrender the City: To which *Maurice* was as gracious as could be deſired in the Conditions which were eſtabliſhed on both ſides at the Surrender. He then entred the City, and was received with great honor: And before he went from thence, he did largely repay his honor to *Schinck*'s bones, making them be interr'd with much pomp in the chiefeſt Church, and in the very Sepulchre of the former Dukes of *Ghelderland*. Count *Maurice* having added this laſt acquiſition of ſo great concernment to the ſo important former, went to the *Hague* in *Holland*, where the Ordinary Deputies of the General Union of the Provinces had already made the place of their conſtant abode; and where he was received with unexpreſſible demonſtrations of joy and affection: For though he had not met with any great oppoſition in the atchievements which he had made, yet he had ſhewed ſo great vigilancy in his Command, ſuch adviſedneſs in his Counſels, and ſuch vigor in Execution, as doubtleſs he might even then be expected to prove that Gallant Commander, which our Age for his ſo many other famous enterpriſes hath fully declared him to be. This mean while the Duke of *Parma* was returned to *Bruſſels*; and wholly intent upon his paſſing again into *France*, he endeavoured to get as great a ſtrength for that purpoſe as he could. The news which he heard from thoſe parts, was, That the affairs of the League did every day decline; that the Forces thereof were very much diminiſhed; and that the King of *Navar* did ſtill grow ſtronger; and that being Maſter of the Field, he had beſiged *Roan*, which is the chief City of all *Normandy*, and the ſecond of all *France*. The Duke *de Mayn* had ſent Count *Briſack* a little before this, to acquaint the Duke of *Parma* with thus much. And the danger of *Roan* every day increaſing, *Ferneſe* was again the more ſollicited to come for *France* as ſoon as he could. Preparing then for his departure, he left as formerly the two *Mansfields* his Deputies. And a ſolemn Ambaſſie being at this time ſent by the Emperor into *Flanders*, to endeavour ſome accommodation in the affairs of thoſe Countries, the Duke upon that occaſion did ſtay ſome days at *Bruſſels*. The Emperor had likewiſe ſignified the ſame intention to the United Provinces. But they fearing that the Ambaſſie was ſent by the King of *Spains* procurement, would not conſent to any Treaty. About which though near upon a Month was ſpent, yet we have choſen to acquaint you with the reſult thereof briefly here, to diſpatch the account of a Negotiation wherein there was hardly any Overture made.

The Duke being gone from *Bruſſels*, went towards *Picardy*; and there in *Peron* met with the young Duke of *Guiſe*, who not long before having eſcaped out of the Caſtle of *Tours*, where *Henry* the Third had ſhut him up after his Fathers death, and where the King of *Navar* had likewiſe

likewiſe detained him, was ſuddenly come to find out his Uncle the Duke *Du Mayn*. From *Peron* the Duke of *Parma* went to the Town of *Guiſe*, where the Duke *Du Mayn* came to ſpeak with him. In the ſame place was likewiſe *Hercules Sfondrato*, Duke of *Montemarchiano*, who a little before was ſent by his Uncle *Gregory* the 14. with a very conſiderable ſtrength both of Foot and Horſe to aſſiſt the League. But *Gregory* dying, and *Innocent* the 9. ſucceeding him, his men were much diminiſhed; *Innocent* excuſing himſelf that he could not continue ſo great an expence, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of monies which the Apoſtolick Sea was then in. Nor did the Duke of *Montemarchiano* know whether he were to continue in that Command or no: though in all things elſe, *Innocent* ſeemed as if he would protect the League of *France*; to which purpoſe he made the Biſhop of *Piacenſa* Cardinal, declaring him alſo to be Apoſtolick Legat in the place of Cardinal *Cajetan*, who as we have ſaid was already returned to *Italy*. At this meeting of the Duke of *Parma* and the Duke *Du Mayn*, the firſt thing that was agreed upon, was, That *Fera*, one of the moſt conſiderable Towns of *Picardy*, ſhould be delivered up to the Duke *Parma*, that upon all occaſions he might have a Town upon that Frontier towards *Flanders*, which might ſerve for better ſecurity to his Army. Here all their Forces joyning, each of the chief Commanders muſter'd his men, and the whole amounted to about 25000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe; the greateſt part whereof belonged to the King of *Spain*, and were compoſed (as uſually) of *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans*, and *Walloons*; the Foot were about 16000, and the Horſe 3000. The Duke of *Lorain* had ſent the Counts of *Vaudemonte* and *Shalligny* with 700 Lances and Curaſiers in aſſiſtance of the League. Of all the Forces which the Duke of *Montemarchiano* brought with him into *France*, there remained little more then 2000 Foot *Switzers*, and 200 Horſe: The reſt of the Forces were made up by the League. The Duke of *Parma* commanded over all in chief, and next to him the greateſt Authority lay in the Duke *Du Mayn*; with whom were then the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Guiſe*, the firſt his Couſin-german, the other his Nephew; to boot with the aforeſaid Counts of *Vaudemonte* and *Shalligny*, who were of the ſame houſe but in a degree further off.

During the preparation, muſtering, and marching of this Army, the year ended, and the next of 1592 began. All their men being met at the entrance into *Picardy*, the Army began to move about the midſt of *January*, and marched towards *Amiens*, that it might enter on that ſide into *Normandy*, and endeavour to relieve *Roan* as ſoon as might be. The King of *Navar*, as hath been ſaid, was before this City; and had advanced ſo far forward already in his Siege, as the beſieged were not likely to defend it much longer. Yet Monſieur *de Villiers* ſuſtained the Siege valiantly, and endeavoured by all ſtout reſiſtance to afford time for the aforeſaid ſuccour: And much encouraged to hear that the Leagues Army was upon its march to that purpoſe, he continued in his defence more reſolute than ever: though by reaſon of the ſtraits that he was in, he preſt the Colleagues very much to come to his relief as ſoon as they could. *Roan* lies upon the bank of *Sene*, and this River doth there much inlarge it ſelf. Some leagues above it the King had a Town called *Pont d' Arc*, which is the laſt Bridg which is now upon the *Seine* in its current to the Sea; ſome of the Arches of that Bridg being broken and gone to decay, which the Engliſh did anciently build at *Roan*, whilſt they were Lords of *Normandy*. The Town of *Caudebeck* lies ſome leagues beneath *Roan*, upon the banks of the ſaid River; which was likewiſe in the Kings hands; inſomuch as he commanding the River both above and beneath, by means of theſe two Towns, and by ſome men of War which ſcour'd and down the River, had reduced that City into great ſtraits. But hearing of the Duke of *Parma*, and that the Army of the League was already on its march towards *Normandy*: he called his Council of War to conſider what was beſt for him to do upon this occaſion, The King had very great Forces; he had between nine and ten thouſand Horſe, and his Foot were as many as thoſe of the Colleagues: all the Horſe, unleſs it were ſome Dutch, were French; in the Foot there were likewiſe ſome conſiderable number of Dutch, and ſome Engliſh which the Queen had ſent to aſſiſt the King: and three thouſand Flemiſh Foot were likewiſe ſent from *Holland* in his aſſiſtance. It was argued in the Council of War, whether it were better to abandon the Siege, and to march againſt the Army of the League and fight them in the Field, as it was formerly determined in the buſineſs of *Paris*; or continuing the ſiege, to wait the Enemy within the Works, and to defend thoſe works ſo as the ſuccour might by that reſiſtance be hindred. The Marſhal of *Biron* inclined particularly to this opinion; who by reaſon of his long experience and worth in Military affairs, was highly eſteemed throughout the whole Kingdom; and of whom the King did always make uſe in all his moſt important, and moſt difficult enterprizes. In maintenance of his opinion he ſpoke thus,

'Tis now (moſt glorious Prince) ſomewhat above a year ſince your Majeſty was with your Army about Paris; *every one knows that the end of that Siege was only to inforce that City to ſurrender by Famine; ſince ſo great a circuit of walls, and ſo thick a forreſt of houſes and inhabitants were not otherwiſe to be forced. There were no Quarters therefore fortified about it, no Trenches were opened, no Batteries raiſed, no Aſſaults made. When afterwards the Army of the League drew near, it was thought fitting that your Army ſhould encounter it, and endeavour by all means to engage it in Battel,*

ſince there was no other way to hinder the relief than by a Field fight. I, together with the reſt of the Commanders, was of that opinion, which was likewiſe approved of by your ſelf, who do no leſs excel others in counſel, than in command. Let us now conſider this preſent Siege. In this, the end of beſieging Roan *conſiſts much more in uſing oppugnancy, than means of Famine. It makes much for us doubtleſs, that we are maſters of the River on the upper ſide by means of* Pont d' Arc, *and on the neither ſide by the Town of* Caudebeck; *ſo to keep* Roan *from victuals, but the hopes of winning lies chiefly in our arms and ſwords. And how far are we already advanced with our Trenches, with our Batteries, with our Works in the ditch, and with Aſſaults? I am therefore of opinion, that upon this occaſion we ought to ſhun giving battel, and that we ought with all induſtry to fortifie our Quarters, and uſe all vigilancy in defending them, ſo as the Leagues Army may not be able to force them; ſuccour being hindred from without, it is not to be doubted but for what within, our ſiege will advance fortunately againſt the Walls. We have already made ſuch progreſs, as the City is in great terror: the Inhabitants whereof being accuſtomed to Traffick; and not acquainted with the Military profeſſion, will not run the hazard of expoſing themſelves to ruine, plunder, and other dreadful calamities, which often accompany the taking of places by ſtorm and violence. Doubtleſs Monſieur* de Villiers *doth ſufficiently diſcharge his part in making defence. But when he ſhall want victuals, when his Souldiery ſhall leſſen, and when he ſhall deſpair of ſuccour, how can he then hold longer out? As for us, the river furniſheth us with plenty of victuals; we do ſo abound in gallant horſe, as we ſhall keep a good part of the neighbouring parts at our devotion. We expect new ſuccours by Sea from* Holland, *we receive freſh aid daily by Land from the Provinces thereabouts. Wherefore ſince the advantages do every day increaſe on our ſide by way of Siege, why ſhould we not with all fervor and conſtancy proſecute it? Theſe neighbouring Wars of* France *and* Flanders *have begot a common ſaying, that ſieges are there learn'd, here battels. Let it be once ſeen that* France *can do both the one and the other. And that though it uſe to prevail by the force of Field-fights, yet it can uſe patience in bringing oppugnations, when it ſhall be requiſite, to their right end. It cannot be denyed but that the Duke of* Parma *won much praiſe the laſt year, by taking* Lagny *whilſt our Army looked on. But how much greater will your Majeſties glory be, if you ſhall take* Roan, *in the face of his Army?* Roan, *which is the ſecond City of the Kingdom, and which will quickly give you entrance into the firſt? For it is not to be doubted but that the Duke of* Parma *being recalled by his own neceſſities into* Flanders, Paris *will ſoon be reduced to your Majeſties obedience, and that by the example thereof all the reſt of the Kingdom will ſtrive to do the like.*

But the Vicecount of *Turein* (not long before made Duke of *Bullion* by the right of his wife) who was one of the chief Commanders in war amongſt the Hugonots of that Country, and who through his valour, and by his knowing how to make uſe thereof, by a particular vivacity of wit, became afterwards likewiſe one of the moſt eſteem'd Marſhals of *France*, was of another opinion, and ſpake thus.

I muſt confeſs (unconquerable Prince) I know not wherein the ſo great difference lies between the ſiege that was before Paris, *and this which is now before* Roan, *as that the reſolutions which were then taken ſhould be now ſhun'd. It was thought then that your Majeſties Army was not ſufficient at one and the ſame time, both to maintain the ſiege before* Paris, *and to fight the Army of the League; but that either the one or the other of theſe reſolutions muſt be pitched upon. At laſt the latter prevailed over the former; and therefore we marched with all our Forces againſt the enemy, to give them battel in the Field, and by that means to keep* Paris *from being relieved. 'Tis true there were no Quarters taken nor fortified in that ſiege: nor was there any ſort of oppugning made. But notwithſtanding I ſhall never be of opinion, that to hinder the preſent relief; we ſhould rather ſhut our ſelves up within our own quarters, than march with our Army into the Field, as we did then.* Roan *is of ſuch a bigneſs, and doth conſequently require that our Fortifications about it be of ſuch a compaſs, as we cannot bring them to ſuch perfection as to be able to keep within them, and to defend them. Wherefore ſhall we expect to be doubly aſſaulted within them at one and the ſame time? Once by the Leagues Army without, and again within, by the Garriſon of the City? What will our danger be when we ſhall be thus invironed by ſo great Forces on all ſides? The Duke of* Alva *ſome years ago, at the ſiege of* Mons, *waited for the Prince of* Orange, *within his Trenches; the Prince came, drew near, was beaten back, and the Town was afterwards ſurrendred. But what?* Orange *did then aſſault high and well munited Rampires, defended by ancient and experienced Souldiers, againſt Tumultuaries. And Count* Lodovick, *brother to* Orange, *had a very weak Garriſon within the Town, and a people as contrary to him as well might be. Let us paſs from this preſident of* Flanders, *to another of* Italy, *which may be much better applyed to our preſent caſe. The memory thereof is ſad, and will ever be ſo to* France. *I ſpeak of the unfortunate ſiege of* Pavia; *King* Francis, *as it is well known, ſuffered himſelf upon that occaſion to be reduced to between the Spaniſh Army without, and the German Garriſon within; who were all of them men trained up in Arms: And being ſet upon on both ſides at once, thoſe misfortunes and calamities befel him, which are ſufficiently known to all men. The Army of the League comes now, and is furniſhed with particular choice foot. There is in* Roan *a great and valiant Garriſon, and the Citizens, though not accuſtomed to Arms, are yet ready upon all occaſions to take them up. Wherefore then, ſay I again, ſhall we expect a double aſſault of ſuch Forces, between weak and diſtant works; and where our horſe which do ſo far exceed thoſe of the enemy, ſhall not have thoſe advantages which they may have in the field?*

field? I therefore adviſe by all means to give the enemy battel in the field. It hath formerly been ſeen that the Duke of Parma *hath always ſhun'd it. He will certainly be now of the ſame opinion. And why ſhould not we be as forward to provoke him to battel, as he is backward thereunto? his foot may be thought ſomewhat better, but our horſe are almoſt twice as good as his, and may ſo advantagiouſly ſpread themſelves in theſe ſpacious Fields of* Normandy, *as the Flemiſh may oftentimes have reaſon to wiſh themſelves within thoſe Dikes, Ditches, and Channels, which are ſo frequent in thoſe Countries. Hence it is that ſieges are there ſo much uſed. And what greater glory can we have, than to ſee battels more frequent here? Where true Military force and worth is manifeſted on the bright Theatre of the day, not amidſt blind Trenches, and buried Mines and baſe fighting in ditches; but in open field between Squadrons and Squadrons, between Colours and Colours both of Foot and Horſe, orderly drawn out. For what remains, the former reaſons will be equally valid now. When your Majeſty ſhall once have won the battel, the War will ſoon be at an end: And ſay that any misfortune ſhould befall you, you may without much difficulty gather new forces, and take the Field again. But it may aſſuredly be hoped that the misfortune of the War, or to ſay better, the puniſhment of Juſtice will fall upon your Enemies; who joyned together by the true reaſon of Intereſt, and the falſe pretences of Religion, embrace the wickedeſt and moſt unworthy Cauſe that was ever at any time embraced and defended.*

Theſe two opinions being duly weighed, the King on the one behalf thought that the Siege being ſo far advanced, was not to be abandoned; and on the other ſide he thought he did ſo far exceed the Enemy in Horſe, as he might ſpare a conſiderable ſtrength thereof to go againſt the Enemy, and ſo infeſt them, as that they ſhould either not be able to advance, or at leaſt too late to relieve the Town. But the event ſhewed, that the not wholly adhering to either the one or the other advice, made them both prove unfortunate. The King having taken the aboveſaid reſolution, reſolved to go himſelf in perſon with 5000 Horſe to incounter the Army of the League; and the mean while left the Marſhal of *Byron* with all the reſt of his Forces, who ſhould continue to ſtraiten *Roan* as much as he could. With theſe people the King went firſt to *Chaſteauneufe*, and then to *Aumale*; Towns which confine upon the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*. He was not well got out of *Normandy*, when he was advertiſed by his Scouts, that the Enemy were well advanced into *Picardy*. The Army of the League marched in the ſame manner, as by the Duke of *Parma*'s orders it had done the time before: The Foot were placed in the midſt, the Horſe with long wings in the Flanks, and the Carriages on both ſides without. Monſieur *de la Motte*, together with his place of General of the Artillery, was Campmaſter General of all the *Flanders* Souldiers; and the ſame office was diſcharged in the proper Forces of the League by Monſieur *Rony*, a valiant Souldier, and great Commander, and who had a particular dependency upon the Duke *du Mayn*. Each of them were very careful in keeping the whole Camp in order, and in ſecuring their quarters; and yet the Dukes of *Parma* and of *Mayn* ceaſed not to be every where in their own perſons. The Vantguard was led on by the young Duke of *Guiſe*, who had with him two Frenchmen of experienced valour, the Baron of *Scatres*, and Monſieur *de Vitry*: In the Battel were the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayn*, the Duke of *Montemarchiano*, and Count *Vaudemonte*; and the Rearguard was guided by the Duke *du Male*, and Count *Saligni*: Prince *Ranucchio* marched uſually with the prime Horſe in the Van, and Marquis *Vaſto* took his place moſt commonly there alſo; who repenting his having given over his former place of General of the Horſe in *Flanders*, to command the Horſe in the State of *Milan*, being to that purpoſe gone the year before into *Italy*, was now (born by a deſire of glory) come to ſerve as a private Voluntier in the Duke of *Parma*'s ſecond expedition into *France*. Ten pieces of Artillery did precede the Vantguard; and from the Front thereof was thruſt forth a flying Squadron, compoſed of Spaniſh and Italian Foot, who might be ready either to ſtand or charge the Enemy, according as occaſion on either ſort ſhould require. The Army of the League made but ſhort marches, that they might the better keep their ranks, fortifie their quarters the better, and to keep their Souldiers from being weary. So as the Camp came not till the beginning of *February* near to *Aumale*, where (as was ſaid) the King of *Navar* was himſelf in perſon. Here the Scouts of both Camps met to learn news; but the King, not very well ſatisfied with the tydings which his Scouts brought, would be an eye-witneſs thereof himſelf. The King was ſo naturally given to waging Battel, as oft-times wholly forgetting himſelf, he would be preſent upon the moſt common occaſions, and would therein meet with moſt frequent dangers, as it now befell him, and thus it was. The King going out of *Aumale* with 500 Horſe, gave order that the Baron *Jury* and Monſieur *de Laverdein* ſhould follow him with more Horſe, and with 400 Dragoons; and commanded likewiſe that the Dukes of *Nevers* and of *Longueville* ſhould be ready with the reſt of the Horſe which were in *Aumale*. The King advancing further than he ought to have done with the firſt Horſe, fell upon the Scouts of the Enemies Camp, which he eaſily routed and put to flight: but *George Baſti* coming in ſoon after with a great body of other Horſe, charged thoſe of the King ſo home, as the King himſelf was in apparent danger; and ſo much the more, for that his perſon was known by many tokens. This danger forced the King to retreat; which he did the hardlier, for that the Enemy charging him ſtill more, the greater was the ſlaughter of his men. The E-

nemy endeavoured all they could to cut off the Kings way on all sides, and to take him prisoner. He on the contrary sustaining their force with incredible courage, endeavoured to bring himself as soon as he could into safety. In this interim many of his stoutest men dropt by his side; nor could the King himself scape unhurt; for as he descended a little rise, whilst he gave back, he was shot with an harquebuse about the Reins, which made him hasten his retreat. At the news hereof the Dragoons came in, and lighting on foot, were of great service to the King in sustaining the fury of the Enemy. But almost all of them being slain, the King had run the like hazard, had not *Jury* and *Lavardine* advanced to defend him, though they were accompanied but with few of their men; for the rest frightned with the news that was given out, that the King was either slain or taken prisoner, had most of them abandoned the Field. So as their succour was not sufficient neither; for fresh horse of the Leagues coming in, the Kings men could not stand this new tempest: *Jury* had his horse kill'd under him, and *Lavardine* was ill hurt. The Leagues Vantguard was already all in Arms, and the Flying Squadron in particular was ready to move; And the Duke *du Mayn* said unto the Duke of *Parma* with a loud voyce,

That such an advantagious occasion was not to be lost: That the King of Navar *was upon his flight, most of his horse full of ruine and terror; wherefore what labour would it be to dissipate all the rest? That wanting Foot, and having rashly run into such straits, the King could by no means escape, if they would be as resolute to assault him, as it was easie to oppress him.*

'Tis said, that the King seeing himself in so great danger, made one of his Captains of set purpose be taken prisoner, who was to affirm (as he did) that to boot with the Horse which the King brought with him, he was followed by a good body of Foot. The Duke of *Parma* detained by this relation, and by his diffidence of being in a Country which he was not acquainted with, and with Forces which did not fully depend upon his command, would by no means hazard himself further in this conflict, fearing some ambush, or some other sinister accident which might befal him. And he was chiefly perswaded thereunto, for that he thought in reason of War it was impossible the King of *Navar* should with such resolution have exposed himself to such a conflict against the Army of the League, unless he were accompanyed with a great strength of Foot also. Wherefore the King being no further charged, the Dukes of *Nevers* and of *Longueville* came the mean while in to his aid; and affording him sufficient commodity first to get into *Aumale*, and then to get out of it, (For it was no place wherein to resist the Leagues Army) he put himself quickly into safety. He lost a great many of his men in this action, and Noble blood was mingled with blood which was more ordinary. There were very few of the League that were either slain or hurt. This was the Action at *Aumale*; so considerable especially, for that on the one part the King of *Navar* through too much rashness was wounded, and likely to have been taken or slain; and for that on the other part the Duke of *Parma* through too much wariness did not bear away a victory, which might have put the King into his hands ther dead or alive, together with the whole Kingdom.

The King retreated from *Aumale* to *Chasteauneufe*: which was not a considerable place to make resistance. But because it mightily imported the King of *Navar* to entertain the Duke of *Parma* as much as might be, the Baron of *Jury* seemed ready to tarry there, and within it to make what resistance he could. To this purpose the King leaving with him such men as were needful, drew off with the rest, to have his wound cured, and that he might again upon the first design turn to infest the Enemy. *Ferneſe* being come to *Chasteauneufe*, did so narrowly beset the Town, as he took it within four days, suffering *Jury* to go out at the particular instance of the Baron of *Shatres*, who was very near a kin to him. Here the Duke staid some days longer, to provide himself of victuals, with part whereof to keep his Army in good plight, and to succour the besieged with the rest. The Duke having *Chasteauneufe*, continued his march as formerly; which was but slow, because he would have it sure. Wherefore the King being cured, returned again to infest him, and to use all means of detaining the succour, till such time as he might be master of *Roan*. Continual Skirmishes were therefore had between the two Camps; no great advantage being at any time had on either side, save only that in one of them the Count of *Saligni* was taken prisoner. The Leagues Army was now come so near *Roan*, as there remained nothing but to resolve of the manner how they should endeavour to effect the succour. In that upper part of *Normandy* wherein the two Camps now were, there is a *Peninsula*, which contains the Country of *Caux*. It is flankt on the one side by the *Seine*, and on the other by the River *Diep* even to the Sea, which incompasseth the greatest part thereof; so as there remains but a narrow entrance into it by land, between the two Rivers. Upon the *Seine* beneath *Roan*, the King was master (as hath been said) of *Caudebeck*; and upon *Diep*, he was master of the Town called *Diep*, and of *Arques* not far from thence. The King with almost all his whole Horse was towards this side of the *Peninsula*, as being the neareſt part to annoy the Leagues Army: having taken those horse from the siege, as well because there was no need of them there, as for that they might be the better kept in those spacious situations where he was. His Horse-quarters were therefore five or six leagues distant from where his Foot

were

were parted about *Roan*. *Ferneſe* was the more encouraged by this diſtance of the King of *Navar*'s Forces. Wherefore rejecting the counſels of ſome who adviſed that they ſhould endeavour to ſteal in ſome relief into *Roan* by night, he marched with his whole Camp in Battel-array; and going towards *Pont del Arc*, at the furtheſt diſtance that he could from thoſe places where the Kings horſe lay, he drew near *Roan*. The reſolution which was taken, was, to march as quietly as they could by night, and to come unexpectedly about the break of day to the Enemies trenches, and violently to aſſail them on the outſide: whereupon the Garriſon ſallying out from within, and the aſſault being thus doubled, and the King by reaſon of the too far diſtance not being able to ſuccour his Foot time enough with his Horſe, it was not doubted but that the Enemy would forſake their Trenches, and full of terror raiſe the ſiege wholly. With this reſolution and hope the Duke of *Parma* was ready to march on the 26 of *February*, when a Meſſenger came who was ſent to him and the Duke *du Mayn* with this advertiſement from Monſieur *de Villiers*, That the Garriſon ſallying out at four Gates the day before about break of the day, they had furiouſly aſſaulted the Enemy; that great fear and execution had inſued thereupon, and their quarters had been much indamaged; that many pieces of their Artillery had been clog'd, and many of them brought into the City; that their munition was in part ſpoil'd, and their victuals prejudiced; that the Marſhal *Biron* himſelf was hurt in the fight, divers other Captains and Officers of quality ſlain, together with above 600 common Souldiers: That ſince they had no other urgent occaſion, Monſieur *de Villiers* deſired only a ſmall recruit of men; and adviſed that the Army of the League might bend ſomewhither elſe, where it might be more neceſſary or more advantagious to imploy their Forces. In this Sally was *Villiers* himſelf in priſon, and had ſhewed ſingular valour, for which he won great praiſe throughout the whole Camp. But as for his preſent advice, *Ferneſe* ſeemed not to approve thereof: He rather thought,

That by all means the occaſion ought to be ſeconded; that it did manifeſtly invite to finiſh what had been ſo well begun; and how could it be believed but that to the Aſſault within, this other of ſo great Forces without being added, the Enemy muſt needs raiſe the ſiege. That it was to this purpoſe that the Army of the League was joyned, had marched, and were come ſo near; and not only to bring a ſmall relief to Roan. *If this ſo advantagious an opportunity ſhould be now loſt, when ſhould they ever expect the like? And what doubt was there but that when their Army ſhould be drawn off, the Enemy would return to beſiege the City more ſtrictly?*

But the Duke *Du Mayn* urging many reaſons to the contrary, ſaid, *That for the preſent, the ſuccour which was required would ſuffice; and that the Army ought not to be adventured to another more dangerous conflict; That it might be imagined the Enemy had been more afraid than hurt within their Trenches; That it was to be imagined the King of* Navar *would immediately come out of his quarters upon the news of ſuch a ſally, upon the noiſe of ſuch a ſuccour: That he was very ſtrong in Horſe, wherefore his forces being ſoon joyned, it would be a very dangerous buſineſs to aſſault them: That it would be better therefore to ſecure the City for the preſent with the deſired ſuccour: That in the mean while the King would grow weary, ſo would his Nobility alſo; and many of them would abandon him, when they ſhould ſee the ſiege ſhould be again prolonged, and all hopes of coming to a Battel loſt: That the ſharpneſs of the Winter was yet very great; great the ſufferings in the Enemies Camp: And that therefore the Army of the League going now upon ſome more important deſign, and where they might be more commodiouſly lodged: they might afterward with greater advantage imploy themſelves to a total freeing of* Roan.

The Duke of *Parma* would have his opinion to yield to that of the Duke of *Du Mayn*'s, though he thought it a manifeſt error to loſe the preſent advantage in expectation of an uncertain futurity. Wherefore ſending 800 Foot to *Villiers*, part *French*, part *Walloons*, the Duke made the Army ſuddenly turn back, and brought it almoſt in its former quarters from *Normandy* into *Picardy*. The King of *Navar* was this mean while on his march to relieve his Foot; and ſeeing the Leagues Army drawn off, he thought that the Duke of *Parma* continued ſtill his former opinion of evading Battel: whrefore aſſuming the more courage, for that he thought his Enemies cooled therein, he forthwith returned to remake the Trenches, which had been prejudiced in the ſally. He endeavoured to fortifie them better every where: and with all neceſſary proviſions applyed himſelf intentively to continue and to ſtraiten the ſiege on the other ſide. The Army of the League when it was entred into *Picardy*, and was got beyond the *Some* towards the confines of *Artois*, it was brought to beſiege the Town of *Rue*, a place ſeated low, and which together with the advantage of its ſituation, was made very ſtrong by works. This place was at the King of *Navar*'s devotion; though almoſt all the reſt of the Province adhered unto the League. At the firſt begirting of it, they began their uſual work of Trenches, but ſlowly and reſervedly, that they might ſave their men as much as it was poſſible, and not to imploy them ſo much here, but that they might be always ready to return again to *Roan* when the occaſion might paradventure require it; which was not very long before it did. For the King of *France* growing ſtill hotter upon that ſiege, the City grew into ſo great neceſſities, as it was reduced to the ſame danger as before. The Dukes of *Parma* and of *Mayn* were hereof advertiſed by *Villiers*, to *Ferneſe*'s great aſtoniſhment, who could hardly perſwade himſelf that *Villi-*

ers would have deſired ſo weak an aid in the former ſuccour, unleſs he had known he had not needed a greater. This mean while daily news is brought of the beſieged's neceſſities. And though what the Duke *Du Mayn* had gueſt at touching the diminiſhing of the Kings Army had partly proved true; yet were his forces ſufficient doubtleſs to have taken *Roan*, if it had not been quickly relieved again. 'Twas thought the King had not then above 5000 Horſe, and 16000 Foot; wherein was comprehended 3000 which were lately come from *Holland* with ſome men of War, that they might the better command the River. But on the other ſide, the League's Army was likewiſe much leſſened. The Pope's *Switzers* were not above 2000, and the change of Pope had made the Duke of *Montemarchiano* leave *France*, and almoſt all the reſt of that aid vaniſht. *Lorain*'s Forces were likewiſe brought very low, and being ſo near *Artois*, many *Walloons* and *Flemiſh* were run away from the Army, and returned to their own homes. Yet was the League's Army as numerous as the King of *Navar*'s, and their Foot were much the better. Upon theſe terms were the Forces on both ſides when Monſieur *de Villiers* renued his deſires of being ſpeedily ſuccouted, with much more earneſtneſs than before; and proteſted openly afterwards, that if he were not relieved before the twentieth of *April* he ſhould be forced to deliver up the Town. Wherefore the Duke of *Parma*, riſing ſpeedily from before *Rue*, and paſſing the neareſt way over the *Some*, re-entred *Normandy*, to come ſpeedily where the greateſt neceſſity of ſuccour required. He ſaw he muſt of neceſſity aſſault the Enemy within his Trenches, and conſequently come to a down right battel. Great certainly were the advantages which the Enemy had in his Rampires; but *Ferneſe* thought his advantage the greater, by the double aſſault which ſhould be given to the Enemy at one and the ſame time, by his Army without, and by the Garriſon within. The Duke of *Parma* drew near with this deſign to *Roan*. He marched after his former faſhion, thinking that the King of *Navar* might peradventure meet him, and rather chuſe to give battel in the open field to the League's Army alone, than adventure to receive and to ſuſtain the two afore-mentioned aſſaults at one and the ſame time. At the hearing of the Duke of *Parma*'s march, the King was in great diſpute what to do. But conſidering well his Forces, and not thinking them ſuch, as that he was upon ſo great uncertainties to place all his hopes in them, he ſet aſide the more hardy advice; and for the preſent gave way to the more cautious, reſolved not to undergo the hazard of either of both theſe bi[illegible]ings. Wherefore he raiſed his Camp from before *Roan* on the 20 of *April*, and marching in great order to *Ponte d' Arc*, he ſtayed there to obſerve the enemies proceedings, and to do what ſhould make moſt for his advantage afterwards.

The King of *Navar* being gon from before *Roan*, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayn* preſently entred the Town, and ſtaid there the next day, to the great joy of all the Inhabitants who ran from all parts to meet them and to receive them. The Army was quartered in the neighbouring Towns, till they might conſider, and reſolve what deſign to fall upon next. Concerning which there were ſeveral opinions in the Council. But that which was moſt purſued, eſpecially by the French Commanders, was, that *Roan* not being to be reputed totally free till ſuch time as it had the free paſſage of the River, it was therefore neceſſary to take *Caudebeck* from the enemy; by which Town they might be always much prejudiced in receiving their victuals by way of the River. The Duke of *Parma* endeavoured upon all occaſions to ſecond the opinion of thoſe of the League, and particularly in working their advantages more in one part than in another of that Country, wherein he was not well vers'd. Though that reſolution was to prove the ruine of the whole Army, as ſhall be ſeen. The Duke turning to the aforeſaid ſiege of *Caudebeck*, incamped before it with his whole Army. This Town lies, as hath been ſaid, upon the right hand of the banks of *Seine*. It is three leagues diſtant from *Roan*; of an indifferent bigneſs, and without any conſiderable Fortification. Yet thoſe within the Town, ſeemed as if they would defend it: So as a Battery muſt be prepared againſt it. The Duke of *Parma* for his better ſatisfaction, would go himſelf in perſon to diſcover the ſituation of the place. And whilſt in company of one *Propertio*, an Italian Ingeneer, and only three more (having advanced too far) he was obſerving the Walls, it ſo fell out, as ſome within the Town giving fire to their Harquebuſes, he was wounded by one of them on the left Arm, between the hand an the elbow. He ſaid not a word; nor ſeemed to be any ways concerned in the wound; but with ſingular ſufferance continued the work begun: when great ſtore of blood was ſeen to fall from his arm, and he was neceſſitated to retire. Being come to his lodging, his wound was dreſt, and it was judged not to be mortal, but that the cure would be long and troubleſome. A great diſturbance inſued upon this accident throughout the whole Army: it not being known how the Government ſhould be ordered. The Duke *Du Mayn* had the chiefeſt part in the general command: but the Duke of *Parma* would have the Prince his Son, to command over all the *Flanders* Forces.

The former reſolution of forcing *Caudebeck* was thus continued, A great battery was planted againſt the Walls, which quickly made a great breach: wherefore the next day the defendants began to parley, and upon good conditions went out of the Town. The Duke of *Parma* was brought in thither that his wound might be the better tended; nor was there any reſolution

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taken wherewith he was not acquainted. Good ſtore of proviſion was found in *Caudebeck*; and the gaining of that Town, made the River more open in the behalf of *Roan*: though the *Hollanders* men of War did continually infeſt it. But this mean while new Forces flock'd continually to the King of *Navar*, and particularly the Nobility on horſeback, out of new hopes of a field-battel, ſince the ſiege had ſucceeded unfortunately. The King hereby incouraged, went from *Pont d' Arc*, and began to inlarge himſelf in the field, intending to keep it as much as he could from the Leagues Army. The deſign was to hinder them eſpecially from that Paſs which lies between the Rivers of *Seine* and *Diep*, and which ſerves for the coming by land into the Peninſula of *Caux*, as hath been ſaid. The Army of the League was of neceſſity to return by that way, as they ſhould go out of *Normandy*, to re-enter into *Picardy*. And this ſort of oppoſition might certainly put it into great ſtraits. After the taking of *Caudebeck*, the Duke *Du Mayn*, and the Prince of *Parma*, with the approbation of the Duke his Father, led the Army to quarter more within the Country, and came to the Town of *Tvetot*, little more than an hours march from *Caudebeck*, that they might the better obſerve the King of *Navar*'s reſolutions, and oppoſe themſelves thereunto the beſt that they could. The Village was full of Houſes, and very advantagiouſly ſeated; and victuals might eaſily be brought thither from the *Seine*. Here then the Army ſtaid, and to the natural ſtrength thereof, they added ſuch Fortifications by handy work as were neceſſary. By this the King of *Navar* judged that the Colleagues intended to quit *Normandy* as ſoon as they could; which he being deſirous to hinder, advanced with all his Camp, and lodged not above a mile from where the Colleagues were. Here the King began likewiſe to fortifie himſelf; and at the ſame time to ſcour the Country, to ſtraiten it as much as he could from the enemies Camp. And he might very well do it: for the Nobility being come again from all parts to aſſiſt him, his Cavalry was increaſed to the number of 8 or 9 thouſand horſe: and his foot did likewiſe daily increaſe. This their ſo near neighbourhood occaſioned continual Skirmiſhes, each party endeavouring to advantage their own ſituations, that they might the more offend the like of the enemy. The King of *Navar* went not long after to lodg in another place, where he might keep the enemy much more from victuals. 'Twas evidently ſeen that his end was either to fight them upon great advantage, or to reduce them to ſuch a ſcarcity of victuals, as he muſt at laſt have the victory without fighting. The Colleagues began to be much incommodated by theſe his laſt quarters. Wherefore not to be too much ſtraitned neither in place nor in victuals, they were often forced to ſally out in great bodies, in oppoſition of the Kings forces, which were by the King with incredible vigilancy kept in continual exerciſe. The Skirmiſhes were therefore uſually turned into parties; one of which happned to be ſo fierce and ſo long, as it was likely to have turned to a ſet Battel. On one ſide the Duke *Du Mayn*, and Duke *de Guiſe* were ingaged; and Prince *Ranucchio* on another, whoſe horſe was ſlain under him, and his own perſon was evidently indangered. At the noiſe of this Conflict, and for fear leſt it might come to a general battel, came the Duke of *Parma* himſelf in perſon at laſt; being brought in a Chair, and afterwards ſet on horſeback, not failing to be whereſoever it was moſt needful, though his wound did exceedingly pain him. But the coming on of night kept them from coming to an intire conflict: and it was ſeen that to come thereunto, each ſide deſired either to have the greater advantage, or would not hazard greater loſſes. There were two Captains of Launces with the Prince who had particular occaſion to ſignalize themſelves: the one a Spaniard, *Carlo Colonna*; and the other an Italian, which was *Hannibal Bentivoglio* our brother, a youth of but 20 years old, who received a ſore wound in his leg. This *Carlo Colonna* wrote the Hiſtory of the Military Succeſſes of *Flanders* which happned in the time of his own being there, in his own Language; a Hiſtory very much eſteemed of; and which hath made the Author ſo much more famous, for that he was ever after meritoriouſly employed by the King, not only in matters of War, but alſo in Civil Negotiations. Many hot Conflicts inſued upon this, neither ſide having much the better. Neither do we think it fitting to repreſent every particular ſucceſs thereof here, that we may not too long defer the re-aſſuming what more properly belongs to our particular Hiſtory of *Flanders*. The King of *Navar* continued ſcouring the Country up and down every where, particularly where he might moſt incommodate the Enemy in their victuals, wherein they already ſuffered exceeding much; Bread was ſold at a very dear rate, and was not had without great difficulty; Forage for Horſes grew every day ſcarcer; and all other ſufferings were proportionable to that of victuals, throughout the whole Army. Wherefore many Souldiers began to diſband; and all in general to complain.

That their ſo many and ſo renowned labours ſhould terminate in the miſerable neceſſity of Famine. How much better would it be to dye with their ſwords in their hands, and by that way to attempt their return? So as the Enemy ſhould not boaſt, at leaſt, to have overcome without fighting, and glory in the triumph before they had well got the victory.

And this was the King of *Navar*'s mind: For it was apparently ſeen, that laying aſide all thoughts of fighting, his only end was to reduce the Colleagues to the utmoſt extremity of Famine; and he ſeemed already not any ways to doubt it. He conſidered that the Leagues Army

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my, before they could come out of *Normandy*, and enter into *Picardy*, was of neceſſity to paſs through the entrance into the aforeſaid *Peninſula*; That that Paſs was poſſeſt by his Souldiers, and that the Colleagues could not without manifeſt ruine force their way through that paſſage. There remained then only the paſſage over the *Sene*: But how difficult and how dangerous would this be likewiſe to them? ſince they were to paſs over a River of ſo great a breadth and depth, continually infeſted with the alternate ebbing and flowing of the Sea; and being flanked with ſo powerful an Army as was his. By reaſon of which ſtraits on both ſides, the King thought he had the victory ſo ſure, as (as I ſaid before) he made no doubt of it. The Duke of *Parma* did alſo very well know all theſe difficulties; and weighing them together, reſolved at laſt to paſs over the River, and to put his Army into ſafety. Nor did he any whit delay the doing thereof; for the neceſſities of his Camp were grown to that extremity, as it began to threaten an intire diſſipation, unleſs ſome opportune remedy might quickly be found. Having therefore ſecretly communicated this his mind to the Duke *Du Mayn*, to Prince *Ranuccbio*, and to ſome few others who were to be actors in the buſineſs, he in the firſt place reſolved to draw near the River, the better to facilitate all ſuch preparations as was neceſſary for that end. The Colleagues were, as it hath been ſaid, in *Yvetot*, which was a good way from the River. *Ferneſe* going then from thence, went to another place within leſs than a mile off *Caudebeck*, where he likewiſe fortified himſelf as well as he could. On the other ſide the King of *Navar* failed not immediately to draw near unto him; ſo as continual skirmiſhes, and parties were had as before. This mean while ſuch proviſions were made as were requiſite for paſſing over the River, as *Ferneſe* had deſigned. Wherefore not able to defer it any longer, he ordered it thus. With great ſpeed he cauſed two Forts to be raiſed upon the two ſhores, one over againſt the other: Into that which was on the ſhore next the Army, he put Count *Boſſu* with 800 Foot of his Walloon Regiment; and into that on the contrary ſide he put the Campmaſter *Barlotta* with as many of his Regiment of the ſame Nation alſo; and he furniſhed both theſe Forts with ſome pieces of Artillery, whereby to ſecure the Barks wherein the Army was to paſs. The Forts being thus raiſed and provided, he cauſed a great many great Barks, and ſome of a middle ſize, to fall down from *Roan*, which were made of ſuch a form as was needful for the ſaid deſign: There were ſome flat-bottom'd, like to Floats, for the better tranſporting of the Artillery; and all theſe greater Barks were accompanied by leſſer Boats with Oars, which were to ſerve to make the paſſage of the greater the more eaſie. On the 22 of *May* all theſe Barks came to the place deſtin'd for the paſſage; nor did the Duke of *Parma* delay one moment the putting it in execution. That very night he paſt over all the French Horſe, and the next day almoſt all the *Flanders* Foot; ſome part thereof ſtaid on this ſide the River, to cozen the King of *Navar*, by feigning to make the wonted skirmiſhes, and to make him believe that they would go to ſome other quarters. And becauſe the Barks would have been too long in conveying over the whole Army, almoſt all the Flanders Horſe, the Baggage, and the Artillery were ſuddenly ſent to *Roan*, to enjoy, as afterwards they did, the commodity of the Bridge before ſpoke of, and which was patcht up in the broken parts thereof in ſuch ſort as neceſſity upon ſuch an occaſion could permit. The next day, as the Kings Horſemen were making their wonted excurſions, they were at laſt aware that the Enemies Army were paſſing over the River. The King was mad to hear of this, eſpecially when he knew that there were but few left on this ſide the River, and that thoſe were ſheltred by the Fort raiſed on the ſame ſide. He without delay picked out a ſelect number of Horſe, and came to the River, to ſee if he could rout the aforeſaid men, who were all *Spaniards* and *Italians*. But he found them ſo valiantly ſuſtained by Prince *Ranuccbio*, and ſo well defended by the Fort, as he could no ways impede their paſſage. To perfect the buſineſs, the Duke of *Parma* would have his ſon the Prince bring off the Rear; who imbarking that remainder, paſt them all ſafely over: And the like inſued to the other Souldiers who were in the Fort, and to the Artillery which defended it. Yet the King cauſing ſome of his Cannon be brought to a certain place which did moſt command the River, endeavoured to ſink thoſe Boats wherein the reſidue of the Dukes men were; and ſome of thoſe Boats which were come from *Holland* came likewiſe up, and endeavoured to hinder the paſſage. But all was in vain: For finally the Prince landed himſelf, and all the reſt of his men ſafe on the other ſhore; and preſently ſet all the Barks on fire, to bereave the Enemy of making uſe of them in paſſing over the River alſo.

The King of *Navar* was ſtill mightily incenſt, to ſee that Victory eſcape him which he made ſo ſure of. He was minded to paſs over the *Pont d'Arc*, to encounter the Enemy again, or at leaſt to infeſt them as much as he could in the Rear. But the compaſs being great which he was to make, and the Foot not being able to follow the Horſe ſo faſt, which of themſelves alone were not able to reduce the Enemy into ſtraits, he did not any thing more againſt them. When the Army of the League was paſt over the River, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayn* ſuſpected leſt King of *Navar* might fall upon the aforeſaid reſolution of paſſing over the *Pont d'Arc*: They therefore went far from the River, and quartered in a Village called *Newburgh*, more within land. From hence *Du Mayn* went with ſome Forces to *Roban*, the better to ſecure the affairs of that City by his own preſence, whilſt the *King* of *Navar* kept ſtill thereabouts with ſo great

a ſtrength. And *Ferneſe* purſued his Retreat, marching ſtill in very great order; till being come into the Country of *Brye*, contiguous to *Champania*, he thought he might with more commodiouſneſs and ſafety make leſs haſte out of *France*. Being come to the Confines, he left certain Foot and Horſe under the Command of Monſieur *Rony* to be diſpoſed of in the Leagues ſervice, as the Duke *Du Maine* ſhould appoint him. And from thence entring *Flanders*, he went again to the *Spaw*, being thereunto invited by the hot weather which already began: But with ſmall hopes of getting any good by it for his infirmity, which ſince his wound grew every day greater. He was much afflicted at this his bodily weakneſs, being thereby deprived of following the moſt neceſſary military actions, which he had formerly indefatigably undergone in his own perſon. But he was chiefly vexed to ſee how much evil the diverſions of *France* had occaſioned to the affairs of *Flanders*; and that the King of *Spain* did ſtill perſiſt more than ever in his deſire of ſuccouring the League; and that to that purpoſe he was again to paſs into *France* as ſoon as he could. At his arrival in *Flanders* he found a mutiny of the *Italians* on foot; and that Count *Maurice* had ſtraightly beſieged *Stenwick*, a place of importance towards *Frieſland*, on the the other ſide of the *Rhine*. *Maurice* did luſtily begirt it on all ſides; and having firſt fortified himſelf without to keep the Kings men from bringing relief, he omitted no diligence in making inward advancements. He plaid upon the Town furiouſly from divers parts with his Artillery: And though the beſieged were not wanting in making reſiſtance by frequent Sallies, and by all other ſtout reſiſtance, yet it was known the Town could not long hold out, without ſome ſuccour. The Siege was at this paſs when the Duke of *Parma* arrived in *Flanders*. He had left a good many men in *France*; and the remainder were ſo leſſened, and ſo out of order by reaſon of ſo many ſufferings, as they were not in any condition of undergoing new ones. The Duke endeavoured notwithſtanding that all means ſhould be uſed to relieve the Town. And *Verdugo* did likewiſe labour in it with his wonted diligence and induſtry. But his aſſiſtance was ſo weak, and came ſo late, as the beſieged not being able to hold out any longer, were at laſt inforced to yield. *Maurice* won much honour by the getting of this place, and it was a great advantage to the Confederate Provinces in thoſe parts. Nor did they ſtop here: Count *Maurice* turned preſently upon the Fort of *Covoerden*, which was in the Kings poſſeſſion, and guarded a paſs of great moment thereabouts: and did ſo narrowly beſiege it, as thoſe within wanting many neceſſaries for defence, and withal having no hopes of ſuccour, they were at laſt forced to quit the place,

Much afflicted at theſe loſſes, the Duke of *Parma* came to *Bruſſels* about the midſt of *October*; at his arrival in *Flanders*, the Prince his ſon departed from thoſe Countries to return for *Italy*. And the Duke being grown ſo very weak, as he thought he could not continue his Military labours in that Government, he very much preſt the King for leave to quit it. But the King thought not good to condeſcend thereunto: hoping that the Duke might yet again paſs once more into *France*: and knowing of what importance his very preſence would be there. On the other ſide, the King knew in what a languiſhing condition of health the Duke was: he knew how he was affected with the Dropſie, which was become now incurable; and that it was likely ſometime or other to prove his death. Wherefore the King thought it neceſſary to ſend ſome perſonage of worth and eſteem into *Flanders*, who might more attentively obſerve the Dukes condition, and might likewiſe have ſuch Commiſſions about him from the King, as ſhould be thought fitteſt to be put in execution, as well in conſideration of the Dukes great want of health, as alſo in caſe the Duke ſhould die. To this purpoſe he ſent away *John Pacheco*, Marquis of *Caralva*, who died before he got out of *Spain*; wherefore he was fain to ſend another in his place, which was *Pietro Henrichuz di Azevedo*, Count of *Fuentes*. This mean while the King being earneſtly requeſted by thoſe of the League in *France*, had commmanded the Duke of *Parma*, that he ſhould prepare to go again into that Kingdom, with as great a ſtrength as his occaſions in *Flanders* would permit him. In performance whereof the Duke gave out preſent orders for the raiſing of new men, as he had formerly done. And going from *Bruſſels*, went to *Arras*, that he might be as ſoon as might be on the neareſt Confines of *France*, and give the greater incouragement to the buſineſs. Here through the ſtrength and vertue of his mind, he continued as much as poſſibly he could to govern the weakneſs and languor of his Body. He was indefatigable in his negotiations, and more by night than by day. And as if he ſcorn'd to yield to nature, which made him now unable for any exerciſe, he would ſometimes appear on Horſeback, and did ſtrive to deceive himſelf by going on foot. Thus did he perſevere to do for ſome time. And in the interim Count *Fuentes* arrived in *Flanders*: who prepared to go from *Bruſſels*, to find out the Duke at *Arras*; but he could not come time enough; for the Duke not able to hold out any longer, and knowing himſelf firſt to be dead, before he would, as it were confeſs himſelf to be mortal, breathed forth his very laſt ſpirits about the beginning of *December*. Thus ended *Alexander Ferneſe*, Duke of *Parma*, in the 47 year of his age. The Pontifical greatneſs of *Paul* the third, placed the Title of Prince in his houſe. This *Alexander* being from his birth high minded, began to give all ſigns thereof even in his childhood. Whilſt yet a youth, he went to the Court of *Spain*, to give the greater pawn of his dependence unto the King;

and consequently to obtain the livelyer effects of protection from him. But passing quickly from the Courtier to the Souldier, he laid the first foundation thereof under *Don John* of *Austria*, upon the memorable occasion of the League against the *Turk*. Even then he gave such proofs of his warlike spirit, that amongst the richest choice of Commanders that Christendom had in that enterprise, he was chosen to take in *Navarino*, one of the most considerable places of all the Eastern Seas. *Don John* being afterwards made Governour of the Low-Countries; he at the first news of the revolts which arose there, hasted, as hath been said, to find out *Don John*. And so he behaved himself in every Military action, as it was questioned whether he had better performed the quality of a common Souldier, or the greater prerogatives of a Commander. Succeeding afterwards himself in the same Government, it seemed *Don John* did still survive in him: so near were they ally'd no less in affection than in bloud, and so conformable were they both in their years, in their conditions, and in their valour. Whilst *Ferneſe* fought amongst the Flemish, his Forces were almost always waited upon by great good success; but being forced to pass divers times into *France*, he was necessitated to see the Kings affairs in *Flanders* mightily decline. For what concerns the reputation of his Military profession, none hath more in *France* than he, for the two so memorable Succours of *Paris* and *Roan*: And finally his glorious Retreat from *Candebeck*, won more renown unto him without fighting, than if he had joyned battel in each of those actions, and had overcome. He was indeed a gallant Commander: and doubtless of so clear a fame, as his renown may rank him amongst the most cry'd up Chieftains of Antiquity, and render his memory so reverenced in the present age, as to make him be admired by posterity.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

PART III. BOOK I.

Count Peter Erneſtus Mansfield *ſucceeds the Duke of* Parma *in the Government of* Flanders. *He ſends his ſon Count* Charles *into* Picardy; *where joyning with the Duke* Du Mayn, *they beſiege and take the Town of* Noyon. *But the Spaniards in that Army, mutiny a while after in the Town of St.* Paul *in* Artois. *Count* Maurice *makes uſe of this; he ſtrongly beſieges St.* Getrudenberg, *and takes it.* Mansfield *having in vain endeavoured to relieve it. Diſorders increaſe in the Kings Army by another mutiny of Italians and Walloons, at* Pont *in* Heinault. *Archduke* Erneſtus *came to* Flanders, *and is by the King declared Governour thereof. A new expedition of Count* Charles *in* Picardy, *with the taking of* La Chapelle. *The Archduke indeavours a Treaty of peace with the Enemy. But they reject all Treaties. Not long after they beſiege* Groninghen, *which after ſome oppoſition is taken by Count* Maurice. *The King of* Navar *declares himſelf a Catholick. And the League languiſheth. The King enters with great forces into* Picardy. *He beſieges* Laon. Du Main *and* Mansfield *march to relieve it. But cannot do it. Their noble retreat in the face of the King. This mean while another Mutiny happens amongſt the* Italians *in* Flanders, *who take the Town of* Sichen. *The Archduke endeavours to break the Mutiny by force; and not being able to do it, comes to compoſition. The Confederate Provinces endeavour to find a nearer way by Sea to the* Eaſt-Indies *by the North. The deſign ſucceeds not. It is briefly touched how they entred by the uſual way into the* Eaſt-Indies, *and afterwards into the* Weſt. *Archduke* Erneſtus *dies, and leaves the Government of thoſe Provinces to Count* Fuentes.

BY Commiſſions from the King of *Spain*, which were brought by Count *Fuentes* into *Flanders*, *Anno* 1593. It was ordered, That if the Duke of *Parma* ſhould chance to dye, the Government ſhould remain in Count *Peter Erneſtus*, in the ſame manner as it had been in the Dukes two precedent expeditions into *France*: that his ſon Count *Charles* ſhould ſtill keep the chief management of the Forces; that he ſhould continue to give all poſſible aſſiſtance to the League in *France*; and that the greateſt endeavours being made on that ſide, it ſhould ſuffice to ſtand only upon the defence on the Kings part in the affairs of *Flanders*. Theſe Orders being come from the King, the firſt thing Count *Peter Erneſtus* did, was to diſpatch away his Son with new Forces into *France*, to boot with thoſe that were there already in behalf of the League. The Duke *Du Mayn* preſt very much for theſe ſuccours; and that he might the ſooner receive it, he himſelf was already gone into *Picardy*. Count *Fuentes* was in the firſt Place with *Mansfield*; and bore ſuch a ſway with him, as the power of Government ſeemed to be more in *Fuentes* than in *Mansfield*. *Fuentes* then remained chief Superintendent in *Flanders*; and Count *Charles* paſt into *France* with 6000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, part old Souldiers, part new men but then raiſed. You heard before, how that the Duke of *Parma*, that he might have a ſafe Retreat upon the Frontiers of *Picardy*, had in his ſecond expedition the Town of *Fera* delivered into his hands. Here Count *Charls* made his rendezvous, and here did the Duke *Du Mayn* joyn with him. Between the *Flanders* Forces, and thoſe of *France* which depended upon the League, was framed an Army of 15000 Foot and 3000 Horſe; and in the beginning of *March*, in the year 1593. the Camp moved againſt *Noyon*, which is not far from *La Fera*. It is a Town very much peopled; it hath a Biſhops See in it, and certain

other circumſtances which makes it be eſteemed one of the moſt conſiderable places of all *Picardy*. *Noyon* adhered to the King of *Navar*, and was of much advantage to him in that part of the Province which lies neareſt *Paris*. For all things elſe, it was not ſo ſtrong, neither by nature, nor by induſtry, nor by the condition of the people or Gariſon, but that it might be ſoon won. A little Rivolet runs through it, which not far from the City falls into the *Oyſe*. When the Army of the League had begirt *Noyon*, they began to fortifie their quarters towards the field, leſt the King of *Navar* might endeavour to ſuccour the Town; then according to cuſtom they fell to work upon their Trenches, and to prepare for Battery. The ground was rather moyſt than dry on the one ſide; and therefore they began their works there, where the ground would beſt permit them ſo to do. The two Camps contended in the making of them; and eſpecially in that of *Flanders*, the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans* and *Walloons* ſtrove according as uſually to outdoe one another in opening and in advancing the Trenches. The beſieged made ſome ſallies, but with weak forces, and weaker courage: by which it was judged the City was not in condition to make any long reſiſtance. One of their beſt defences was a Ravelin without the Walls, built about with good ſtone, and furniſht with a Platform. The Batteries were therefore chiefly turned upon that Ravelin: Nor was it long ere they fell with their Trenches into the Ditch; where Mines being joyned to the Batteries, ſo great a breach was ſoon made in the Ravelin, as it was now thought fitting to make an aſſault. Which hapneed luckily. The *Spaniards* and *Walloons* did herein particularly ſignalize themſelves; and of all others, the Camp-maſters *Luis Velaſco* a Spaniard, and *Claudius Barlotta* a Walloon: *Barlotta* and divers others were wounded, and ſome were ſlain. The Ravelin being taken, thoſe that won it lodged there; and planted ſome pieces of Artillery upon it, to play upon the Town nearer hand, and with the more terror. A certain ſtrength of Horſe and Foot was ſtill maintained by the Apoſtolick Sea, who were commanded by *Appius Conti*, who plaid his part valiantly. But a quarrel ariſing between him and the Baron *Chateaubrain* a Lorainer, and Colonel of the Germans, and falling from words to blows, *Appius* was wounded, whereupon he quickly dyed; to the grief of the Army, which held him in great eſteem. This occaſioned ſome diſorder in the Pontificals; for *Chateaubrains* German Regiment was maintained by the monies of the Apoſtolick Sea. Yet was the Siege ſo hotly continued by all parties, as thoſe within, were in a few days reduced to parley; and at laſt yielded upon honourable terms, their hopes of ſuccour failing them, though the King of *Navar* had often endeavoured it, but more by ſtealth than openly.

After the taking of *Noyon*, the Duke *Du Mayn* went ſuddenly towards *Paris*. The Catholick States-General which followed the League, were then met in that City; and this meeting was chiefly had for the chuſing of a King that would be obedient to the Church, and who would preſerve that Kingdom in the antient Religion. The two aforenamed officers of State, *Mendoſa* and *Taſſis*, were then in *Paris* for the King of *Spains* ſervice in the buſineſs then on foot; and a little before Don *Diego d'Ivara* was come thither likewiſe on his behalf, a man of courage, and who was likewiſe thought very fit for the conducting of that buſineſs. But to give it the greater reputation and advantage, the Duke of *Feria* was at laſt ſent by the King of *Spain* to *Paris*; A perſonage who to the prerogative of his family had the addition of all others which upon ſuch an occaſion were to be deſired. Their chief endeavour was to overthrow the Law Salique, which excludes women from ſucceeding to that Crown. In which caſe the Infanta *Iſabella* the Kings eldeſt daughter was to have ſucceeded, as daughter to Queen *Iſabella*, who was the eldeſt daughter to *Henry* the 2. King of *France*, and who had been formerly wife to the King of *Spain*. And as for a Husband for the *Infanta*, ſince ſhe could not have one of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as the King her Father would have deſired (but it may be all in vain, by reaſon of the invincible repugnance of the *French*) it was diſcovered that in ſuch a caſe the King would condeſcend to the choice of ſome one of that Nation, and particularly of the Houſe of *Lorain*, upon which the League in *France* was chiefly built. It was foreſeen by all the aforeſaid Agents how much advantagious it would be for the maintaining their negotiation, that the *Flanders* Forces which entred *France* in favour of the League ſhould be vigorous: wherefore they preſt this point hard upon the Governour *Mansfield*, and upon *Fuentes*, who (as we have ſaid) was next under him. But theſe on the contrary repreſented, That the affairs of *Flanders* were not to be abandoned; that the Enemy began already to move with potent Forces on that ſide: and that it behoved to maintain the Kings cauſe there likewiſe as much as might be. And yet the event ſhewed in a ſhort while, that the thus dividing of the Kings forces, did ſo weaken and diſorder them, as that they did little or no good in *France*, and were the cauſe of very great loſſes in *Flanders*. And that which greatly increaſed the diſorders was, that almoſt at the ſame time divers Mutinies broke forth; by occaſion whereof the King of *Spain* was more indammaged by his own Souldiers, than by his Enemies.

Now to return to the affairs of *Picardy*. When the Duke *Du Mayn* was gone from *Picardy*, Count *Charles* parted from thence likewiſe, and went with his Camp towards the Sea-ſide, into the lower parts of that Province, where there were yet ſome places which held for the King of *Navar*; and eſpecially the Caſtle of *Rue*, ſtrong both by ſituation and handy-work, as hath been

been ſaid: And becauſe to beſiege it, would be a buſineſs of long time, and which did require greater Forces than Count *Charles* had with him, he therefore contented himſelf with making eaſier acquiſitions. *Hembercourt*, a weak place, and more within land; and St. *Vallery*, more conſiderable as being ſeated upon the *Some* where that River falls into the Sea, fell into his hands. Here when the Count would have made further progreſs, he muſt ſheath his ſword by reaſon of a Truce which was at that time made for three months, between the King of *Navar* and the Duke *De Mayne*. Arms being laid aſide in *Picardy*, the Count diſtributed his Army in the parts of that Province which lay towards *Artois*. The expences which the King of *Spain* was then at in *France* was exceſſive: wherefore the Souldiers being but ſlowly paid, it was impoſſible to keep them from rapine; ſo as thoſe parts found more of damage by the ceſſation of Arms, than they had done in the time of war. Neither did the miſchief reſt here, licentiouſneſs increaſing every day, and pillage degenerating by degrees into diſobedience, at laſt they fell into divers mutinies: The firſt fell out amongſt the *Spaniards*; which being firſt practiſed with great ſecreſie, was ſoon after concluded; and except it were the Officers, and ſome Soldiers of more reſpect than the reſt, it was exactly performed by all others. They murmured according as is uſual, to ſee their labours ſo ill requited: And to honeſt their Error, they endeavoured to excuſe it by Neceſſity. Having then gathered together a ſufficient number of men and horſe, they deſigned to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome of the neareſt Towns in *Artois*, and there afterwards to fortifie and defend themſelves, and to draw all the Country thereabouts into contribution for their maintenance, till they ſhould receive full ſatisfaction for their pay. The Town of St. *Paul* was pitcht upon for a very fitting place to this purpoſe. Going therefore unexpectedly thither, and not meeting with almoſt any reſiſtance, they fixed there. At the firſt hearing of this riot, Count *Charls* was minded to reduce them by force: But doubting afterwards, that when the reſt of the Nations being come nearer them, ſhould more narrowly conſider the *Spaniards* deſign, they would rather imitate than impede it, he thought it better to ſhun ſo great a hazard: Which ſerved to defer, but not to evade the danger, as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place. Theſe were the ſucceſſes of the King of *Spain*'s Forces upon that Frontier of *France*.

And now to proceed with the peculiar affairs of *Flanders*: the united *Flemiſh* failed not to make uſe of this occaſion which made ſo much for their advantage. The Duke of *Parma* being dead, and finding the King more eager than ever in his deſigns upon *France*, they uſed all the means they could to be early in the field with a potent Army. Wherefore the winter being over and Count *Charles* being gone with ſo great a part of the Army into *Picardy*, Count *Maurice* deferred not moving, but diſcovered his deſign of entring with his Forces into *Brabant*. He deſired particularly to ſecure *Breda* better, as a place which belonged properly to his Family; and which had ſo luckily fallen into his hands by ſurpriſal, as you have heard. And being of opinion that the two neer neighbourhood of St. *Getrudenberg* did threaten continual danger thereunto, he therefore adviſed that by all means that Town might likewiſe be recovered; and ſo that firſt acquiſition he the better aſcertained, by the advantages which this ſecond would bring with it, which would certainly be very great by the importance of ſuch a place. This opinion of Count *Maurice* was very much approved by the Council of War of the Confederate Provinces. The buſineſs being therefore reſolved upon by the publick authority of the whole Union, he forthwith applied himſelf to make ſuch proviſions as were requiſite for ſuch a deſign. He uſed all means he could to keep the Royaliſts from being aware of it. Marching ſeveral ways, he ſeemed as if his intentions were to turn now upon *Groningben* towards *Frieſland*, now upon *Sluce* or *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, and now upon *Bolduke* or *Graves* in *Brabant*. The Royaliſts therefore ran from all parts to defend theſe places. Wherefore their Forces being the weaker by being divided, St. *Getrudenberg* could not conſequently be ſo provided as was fitting to ſuſtain the Siege which was afterwards laid unto it. At laſt *Maurice* diſcovering his true deſign, threw himſelf ſuddenly into *Brabant*, and began to fall to work with very great Forces both by land and water. St. *Getrudenberg* lies towards that out-skirt of *Brabant* which is ſubject to *Holland*: The ſeat thereof is very ſtrong: it hath the *Mauſe* on the one ſide, with its name turned into *Merwe*, and of ſuch a breadth, as being there ready to fall into the Ocean, the Channel thereof ſeems rather a Sea than a River. There falls alſo into *Merwe* on another ſide, another little River of but a ſhort courſe, called *Donge*, and it terminates the courſe near the walls of that Town; yet is the bed thereof alſo ſo broad and ſo deep, as it is capable of any whatſoever Veſſel. The other places thereabouts are likewiſe ſo lowly ſituated, as men walk more upon the top of the banks, than upon the plain ground. The manual fortification is anſwerable to this of ſituation: wherefore by reaſon of theſe prerogatives, this place is held to be of greateſt concernment not only in *Brabant* or *Holland*, but even in any other Province of *Flanders*. *Maurice* being then incamped with the ſaid Forces before St. *Getrudenberg*, he begirt the Town on the land-ſide with divers well comparted Quarters; and he added thereunto a good number of Boats by water, to block it the better up on that ſide alſo, and to end his works the ſooner. In every Quarter he began a Fort-Royal, intending to joyn them together with other ſmaller Forts, and to make Trenches and Ditches from all theſe on all ſides, ſo as the whole outward Line ſhould be

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perfectly incloſed and munited. In the inward Line alſo the like care was had of flanking and fortifying it where it was the moſt needful, the better to curb the beſieged. And becauſe all theſe Works required extraordinary diligence and labour, Count *Maurice* had with him in his Army above 3000 Pioners, who were only to be imployed in digging Ditches, in raiſing Trenches, making Forts, and in doing whatſoever elſe the Siege required of manual work. This was the firſt Siege which was undertaken by Prince *Maurice* in a more exact form than all others till this time; and in the ſucceſs whereof he propounded greateſt difficulty unto himſelf. He therefore deſired very much to effect it; that by the taking of ſuch a place, the fame which he had already won in military affairs might be increaſed. The aforeſaid Works were then begun, and purſued with incredible diligence: And the Souldiers often vying with the Pioners in their labour, and one Commander with another, and *Maurice* himſelf with them all, they had ſoon raiſed the outward Fortifications in ſuch ſort, as they had ſmall cauſe to fear any harm that the Kings men could do them. And *Maurice* had all the commodity he could deſire fully to perfect both the outward and the inward Line. And truly till then there had hardly been ſeen any ſuch works. The Forts were raiſed very high with Earth; the Trenches and Ditches were every where anſwerable: Many great Paliſadoes were added for the greater ſecurity in divers places; and every Fort was well furniſhed with Artillery. So as the place was invironed with almoſt as noble Fortifications as any it ſelf had. And yet the more to take from the Kings men all hopes of ſuccouring it, *Maurice* made the land be overflown in divers parts, to make the difficulty the greater in endeavouring it.

Thus was the Siege ordered. In the Town which was beſieged, there were about 600 *Burgonians*, and 400 *Walloons*; good men, but not enough for the preſent occaſion, nor the condition of the Siege. Monſieur *de Meſſiers* commanded the Gariſon of the Town in ſtead of Seignor *di Vatervid*, who was Governor of the place, and who upon ſome occaſions of his own was then in *Spain*. To boot with the want of Souldiers, the City was not ſufficiently provided of Victuals, nor of warlike ammunition to make ſuch defence as was needful. When the Enemies Camp appeared, *Meſſiers* gave a preſent account to *Mansfield* of what condition the Town was in, and preſt him very much for ſpeedy ſuccour: Nor did he forbear providing the mean while to make ſuch preparation for reſiſtance as became a valiant and faithful Commander to do. He made the Townſmen labour together with the Souldiers; he reviewed the Place very attentively, and endeavoured to put it into ſuch a poſture, as that *Mansfield* might have time to prepare ſuccour, and to endevour how to introduce it. On the other ſide, Count *Maurice* thinking that his outward Fortifications were ſufficient to keep him from ſo doing, bent himſelf with all his might againſt the Town within. When the Duke of *Parma* had got the Town, he cauſed a Fort to be raiſed upon the chiefeſt Bank on the ſide of *Donge*. The Fort was near enough the Town, and guarded a Paſs of great importance. From the very firſt that *Maurice* had begun the Siege, he had propounded unto himſelf to take this Fort; which from the name of a neighbouring Village was called the Fort of *Stenlo*: And giving the care thereof to Count *Hollack*, the few Souldiers that were within it having made a ſlender reſiſtance, abandoned it. From this Fort *Maurice* began to ply the Town with Canon-ſhot; nor contented with ſeveral Batteries by Land, he did the like by water; loading to that purpoſe many ſhips with great guns, which were placed on the one ſide in the *Donge*, and on the other in fitting places in the *Merwe*, and were well joyned together. The Town was continually plaid upon with above 60 pieces of Canon.

Amidſt theſe hard dealings which the beſieged met withal on all ſides, they did notwithſtanding not omit manfully to defend themſelves. They oft-times ſallied boldly out upon the Enemy: and ſupplying their paucity in number with their valour, they endeavoured to hinder their works as much as they could, and to uſe all other means to retard the Siege. *Meſſieres* was the firſt, no leſs in pains taking than in command; being both within and without continually where occaſion moſt required. But with unfortunate ſucceſs at laſt; for ere many days were over, he was ſlain with a Canon-ſhot. The Gariſon ſubſtituted Monſieur *de Giſan* in his place, who was the eldeſt Captain, and held for the the valianteſt; who failed not to continue the like diligence and labour. The Town was notwithſtanding ſtraitned every day more than other, and the danger of the loſs thereof every day increaſed, unleſs it were all the ſooner relieved; which both General *Mansfield* and Count *Fuentes* had from the firſt beginning of the Siege effectually apply'd themſelves unto. But the Kings Forces were ſo weakened by the diverſion of *France*, as it was requiſite to recruit them with new levies both of Horſe and Foot; and this could not be done without time, and many other difficulties. *Mansfield* had therefore given out Orders for the ſpeedy raiſing of Germans, Lorainers, and Burgonians, and took divers Flemiſh and Walloons into pay within the Conntry alſo. To boot with theſe proviſions of men, he provided likewiſe all other things that were neceſſary. And paſſing with *Fuentes* into *Antwerp*, that he might be the nearer bringing relief, he reſolved to go from thence immediately about it. But by reaſon of the aforeſaid difficulties, his marching thitherward proved ſo late, as it was judged almoſt impoſſible to force thoſe fortifications which the Enemy had ſo advantagiouſly raiſed againſt the

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Town. Amongſt the Maxims of War, none is more practiſed then to endeavour to raiſe one ſiege by the diverſion of another. The Commanders who were with *Mansfield* did therefore conſult whether that it were not better to beſiege *Breda*, than to endeavour the relief of *Getrudenberg*; ſo to force *Maurice* to raiſe that Siege, the better to defend himſelf from the danger of the other. To perſwade unto the diverſion, it was ſhewed how well the Enemies had fortified themſelves; and how well their Trenches were munited on all ſides; in ſo much as there being but very ſmall hope of ever overcoming them, it would be but in vain to endeavour it. That therefore the only means was to try a diverſion; to which purpoſe none was more fit than to ſit down before *Breda* with all the Kings Forces. It was repreſented that *Breda* was of ſo great concernment both in reſpect of the publick union, as alſo for Count *Maurice* his private conſiderations, as doubtleſs the Enemy would not ſuffer ſuch a place to be loſt; wherefore it was to be believed that *Maurice* would raiſe the preſent Siege, and preſently run to diſturb the other. And finally it was taken for granted that the Enemy had come with ſo great Forces before St. *Getrudenberg*, as it was to be believed *Breda* was but ill provided for, and therefore the Kings men ſhould be the better incouraged to go againſt it. But many other weighty reaſons were urged to the contrary. And firſt it was ſaid that the Enemy were already ſo advanced in their Siege, as they would not by any means abandon it. And that therefore it was the rather to be believed, that when they ſhould ſee *Breda* threatned, they would lay the cloſer Siege to St. *Getrudenberg*, ſo to make themſelves the ſooner Maſters of it, and afterwards apply themſelves ſuddenly to relieve *Breda*. It was added that they might eaſily do the one or the other; for that if St. *Getrudenberg*, were not quickly ſuccoured, the Town would be ſurrendred before *Breda* could be well beſieged; and that then the Enemy might turn with all their Forces to the defence thereof. That this way of oppugning was of it ſelf to be thought very difficult; for that the Enemy ſince the ſurpriſal of *Breda*, had fortified it, and provided better for it; and was affirmed that in reaſon of War, the Kings Army was not to be brought between ſuch a Town, and ſo great Forces as were in the Enemies Camp. Through all theſe contrarities it was reſolved that the better courſe would be, to endeavour by all means poſſible to relieve St. *Getrudenberg*: For that peradventure the difficulties in doing it would not prove ſo great as was thought for; and that howſoever they ought rather to endeavour the ſuccour, though in vain, than by undertaking a vain ſiege be doubly ſhamed by the loſs of *Getrudenberg*, and by the not getting *Breda*. Theſe laſt reaſons prevailed in the Council of War. To boot that the Kings then Forces being well conſidered, they were not thought to be ſuch, as whereupon to ground ſo weighty a deſign, in hopes to execute it. For when *Mansfield* had ſufficiently provided for all ſuch places as it was judged the Enemy might aſſail, he could not muſter above 8000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe. Reſolving then howſoever, to endeavour the relief with theſe men, he pitched upon *Turnault* for his Rendezvouz, and brought his Camp thither about the end of *May*. *Turnault* is an open Village, but the greateſt and moſt populated that is in all *Brabant*. It lies in equal diſtance, almoſt a days journey from *Antwerp*, and from *Getrudenberg*. Here again it was taken into conſideration by the Kings Camp, on which ſide they ſhould meet with leaſt difficulty in bringing in the ſuccour. And through intelligence which they had, they reſolved to go with all their men into *Steeloune*, which lay near the Enemies Trenches. On this ſide they reſolved to aſſail them, though they had ſmall hopes or none of doing any good. For making the Trenches he ſurveyed on ſeveral ſides, they found them to be ſo ſtrong, as the Enemy had no reaſon to fear any thing. And to this was added the inundation almoſt on all ſides, with which it was firſt to be contended, before they could come to try the Trenches. *Mansfield* paſſed notwithſtanding from *Steeloune* with all his Army divided into Squadrons, and halted in ſight of the quarter where *Maurice* himſelf was lodged; where a certain point of a chief Dike ſtood out which was fortified by a great Trench; which *Mansfield* would endeavour to take from the Enemy, as he by aſſault did, but not without much ado, by reaſon of the oppoſition of the water, and of thoſe that did defend it: but he ſoon loſt it again, and therewith all hopes of effecting the ſuccour on that ſide. Upon theſe occaſions ſome Skirmiſhes happened between the two Camps: And *Mansfield* ſtaying but a little while there, went to the Village of *Waeſtech*, towards which Count *Hollack* was quartered. The Kings Army was not well got thither, when it was unexpectedly ſet on in the Rear by 800 of the Enemies horſe, who were come to this purpoſe a little before out of *Breda*, and who put their quarters into ſome confuſion; but ſuddenly re-ordering themſelves, and oppoſing the enemy, they beat them back, and with ſome ſlaughter put to flight. They then with all diligence endeavoured the ſuccour on this ſide; to facilitate the which, *Mansfield* ſent for ſome further proviſions, and particularly for ſome Artillery from *Antwerp*. But the difficulties appeared alike here alſo. All this while Count *Maurice* ſlack'd not his proceedings againſt the Town on the inſide. One battery play'd continually after another, and oft-times they thundred all together. And the enemy falling out of their Trenches were already lodged in the Ditch; which being very large and deep, *Maurice* had formerly cauſed the water to be drained from thence, and drawn into lower ſituations. Wherefore the beſieged found themſelves not only weaken-

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ed in their defences, but in danger to loſe them. Nor was it long ere they loſt a Ravelin, againſt which *Maurice* had made a great battery, and accompanied it with a fierce aſſault: yet did the defendants make valiant reſiſtance: and *Geſan* their Commander in chief, dyed in ſo doing. But the Town not being able to hold out longer of it ſelf, and no ſuccour appearing from abroad, they treated of ſurrendring, which upon good conditions was done about the latter end of *June*.

Count *Maurice* being entred into *Getrudenberg*, and made all fitting proviſions for the City, he diſtributed his men into the adjacent parts, that he might obſerve the Royaliſts deſigns, and oppoſe them the beſt he might. This mean while the aboveſaid Recruit which *Mansfield* expected, was come from *Antwerp*. Wherefore deſirous to try whether he could make any acquiſition, which might at leaſt in ſome part make amends for ſo great a loſs; he reſolved to turn upon the Fort of *Crevecoeur*. This Fort is ſituated upon the mouth of a River called *Demel*: which taking its riſe in *Brabant*, and having paſt through the City of *Balduke*, or the *Buſſe*, falls about a league from thence into the *Mauſe*. The Country thereabouts was infeſted from this Fort, and particularly *Balduke* was thereby indammaged; great was the advantage moreover which the Enemy received from it, by the further command of the River. *Mansfield* advancing with his Army, made ſome of his men draw nearer the Fort, intending to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome convenient ſeat. Theſe men had much ado to paſs forward; for they found the fields overflown, and the Fort ſo well defended on all ſides; as *Mansfield* deſpairing of ever getting it, drew quickly off from it again. He then diſpoſed of his Army as he thought beſt. And becauſe the Enemy did already openly threaten *Friezeland*, and in particular the City of *Groningben*, he therefore ſent new men to *Verdugo* to ſuſtein the Kings affairs in thoſe parts as well as for the preſent they might be. *Verdugo* commanded the Kings Forces thereabouts; who was not wanting in uſing all his accuſtomed diligence, as well in doing what might be for the ſervice of his party, as alſo in impeding the Enemy from advantaging themſelves. The two Counts, *Hermano* and *Frederick de Berg*, did every day ſignalize themſelves more and more with him in the Kings ſervice: And *Verdugo* making uſe of them chiefly, was in continual action on one ſide or other. But to ſay truth, he was ſo inferior in Forces, as the adverſe party prevailed for the moſt part in all that was undertaken. But the ſucceſſes on neither ſide were of ſuch conſequence, as that by making a diſtinct relation of them here, that of the greater and more important events ought to be retarded. One of the greateſt and moſt prejudicial which happened on the Kings behalf at this time, was the Mutiny of the *Italians* and *Walloons*, who were with Count *Charles* for the ſervice of the League in *France*. A good number of the *Spaniards* which were with the Count in thoſe parts had mutinied (as you have heard) before. And becauſe there was ſome diſcourſe had of giving ſome Pays to the reſt of the *Spaniards* who kept under the obedience of their Commanders, the like reſpect not appearing to be had to the other Souldiers who had kept in the like obedience; therefore the *Italians* and *Walloons* reſolved to mutiny, as they eaſily did afterwards. They made up a body between them of 1500 Foot, and 700 Horſe; and poſſeſſing themſelves unexpectedly of the Village of *Pont* in *Henault*, upon the borders of *France*, they diligently fortified themſelves there; and provided for their neceſſities by Excurſions, they reſolved not to return to their former obedience, till they were fully ſatisfied for their pay. Count *Charles* his Forces were ſo leſſened by theſe Mutinies, as they could be of no longer ſervice neither for the affairs of *France*, nor yet of *Flanders*. Thus ended this Year, and the next of 1594 began.

In this interim Archduke *Erneſtus*, brother to the Emperor *Radolphus*, was come from *Germany* to be Governor of *Flanders*. The King had very much deſired, that a Prince ſo near allied to him both in blood and affection, would take upon him the care of thoſe Countries; and the Emperor joyning with the King in the ſame deſire, the Archduke was eaſily perſwaded to pleaſe them both. Parting then from *Vienna* about the beginning of the Year, he came to *Flanders*, and was received in *Bruſſels* with all demonſtrations of joy and honor by the obedient Provinces. At his arrival he found the affairs of the League in *France* very much declining: For the King of *Navar* having at laſt declared himſelf to be a Catholick, and having ſettled his Cauſe well in this point wherein he ſtood in moſt need, it was not hard for him afterwards to advantage it in all others. Wherefore being received without any expence of blood into *Paris*, by the example of this chief City of the Kingdom, not only the Cities, but the Provinces in all other parts ſtrove who ſhould moſt follow the King, and more ſubmiſſively acknowledg his Authority. To which, his gracious making uſe of Victory, even to thoſe who had moſt highly offended him, ſerved him in good ſtead. Growing therefore ſtronger every day both in Cauſe Forces, he made daily further progreſs throughout the whole Kingdom. But he endeavoured to do it moſt in *Picardy*, and in the parts thereabouts; where the *French* League was ſtill in ſome power, and where it was moſt fomented from the Frontiers of *Flanders*. On the contrary, the Archduke the new Governor, and the Spaniſh Miniſters of State who were in greateſt Authority under him, judging that the more the League declined, the more it needed to be ſuſtained; reſolved to ſend back Count *Charles* with new Forces into *Picardy*, who at the Arche-

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dukes arrival was come alſo to *Bruſſels*. The King of *Spains* affairs were then in a very low condition, for the reaſons which have been often alleadged. Wherefore to keep from wholly neglecting their own peculiar affairs of *Flanders*, Count *Charles* could aſſemble no more than 8000 Foot and 1000 Horſe for the Occurrences which ſummoned him again into *France*. With which Forces ſtaying in *Picardy*; after he had well obſerved the Enemies proceeding, he thought he might be able to get *La Chapelle*, which is ſeated on the very utmoſt Precincts of that Province towards the Flemiſh Frontiers of *Henault*. This place is four-ſquare, well flankt in all the four Angles, and with other Defences on almoſt all the ſides of the Curtains; it hath likewiſe a good Ditch round about it, and in all other circumſtances it is held one of the beſt Towns in *Picardy*. Count *Charles* reſolving to beſiege it, ſate down before it; and in a few days with the wonted winding of Trenches he came near the Ditch: whereinto that he might the eaſilier faſt, and facilitate the Aſſaults which were to ſucceed the Batteries, he drew away the water thereof to where the ground was lower: He then began to play upon the Town; which had but a weak Garriſon in it, and was found to be but ill provided of all things elſe. Yet were not they within wanting in preparing to make what defence they could. Count *Charles* put them preſently to the teſt. The Myre which yet remained in the Ditch was very deep; and there was no ſuch breach yet made in the Wall, as afforded the Aſſailants ſufficient commodity to mount thereupon. Wherefore the Count failed the firſt time in his deſign; and his men being beaten back with the loſs of much blood, and with the death of ſome Captains and other Officers, he muſt prepare more maturely for a ſecond aſſault. But they within would not wait it: For, fearing leſt they ſhould not be able to maintain it, and that they muſt then be all put to the Sword, and the Town be ſackt, they yielded upon good Conditions, and the Garriſon was ſuffered to go freely out.

This mean while the United Provinces on *Flanders* ſide had diligently made their Forces ready, to turn to ſome new important deſign. The Royaliſts feared *Groningben* moſt: wherefore the Archduke gave order that *Verdugo* ſhould be aſſiſted, who preſt very much to be ſo, and ſhewed in what danger the Kings affairs in thoſe Parts were. The Archduke cauſed likewiſe requiſite proviſions to be made in other places where it was moſt needful. But this was but weakly executed every where; ſo great was the ſcarcity of monies amongſt the Kings men, ſuch the diſorder of the Mutinies which had hapned, and ſuch the daily fear of new Mutinies.

Amidſt theſe preparations which were made for the continuance of Arms, the Archduke would notwithſtanding try whether there could any way be found out for the introducing of Peace. He was naturally given to love quiet; and the King having always ſhewed the ſame inclination, he thought that the King being already weary and diſdeceived in the affairs of *France*, and having ſo little hopes to advantage himſelf in thoſe of *Flanders* by the way of Arms, would willingly embrace any Agreement, which with ſafety to his and the honor of the Church, might reduce the affairs in thoſe Provinces to ſome tranquillity. Two Councellors at Law, the one called *Ottone Hertio*, and the other *Jerolimo Comans*. were by reaſon of ſome private occurrences at this time in the *Hague*, where the Confederate Provinces had eſtabliſhed their chief Councils, repreſenting the General Union. The Archduke thought that by their means, without making any further noiſe, he might come to ſome Treaty of accord with thoſe Provinces. And thinking it fit to invite the United Provinces thereunto, he writ them a Letter, the Contents whereof were,

That he had left the Emperor his brother, and was parted from Germany *with a particular deſire of ſeeing the Peace of* Flanders *reſtored by ſome good accommodation during the time of his Government. That he knew the King would very graciouſly incline thereunto likewiſe; to the end that the people there might once be free from ſo many calamities of War, and might enjoy the fruits which might ſo largely be expected from Peace. That the United States would conſider how uncertain the fortune of War was, and how dangerous it was to promiſe unto themſelves ſtill the ſame good ſucceſs therein, by reaſon of ſome happy ones which they had already had. That it was now time to come to ſome agreement. That for his part, he offered all ſincerity in the Treaty thereof, and all conſtant application towards the effecting of it. That therefore they ſhould reduce their demands to ſo juſt a ſenſe, as that he might the more willingly propound them unto the King, and uſe all means afterwards to have them granted.*

This was the contents of his Letter; in the end whereof the Archduke referred himſelf to what the two afore-named Counſellors at Law, ſhould more at large add. In the Archdukes Council of State, there were divers opinions concerning the introducing of this Treaty. The Counſellors of the Country who had propounded it, did ſtill favour it; ſhewing a great deſire that all means might be uſed, whereby to free *Flanders* from Arms. Alleadging that the King himſelf was of the ſame mind; and that let the event be what it would, this would ſerve to juſtifie the continuation of the War on his part. But the Spaniſh-State Officers were oppoſite hereunto, eſpecially Count *Fuentes*, who was of more Authority than all others next to the Archduke. He ſaid,

That the enemy did very well know in what condition the Kings affairs were then in Flanders. *That doubtleſs they would account this Propoſition an effect rather of weakneſs than humanity. That Peace*

was then advantagiously made, when there was an advantage in War. Wherefore it was better to expect awhile, till such time as the King might have the better of the business, as it might be hoped he would have; and that then it would be his part to grant Peace, and not to receive it; and that then his grace and goodness to such misled and obstinate Rebels would appear to be voluntary, and not enforced: But how much more arrogant would they become by such an invitation now? and into what contempt would the Kings Authority fall?

The opinion of the Flemish Counsellors was notwithstanding followed. For the Archduke thought good to give them satisfaction, believing that it would likewise be satisfactory to the whole Country. But it was soon seen that *Fuentes* was not deceived: For the Letter being received in *Holland* with but small respect, and they that brought it but little listned unto, the business was soon at an end; and the two Counsellors at Law were dispatched away; and answer was made by the States General to the Archduke, by rather a long Writing than Letter.

The Answer extended chiefly into bitter complaints against the meanings of the King and Council of Spain. *Against the Officers maintained by the King in* Flanders; *and against the Spaniards who had warred, and did still wage War in those Provinces: In the paper all the most fatal businesses that had happned were rip'd up; and all the blame laid upon that Nation. They shewed how that all former negotiations of peace, had always been fraudulent on the behalf of* Spain. *And finally they concluded, That the United Provinces would not listen to any new Treaties, lest they might be deceived; but that they were resolved to maintain their Cause till their last gasp; that they might preserve that Liberty which they did so justly enjoy, after being freed from that slavery, which amongst so many miseries they had formerly suffered.*

They therefore did not delay drawing out into the field. Count *William* of *Nassaw* had been before this (as we have said) on the other side the *Rhine* with many men; and though *Verdugo* had always stoutly opposed him, yet most commonly *William* got still some advantages in those parts; especially in securing those passes whereby the Siege which Prince *Maurice* intended to lay to *Groninghen*, might be made the more easie. All things necessary for this purpose being then prepared, about the end of *April Maurice* past over the *Mause* and the *Rhine*, and made his Rendezvouz at *Suol*, a Town near *Deventer* in *Overissel*. Here Count *William* joyned with him; and *Maurice* going soon after from thence with abundant provisions of all things which concerned the determined Siege, he went towards *Groninghen*; and with his whole Army incamped before that City. *Groninghen* (as it hath been already said) lies upon the utmost bounds of that Confine which joyns together the Lower and the Upper *Germany*, there is not in that part of the Low-countries, a more noble City than this, either for the number of Inhabitants, for the quality of buildings, or for the frequency of Commerce. It forms the body of a Province which lies about this City; and which takes the name, and almost the whole Government from thence. It is seated low, well provided of a wall and ditch. It hath some works within the circuit thereof after the modern fashion; and the rest are for the most part, of the antient form. It enjoys very large Priviledges. And the Citizens thereof desirous out of a sense no less of Liberty than of courage, would themselves alone defend the City, and would not admit of any other Souldiery amongst them. And though a little before when they were threatned with this Siege, they were at last perswaded to receive in five foot Colours, which *Verdugo* had sent them into an outward Borough, yet would they not till then receive them into the City. *John Balen*, the first Burgomaster and chief Magistrate had the chief Command there, both in Military and Civil affairs. He and all the rest did shew outwardly a great resolution of resistance; but *Maurice* did not notwithstanding, want friends within the Town. And many Hereticks being mingled amongst the Catholicks, the former did secretly desire a change of Government: and it was discovered that they would willingly have assisted therein: nor was it doubted but that such intelligence had caused *Maurice* more willingly undertake this business. Yet was the Catholick and the Kings Party much the greater in *Groninghen*, who sent away expres Messengers to *Brussels* to pray succour from the Archduke; wherein they were seconded by *Verdugo*. But Count *Maurice* hoping that the Kings men were not able to send relief, at least not so soon; and Count *William* having secured all the passes better than before, he betook himself with greater diligence to the Siege. He infinitely desired to effect this business, by the which, gaining so noble a City, and a Province so opportunely seated, he might at the same time advantage so much the general Cause of the whole Union, and his own particular glory. He had with him divers valiant Commanders, who had accompanied him the year before at the Siege of *Getrudenberg*; to whom he assigned out the chief Quarters: and *Maurice* took up his own quarter where the greatest difficulty of the Siege lay. He then fell to fortifie all quarters; and within a few days the fortifications were such, both on the fields side, and towards the Town, as those about *Groninghen*, being compared with those which were about *Getrudenberg*, it was not easie to be judged in which of the two *Maurice* had more signalized himself. Insomuch as not fearing any succour which might be brought by the Royalists from without, he applyed himself wholly to perfect his inward works. He had great store of Artillery in his Camp, with which he infested

feſted the City on all ſides: making the Trenches the mean while be the more ſpeedily advanced, that he might the ſooner come to a formal battery. The beſieged ſhewed a ready willingneſs to defend themſelves: and the Souldiery which were lodged in the Suburbs had very well munited themſelves, and going whitherſoever occaſion did moſt require, they were a great help unto the Townſmen, who had placed a good number of Artillery upon their walls, and by inceſſant ſhooting, endeavoured to annoy the Enemies Camp, and to hinder their works as much as in them lay. They endeavoured likewiſe to endamage them by Sallies, whereof they made divers which proved very bloudy on both ſides: but being in a ſhort time come unto the ditch, *Maurice* forthwith made his Batteries; by which bereaving thoſe within of their defences, he conſequently brought them into greater ſtraits. They had planted a Counter-battery upon a new Ravelin which they had made, the better to ſhelter one of their gates, and had placed thereupon 6 pieces of great Canon; *Maurice* had inforced the ſiege moſt on that ſide which was thought to be the weakeſt. The beſiegers ſaw how much it imported them to be Maſters of the Ravelin; and the beſieged how much it concerned them to defend it: in ſo much as all endeavours being made on both ſides to theſe ends, the whole weight of the oppugnation was ſoon brought to that only place. The Enemy at the laſt fell into the Ditch on that ſide, and began to fill it up, and to advance with their works on both ſides, leaving a narrow ſpace in the midſt which they called the Gallery. Their chief deſign was to undermine the Ravelin, if they could not ruine it by their Batteries, wherewith having at laſt made as they imagined, a ſufficient breach, they delayed coming to an aſſault no longer: but in the doing of it, though they ſhewed great reſolution, they could not get upon the ruines of the Ravelin, becauſe they were not ſufficient for them to mount upon; but much more becauſe they were very gallantly defended, yet did the vigour of their reſiſtance ſeem to cool every day, by reaſon of their ſmall hopes of ſuccour. Thoſe who they had ſent to that purpoſe, had ſtill very much preſt the Archduke in that behalf. But to boot with the want of monies, and to the prolongation of time which the making of new Levies would have required, the diſorders ſtill increaſed in their former Souldiery, who for want of Pay did mutiny upon eaſie occaſions; as hapned juſt at this time amongſt a number of *Italians* who were quartered in *Brabant*.

Thoſe of *Groningben* were the moſt diſheartned by this new diſorder. Nor were Count *Maurice* his Fautors backward in repreſenting unto the Inhabitants the danger the City was in of being ſtorm'd, ſackt, and ſuffering ſtill greater calamities. The Magiſtrate was therefore inforced to ſend ſome to diſcover what hopes there might be of getting good Conditions from *Maurice*. But thoſe who were more firm for the King and the Church, being of opinion that it was yet too early to do ſo; making uſe of this opportunity, they brought thoſe five Foot-Companies into the City which were lodged without, as was before ſaid. This occaſioned a great tumult amongſt the Citizens; every one clothing their private intereſts with appearing zeal unto the publick. But the diſſention being at laſt appeaſed, they continued in making defence. On the other ſide, *Maurice* ſeeing himſelf deluded, grew more fervent in his oppugning. The chief conteſt of the ſiege was brought to about the aforeſaid Ravelin. Therefore great was their advantage which were without: For being Maſters of the Ditch, and falling already to work upon the Walls they had begun to undermine the Ravelin, to blow it up into the Air, that they might the ſooner and with the more ſafety come to the Aſſault. They would nowithſtanding try a new Aſſault, before the Mine was fully finiſhed: And it proved to be ſo fierce a one, as thoſe within had much ado to ſuſtain it. But the Mine being at laſt perfected, they preſently went to work with it; and the effect was this: The beſiegers feigned as if they would give another aſſault; wherefore the beſieged flocking to defend the Ravelin, the others on a ſudden retreated; and at the ſame time the Mine plaid, which blew up almoſt all the men that came to defend it: Then the oppugners returning to a new, and true aſſault, they eaſily won the Ravelin. Great was the danger, but greater the fear that thereby aroſe unto the City. It was ſuſpected that the chief Burgomaſter did adhere to *Maurice*: Taking therefore the conjuncture of time when the Magiſtracy was fulleſt, he ſpake thus.

Had the King (moſt worthy Citizens) done his part in preſerving this City under his obedience, as well as we to our utmoſt have always done ours in maintaining it therein, we ſhould not be ſubject to that change which now paſt all redemption and of neceſſity we muſt prepare for. The troubles of theſe Countries have laſted now theſe 30 *years; and when did we in all this time ever forfeit our fidelity to his Majeſty in the leaſt degree? The Duke of* Alva *came to the Government of* Flanders *with cruel and imperious deſigns, as every one knows; and having yoaked* Antwerp *with a Citadel, he began to do the like to* Groningben. *We then reſiſted it as much as we might; ſhewing that the beſt Citadel for the King's ſervice would be our Hearts. But our intreatis were in vain, as well as our former complaints had been. Yet this new Work ſoon ceaſed, for the troubles would not ſuffer it to be purſued. The City therefore remained in her former condition: And ſince then till now, I muſt ask again, when did ſhe ever vary in her allegiance to the King? How oft have the Enemies paſt and repaſt with great Forces through this ſo jealous Confine between the two* Germanies? *How often have they threatned this City either by underhand dealings or openly? but ſtill in vain: ſo vigilant have we always been in keeping it, and reſolute in defen-*

ding it. This may be witneſſed by as many as ever governed the Kings Forces in theſe parts: And Verdugo *himſelf, a* Spaniard, *who hath the chief Command here now, can beſt teſtifie it. I wiſh it had been Gods will that his counſels had been followed a good while ago: The Kings affairs hereabouts would not then have been in that drooping condition that they are now, nor would this our City be in the danger that ſhe is in at preſent. It will not then be we that have abandoned the King, being enforced thereunto by neceſſity; but the King will rather appear to have abandoned us, neglecting, as it is well known, his own affairs here no leſs than ours. Nay, it muſt be ſaid that by his ſo many diverſions in* France, *he hath been willing totally to forſake* Flanders. *How great have the loſſes been which by reaſon of this have inſued to theſe Provinces? But I now come to the Siege, which is that which my precedent diſcourſe doth point at. Every one knows to what terms we are brought: And this laſt loſs of our Ravelin hath as much advantaged the Enemy, as it hath put us into greater ſtraits. I confeſs notwithſtanding we may for a while ſuſtein the Siege, if we had any hopes of being freed by the wonted way of ſuccour. But where is there any appearance thereof? Nay, does not all ſigns make for the contrary? The greateſt ſtrength of the Army is imployed in* France; Flanders *is full of Mutinies; there is not time to raiſe new men, and mony is yet more wanting. Shall we then expect that this ſuccour ſhall fall from the Air? I ſhall therefore adviſe to treat as ſoon as we can of a ſurrender. It will be ſome ſort of merit to have done that anticipately of our own choice, which muſt of neceſſity be done at laſt: And ſo making advantagious Articles, we ſhall the better unite our City and the Country which depends upon it, to the States-General of the other Confederate Provinces. We ſhall not (as I have ſaid) have quitted our obedience to the King; but it is he who will not have us continue longer therein. For what remains, how much is ſuch a change to be deſired? In our ſubjection to the States General, we ſhall find Liberty which ſhall be enjoyed by this particular Province; we ſhall withdraw our ſelves from a Foreign yoke; we ſhall be freed of the Taxes which are impoſed upon us; we ſhall fight no longer for the intereſts of others, but for what concerns our ſelves: And in fine, all the good, and all the bad will be our own, which in defence of the common liberty we ſhall hereafter find.*

This diſcourſe wrought ſo upon the minds even of thoſe that were moſt affectionate to the King, as they knew not how to gainſay it. The no appearance of ſuccour was particularly of great force. Nor is it to be believed how much indignation it wrought, not only in *Groningben* and the parts thereabouts, but in all other places which were under the Kings obedience, to ſee that his own affairs in *Flanders* were by him almoſt wholly abandoned, to ſuſtain thoſe of *France* which did daily decline. The chief of the Magiſtracy and of the Communalty went therefore to Count *Maurice* to agree with him touching the ſurrender of the City: And being very graciouſly received, the Agreement was made; and theſe were the moſt eſſential Conditions thereof.

That the City of Groninghen, *together with the neighbouring Country which makes up that Province, ſhould for the future be under the obedience of the States-General, repreſenting the Body of the Confederate Provinces. That it ſhould oblige it ſelf to the Union of this Body, by being a particular member thereof for the time to come; and that it ſhould ſubmit it ſelf to thoſe Laws wherein the other Provinces were joyned for the defence of their common Cauſe. That the City of* Groninghen *and all the aforeſaid Country ſhould enjoy their antient priviledges, and all their former immunities. That that City and Province ſhould by the authority of the States-General receive Count* William *of* Naſſaw *for their Governour; and that for the preſent five or ſix Foot-Companies ſhould be permitted to come into the City, to prevent all occaſion of Tumults which might happen there. That there ſhould be Liberty of Conſcience for matter of Religion in that City and Country: but that that which was called the Reformed Religion ſhould be exerciſed there publickly, and no other. That the City and Province ſhould concur in contributing ſuch taxes as did correſpond with their Abilities, for the maintenance of the Souldiery, and for other neceſſary expences concerning the common Cauſe. That it ſhould be free for any man to tranſport himſelf and goods into whatſoever place he would, provided it were not in the Enemies country. That the Government of the City ſhould depend as formerly upon the Magiſtracy; and that the Magiſtrate ſhould be changed according to cuſtom, taking an oath to be true and faithful to the States General, as the other Cities under the Union had done.*

Theſe were the chief Articles of Agreement which were made with thoſe of *Groninghen*. And as for the Foreign Souldierswhich were entred into the City, they were permitted by Count *Maurice* to march forth honourably with their Arms and Baggage, but upon promiſe not to ſerve the King of *Spain* for three months ſpace on that ſide the *Rhine*. The City was ſurrendred about the end of *July*; and Count *Maurice* made his entrance into *Groninghen* afterwards with all military pomp and ſolemnity: And leaving Count *William* there for the better ordering of all things in that City and Province, he within a few days removed his Army from thoſe parts, and went himſelf unto the *Hague*. Where it cannot be expreſſed with what applauſe and honour he was received by the States General, for having ſo much increaſed the advantages of the Union on that ſide the *Rhine*, by an acquiſition of ſuch conſequence.

Whilſt affairs went thus in *Flanders*, the Forces which were on the aforeſaid Frontiers of *France* were not idle. The Duke *Du Mayn* was Governor of *Burgony*; the Duke of *Guiſe* Governor of *Champania*; and the Duke *d' Aumale* Governor of *Picardy*: all of them being of the houſe of *Lorain*; and upon whoſe perſonages the League did principally depend: ſome diſcord

was

was already fain out in their former Union; and finally the Duke of *Guiſe* would be kept no longer from moving ſome Treaty of agreement with the King: ſince he had imbraced the Catholick Religion, and after his ſo many atchievements which had made him now be almoſt generally acknowledged for King of *France*. Neither was the Duke *du Mayn* much averſe from coming to a Compoſition with him. But he endeavoured to negotiate with his Sword in hand, that he might thereby get the better conditions. Only the Duke *d' Aumale*, were it either that he was more firm in his former adhering to the League; or that he was a back friend to the King for ſome private reſpect of his own, was reſolved to come to no accommodation with him; but rather in caſe the League ſhould wholly ceaſe, to go into *Flanders*, and put himſelf wholly into the King of *Spains* hands. To this end he favoured the Flemiſh Forces more than ever in his Government of *Picardy*. But ſuch partiality was of no great availment: For the Kings reconciliation with the Apoſtolick See, being then mainly negotiated in *Rome*, the League declined daily, in ſo much as even almoſt whole *Picardy* was already come over to the King. To get the full poſſeſſion whereof, the King was a little before entred into that Province with a potent Army, and had laid Siege to *Laon*. The City of *Laon* being very ſtrong both by Situation, and Manual Fortification, the Duke *du Mayn* did much endeavour the not loſing of it. To boot that the Count of *Sommariva*, *du Mayn*'s eldeſt Son, being within the Town, and one that defended it; who though he were but very young then, was notwithſtanding of great expectation; the Father did the more deſire to ſee his Son free together with the Town. To this purpoſe *du Mayn* was gone himſelf to uſe what diligence might be with the Archduke. And returning with new and very ſtrict Orders to *Mansfield*, that he ſhould uſe all the means he might for the preſervation of the Town, they joyned both their Forces together: which were notwithſtanding ſo weak as they exceeded not 8000 Foot and 700 Horſe. The Rendezvouz being made at *la Fera*, which is within four leagues of *Laon*, they marched from thence about the end of *June*, with a reſolution of relieving the beſieged. There was a choice Garriſon in *Laon*, of 1200 foot and 300 horſe: nor were the Inhabitants leſs willing to make defence than were the Garriſon. The King had about 12000 choice foot, and 4000 horſe, which were the very flower of his Army. And having already taken and fortified his quarters, he was very diligent in advancing his Trenches, and other uſual Works. The beſieged ſhewed all manlike reſolution to reſiſt, which they witneſſed by frequent ſallies: To the which they were the more encouraged by the expectation of relief ſo near at hand. In the Colleagues Camp, which ſtill held the exterior Title of the League, though it were almoſt wholly compoſed of Flemiſh Forces, the Duke *du Mayn* commanded in chief; the Archduke having thought it fit he ſhould do ſo, that he might ſeem to put the greater eſteem and confidence in him: and to keep him from falling into any precipitate accommodation, in his Treaties with the King in *France*. The Army going therefore from *La Fera*, came marching in great order to *Laon*. Betwixt theſe two places there lies a great Wood on the left hand called *Crepy*, taking its name from a little Town hard by. The Colleagues Camp coming out of this Wood into the open Champain, drew near the Kings Trenches. There lay alſo between the two Camps another leſſer Wood, in view whereof the Colleagues lay. Their intention was to poſſeſs themſelves of that Wood, and to advance ſo advantagiouſly on that ſide, as that they might the eaſilyer from thence bring ſuccour into the Town. Which deſign being by the King diſcovered, he reſolved to oppoſe them with all his might. Skirmiſhes grew therefore very hot between them; the one endeavouring to enter the Wood, the others to keep them out. The former placing their chiefeſt hopes of relieving the Town, in making themſelves maſters of the Wood. And the others the greateſt ſecurity of their Siege in defending it. But the Skirmiſhes growing contiually hotter, one of them turned almoſt into a ſet battel. In hazardous adventures, *Barlotte*, the Walloon Campmaſter, was rather raſh than daring. This man advancing with his Regiment into the Wood, charged the Kings men ſo home, as he made them withdraw a good way within, not without the ſlaughter of many of them. It was not long ere freſh aid came in on the Kings part. Wherefore the *Walloons* were forced to give back; when the Campmaſters, *Auguſtin Meſſia* a Spaniard, and the Marquis of *Trevico* a Neapolitan appeared with their Brigadoes in their defence, and did vigorouſly ſuſtain the Conflict: which was no leſs vigorouſly ſuſtained on the French ſide by the Baron of *Byrons* coming in with new men. Who being made Marſhal of *France* after the death of the Marſhal his Father, ſhewed himſelf to merit the title of his Son, much more by valour than blood. The Son was naturally very fierce; and herein only it was to be wiſhed he had had a little more of his Fathers circumſpection. The advantage growing ſtill greater on that ſide by *Byron*'s coming in, *du Mayn* came in likewiſe to aſſiſt his men, and ſoon after *Mansfield* came in too. And the King himſelf coming in on the other ſide, the conflict did ſo increaſe, as it was now almoſt turned to a ſet battel; the Commanders in chief of both Armies being preſent at it; and if not all, at leaſt the moſt ſelect men of both the one and the other Camp. The King had much the better in Horſe; but by reaſon of the thickneſs of the Wood, there could but ſmall uſe be made of them. On the contrary, the Colleagues Camp was much the Superior in foot, if not in number, at leaſt in goodneſs; but neither

ther could they make use of that advantage within the Wood, which they might have done in the open Field. For the same straitness and narrowness of situation did not admit of the forming of Squadrons, nor of their orderly moving. The fight was therefore much more confused than regular. And thus it continued with much slaughter on both sides, the victory remaining very uncertain, till the night coming on, both sides were forced to retire unto their quarters. The King removed afterwards with a great body of men to another quarter where he might better keep the Enemy from entrance into the Wood. But their Camp began already to suffer very much in point of victuals: For the Kings Cavalry scouring the Country continually, the Colleagues came by their victuals upon hard terms. And just at this time as *Nicolas Basti* was bringing a good quantity of provision with a strong Conduct from *Noyon*, he was set upon by the Duke of *Longueville*, who with such forces as he had with him, soon routed him, and to boot with his provisions, took from him his carriages and draught horses. They afterwards endeavoured to get some with greater Forces from *la Fera*. To which purpose great store of victuals, Munition, and whatsoever else the Colleagues stood in need of being provided, a select number of Spaniards and Italians were sent from their Camp to bring them the more safely. But this their second endeavour proved no more fortunate than did the former. For the King being advised of his preparation, and that the business was to be effected by night, he commanded Marshal *Biron* to impede them. Who having secretly ordered an Ambuscado in a very opportune place, did with such violence, and so unexpectedly set upon the adverse party, as that being overpowred in numbers, they were forced to give ground, and leave all their victuals, and whatsoever else in *Birons* hands. Yet the Spanish and Italian Foot resisted stoutly for a great while, making use of their Carriages for their defence, and turning their faces whersoever the assault was hottest. In so much as not endeavouring to save themselves by running away, they were almost all of them slain upon the place. But they died not unrevenged; for they slew above 200 of the Kings men, and wounded above as many more. The Colleagues by reason of these two unfortunate events, lost all hopes of being able to effect their intended succour: wherefore they resolved to raise their Camp, and to retreat. They were minded to rise privately by night; but this was not to be done without great difficulty, they having an Army so near them, so much superior to theirs, and which particularly did so far exceed them in Horse, by which they might upon such advantage assail them on the Reer, and on the Flanks, as they retreated. *Mansfield* inclined therefore to retreat privately by night; but *Du Mayn* thought it would reflect too much upon their reputation not to retreat by day light. Betwixt these two differences of opinions, it was resolved, that the Camp should move by night; and that the Van and Battel being advanced in that silent season, the Reer should march by day; and that the greatest resistance should be made where the greatest danger should lie. Thus then was the Army divided: The chief care of the Van, with which the Baggage was to go, and the greatest part of the Artillery was given to Camp-master *Barlotte*; *Mansfield* guided the Battel; and *Du Mayn* brought up the Reer: this was notwithstanding to be turn'd into the Van, if it should have any occasion to face about upon the Enemy, who were to fall upon them on that part: and certainly if ever the Duke *Du Mayn* provided himself to be both a gallant Commander, and a good Souldier, it was at this time. That he might make the better resistance, he kept with him the flower of the Infantry, which were for the most part Spaniards, the rest Italians, and who divided into well ordered Squadrons of Pikes and Musqueteers, was to sustain the violence of the Enemies Horse, when they should charge hotlyest upon them. The flying Squadron thrust forward before the rest, which being used to march before the Army upon occasion of Fight, came now in the Reer; for the Reer, as hath been said, was now to be the Van. This Squadron consisted of choice and select Captains, Officers and other Souldiers, and *Augustine Messia*, one of the most esteemed Spanish Camp-masters that was then in *Flanders*, had the particular charge thereof. The Duke *Du Mayn* had placed himself in the last files of Foot of that Squadron, which were to be the first toward the Enemy. Saying, *That he would that day serve as a Souldier under Camp-master* Messia: and divers others of the best of the Army were there likewise. They were to march almost three leagues before they could bring themselves in safety into *La Fera*. The Van rising thus about midnight, the Battail began to move in its due time, and about the break of day the Reer began also to march.

When the King heard of this Retreat, he delayed not doing what he could to disturb it. Assembling the Flower of all his Cavalry, he charged the Enemies Reer on divers sides as they came out of the Wood, into which the Leagues Camp for their better advantage had taken their way: And often renewing his assaults, endeavoured to overcome them. But still in vain: For the Squadrons keeping still a stedfast order, and the Musquets serving the Pikes with admirable discipline, and the Pikes the Musquets alternately in making the fittest opposition, the Kings men could not in the least part effect what they desired. Every Encounter was valiantly sustained, in particular by the flying Squadron; they ever and anon faced about, and received the Charge with their Pikes couched; so a great a shower of Musquet-shot hailing down continually upon them, as they oft repented their being so far advanced. In all these conflicts

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whereſoever the greateſt danger was, there was the Duke *Du Mayn*, with his Pike in his hand, diſcharging the duty of a private Souldier much more than of a Commander: And the vigor of his mind was the better ſeen by the proportion of his body; for being very tall of ſtature, and his limbs very well proportioned, and armed with all ſuch pieces as he ought to be upon ſuch an occaſion, he drew not only the eyes, but the praiſe of all men upon him. The aſſaults continued a while on the Kings part; but the Colleagues being more moleſted than prejudiced thereby, and ſtill marching in very great order, at laſt free from all diſturbance their Camp came ſafe to *La Fera*: And the King having compaſt his end in hindring the ſuccour, he preſently betook himſelf to finiſh the taking of *Laon*. The beſieged defended themſelves gallantly for many days; making many bold ſallies, and perſevering with ſingular courage in all other reſiſtance: But the Batteries never ceaſing from without, after having ſuſtained many aſſaults, and many of the defendants being ſlain, and having no hopes of further aſſiſtance, the City was at laſt delivered up unto the King upon honorable conditions about the end of *July*.

This mean while the King of *Spain*'s own affairs in *Flanders* were ſtill in greater diſorder and confuſion; to boot, with the former two mutinies, which have been already mentioned: an other had at this time hapned in *Brabant*; ſome Foot colours of Italians were quartered in that Province, in the Towns of *Areſcot*, and of *Sichem*, which Towns were very near one another, the want of Pay was very great, as you have often heard, by reaſon of the exceſſive charges the King was at both in *France* and *Flanders*; and it was the greater at this time in *Flanders*, becauſe the people which had mutinied in St. *Pauls* and *Pont*, had but juſt now received ſatisfaction of their Pay, which had coſt a great ſum of money. The foreſaid Italians being therefore moved thereto in part by need, but certainly much more by the example which they had before their eyes, of ſeeing ſo fowl an action in their companions, ſo advantagiouſly recompenced; they reſolved by the ſame means to endeavour the ſame ſatisfaction. The practice being carried on with wonted ſecreſie from the beginning, it was ſoon after put in execution; and thoſe of *Areſcot* vying for diſpatch with thoſe of *Sichem*, at laſt all of them being agreed, they met together in *Sichem*, as in the greater place, and which might be the better fortified: and here throwing off all obedience, they openly mutined. This licentious enſign being raiſed, many other Italians flock'd ſuddenly unto it, and many Souldiers of other Nations mingled alſo with them; their whole number came to between two and three thouſand. The Archduke was highly diſpleaſed at this diſorder; both in himſelf; and for the conſequences it drew after it: he ſaw that one mutiny begot another, nay, that divers were on foot together; that tho they pretended neceſſity, it was rather out of corruption; and that the King of *Spains* condition was now very lamentable, his own forces proving more prejudicious to him than thoſe of his Enemies. Wherefore he concluded, that laying aſide all fair proceeding, 'twas beſt to try once, if ſuch a miſchief could be ſuppreſt by rigour. The Council of War inclined hereunto: But howſoever, it was thought to be too dangerous a buſineſs, and of too bad example to ſet thoſe Souldiers one againſt another, who did militate under the ſame Colours: Wherefore they reſolved to proffer ſome juſt ſatisfaction to the mutiners, whereby to reduce them to their former obedience. The offer was large enough, but they would by no means accept of it; for being become reſolute both by reaſon of their own numbers, and by the good ſucceſs of their other fellows in their mutinies, they obſtinately refuſed ever to return to their former Colours, till they were fully ſatisfied for their whole Pay. Theſe contumacious ſpeeches were followed by much more contumacious actions. Not contented with ſuch uſual contributions, as in ſuch caſes are impoſed upon the adjacent Countrey; they began to lay heavy taxes upon the Towns round about, which were further off. And they grew to that inſolency, that in raiſing their contributions, they came once even to within the ſight of *Bruſſels*, where the Archduke and the Court was. But neither did their audaciouſneſs ſtop here. Fear leſt open force might be uſed againſt them, they began to hold intelligence with Count *Maurice*: not that they would turn over to the adverſe party: (They never were ſo baſe) but that they might have a ſafe refuge in caſe of neceſſity, if they ſhould be purſued by Arms. The Archdukes anger was much increaſed by theſe actions: nor made he any delay. He raiſed a good body of men out of the Spaniſh mutiners, who had already received their Pay, and of many others of the ſaid Nation; and reſolved to ſend them againſt the laſt mutiners. Amongſt other Commanders *Lewis de Velaſco*, a Spaniard of great eſteem was of the aforeſaid opinion, that this new mutiny was to be quelled by force. The buſineſs was therefore aſſigned to him; being come with his men, (to whom were joyned certain *Walloon* Foot and Horſe) near *Sichem*, he began to ſtraiten the mutiners. His chief end was to take from them thoſe contributions which they gathered from all the adjacent parts. But he could not ſo eaſily compaſs his intent; for the mutiners horſe ſcouring the Countrey where it was moſt neceſſary, ſecured their Paſſes, and brought victuals as formerly into *Sichem*. This Town lies upon the River *Demer*, and the mutiners, for the better ſecuring of that Paſs, had raiſed a good Fort there, and ſheltered it with a leſſer. *Velaſco* goes againſt theſe Forts, indeavouring firſt to take the weaker, that he might have the leſſer difficulty in winning the other. But were it that the Spaniard had been too immature in their moving,

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os that the mutiners made too ſtout a reſiſtance, the Spaniards were forced to retreat, leaving above 200 of their men dead behind them; amongſt which divers Captains and Officers, and particularly *Pietro Portocarrero*, very near akin to *Fuentes*. *Velaſco* going then more deliberately to work about the one and the other of theſe Forts, and beginning to begirt them with Trenches and uſual Works, the Mutiners reſolved to abandon them. Yet could not the people that were within them retreat to *Sichem* in ſo good order, but that ſome of them were routed and many ſlain and wounded.

The Forts being loſt, the Mutiners were much leſs ſecure in the Town; and their difficulties of coming by victuals increaſing every day, they were already brought into great ſtraits. They therefore betook themſelves to more ſtrait intelligence with Count *Maurice*: and ſending ſome of their men to *Breda* where he then was, they at laſt obtained of him, that they might be permitted to come thereabouts under the ſhelter of *Breda* and *Getrudenberg*, till they ſaw what reſolution the Archduke would take with them. They deſired no more than this, nor to more than this did *Maurice* oblige them. They parted thus from *Sichem* about the midſt of *December*, and marched ſtill in good order till they came to within the Territories of *Langheſtrat*, within the Enemies Country, where they were received with all ſecurity. Their affairs being brought to this paſs, the Archduke, *Fuentes*, and all the reſt of the Kings Officers, were of opinion that their former reſolutions againſt them were to be mitigated, to keep them from falling into greater precipices. Therefore it was moved that the ſame means of accommodation might be uſed with them as was uſed with the others: which was not by them refuſed. So with Count *Maurice* his permiſſion, who ever treated them with much humanity, without ever endeavouring in the leaſt manner to tempt them to violate their loyalty; Count *John Gaicome Belgioſo*, a Gentleman of *Milan*, was oft-times by them recieved, who was imployed to this end by the Archduke. The agreement was,

That they ſhould go to Tilemone, *a place which did belong unto the King in* Brabant. *That they ſhould keep there with all fitting ſecurity. That ſome Spaniard ſhould be left with them for hoſtage, till ſuch time as they ſhould be ſatisfied; and that when they ſhould have received their Pay, they ſhould return unto their former ſervice.*

Franciſco Padiglia was therefore given them for an hoſtage, and ſo they went to *Tilemone*; where they ſtaid above a year, ſuch difficulty was found in raiſing moneys to ſatisfie them; there never having been any mutiny wherein there were more Captains, inferior Officers, Souldiers who received great advantages of Pay, and other old Souldiers, who likewiſe had large Pay, than there was in this. This mean whiſe the year ended, with the divulging of a memorable Navigation throughout *Europe*, which the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* had that year found out, of finding a nearer cut to the *Eaſt-Indies* by the North.

They had already wrought themſelves into the Eaſt-*Indies* by wonted way of the South. Though they had not apply'd themſelves to ſo far remote and ſo laborious Traffick, till after the Crown of *Portugal* was come again into the King of *Spains* hands. Before this happened, they by their near-hand, and commodious navigations, frequenting often the Coaſts of *Portugal*, and eſpecially their chief Port of *Liſbone*, did much to their advantage partake of the Merchandiſes which were more peculiar to the *Indies*. But when the King of *Spain* ſucceeded to that Crown, and forbade all manner of Trade to the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* with *Spain* or *Portugal*, they reſolved they would go themſelves into the Eaſt-*Indies* by the ſame way of the South, which the *Portugals* had at firſt ſo happily diſcovered, and ſtill more happily purſued. This enterpriſe proved very hard unto them at firſt; finding themſelves to ſeek in the immenſity of ſo long a voyage, and no leſs in the knowledge of Winds, Seas and People, which they had never before practiſed nor ſeen. The greateſt obſtacle which they met withal was in the oppoſition made unto them by the Portugeſes; who being the only men who had formerly ſailed upon thoſe Seas, and given what Laws they liſted to that Commerce, could not admit of any aſſociates therein, much leſs of Enemies, and ſuch Enemies. But the Flemiſh growing the more hardy in the purſuance of their enterpriſe, by how much they were withſtood at firſt, have at laſt proceeded ſo far therein, as (as it is well known to all men) the Crown of *Spain* could not be more indamaged than it hath been by them in thoſe parts. Nor could this ſatisfie their hatred to that Crown, or yet their own thirſt after gain. Hoping by one good ſucceſs for the like happineſs in others, they were not long in trying whether they could not by the ſame means work themſelves into the *Weſt-Indies*, and get footing there. And truely therein either their fortune, or their audacity, or rather their ſingular skill in Navigation, hath been ſuch, as having at laſt tamed and overcome the Ocean, they have landed there, on divers ſides: have built Forts there; eſtabliſhed Garriſons; and gotten no leſs advantage in thoſe Weſtern *Indies*, than they had formerly got in the Eaſtern. Nay it may be ſaid to be greater, by how much the occaſion of enjoying it there hath been the greater. Out of hopes eſpecially that they may ranſack the Spaniſh Plate-Fleet which through that immenſe way by Sea, is every year brought into *Spain*. Or at leaſt that they may ſo annoy them, as the danger of the paſſage growing every voyage greater, their trouble and expence in making them, might likewiſe daily increaſe. Deſigns which have in a good part been

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ſince effected. For to boot with the great increaſe of expence which the Crown of *Spain* hath been forced to be at ſince, to maintain the Empire of thoſe Seas and Lands; their Fleets have been indangered more than once; and the neceſſity of having them ſafely convoyed, hath made the paſſage much more difficult and expenſive than it was before: Though it may be ſaid on the contrary, that all theſe oppoſitions have ſerved to make the greatneſs of *Spain* appear the more, both in maintaining greater Forces and greater expences, where it hath been neceſſary to increaſe them; and in preſerving the reputation of their Arms both by Land and Sea; where there hath been any occaſion to imploy them. But theſe Navigations of the Hollanders and Zealanders on both ſides of the *Indies*, eſpecially in the Weſt-*Indies* have happened for the moſt part, ſince their having found out the North-weſt paſſage into the Eaſt-*Indies*; to return to which, their reſolution was to ſail by a nearer cut if they could, and to come to the Oriental regions of *Cataia*, *China*, and the *Indies*, ſteering their courſe on the right hand, and drawing ſtill nearer the Pole. In which ſhort Voyage they thought that at ſome ſeaſons of the year they might find ſuch acceſs into that almoſt continually frozen Sea, as that they might at laſt get out of it. And to this purpoſe they prepared four ſhips, and furniſhed them with all things neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe. Then going out of their own ſeas, and having paſſed through thoſe of *Norway*, and then the others of *Greenland* and *Iſeland*, which are the utmoſt on the North-ſide moſt under the Pole, they wheeled about to the right hand and came ſucceſsfully to the Strait which is called *Nova Zembla*. There began the difficulty of the paſſage, which increaſing ſtill the more by how much they advanced further, it proved ſo exceſſive at the laſt, as their trouble to return back was incredible. They ſaw the ſea freeze into mountains, the skies hidden in thick clouds, and amidſt thoſe horrors, Nature ſeemed almoſt wholly to fail. Being ſtaid by Ice, they were forced to break one of their ſhips, and turn it into Cabines and Cottages. Nor were they then free from new dangers. They were oft-times ſet upon by great numbers of white Bears, of an extraordinary bigneſs; and were by other neceſſities reduced to ſuch a point, as they oft-times deſpaired of life, or that they ſhould ever be able to return: but at laſt they did: for the chiefeſt dread being over, and the Ice melted, they might (though not without great ſufferings) return home by the ſame way they came. Thus did they end this Navigation. Of which, and of others, which they have made into the *Indies*, we have been deſirous here to give you this ſhort account. For though they may be accounted ſucceſſes, which do in ſome ſort appertain unto the Arms, which the United Provinces of *Flanders*, have by all poſſible means oppoſed againſt the Crown of *Spain*; yet being ſo diſ-joyned from thoſe which we deſcribe; the making of them known, and joyning of them by diſtinct relations, to others of this Hiſtory, would doubtleſs rather breed confuſion than perſpicuity.

At the expiration of this year the Archduke grew to be very weak in body by reaſon of a lingring feaver, wherewith he had been a good while troubled, and whereof he finally died, not being full 42 years old. It was thought that the indiſpoſition of his body was occaſioned by the like of his mind, finding the affairs of *Flanders* in ſo bad condition, and by reaſon of the little hopes of their amendment. Nor peradventure was he leſs troubled, for fear leſt the Treaty of Marriage between him and the Infanta *Iſabella*, the King of *Spains* eldeſt daughter, which had been a good while in agitation, might either prove totally vain, or by long delays be too long defer'd. The time of his Government was not above one whole year. He was a religious, grave Prince, and ſingularly good; and his German candor made him the more acceptable to the Flemiſh. For what remains, he was not good at action; no Warriour; made much more for Peace, than for the managing of Arms; and who coming with very great expectation into *Flanders*, had better ſatisfied that expectation, if he had not come to the teſt thereof in that Government. He declared at his death, that Count *Fuentes* ſhould ſucceed in his place, till the King ſhould take ſome other reſolution. Who afterwards ratified his Government, with ſuch neceſſary Authority as Count *Mansfield* had divers times formerly exerciſed it.

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

PART III. BOOK II.

It is reſolved in France *to declare open War againſt* Spain. *The Duke of* Bovillon *enters therefore in hoſtile manner into the Province of* Luxemburg; *and at the ſame time the united States ſurpriſe the Caſtle of* Huy, *in the Country of* Liege. Verdugo *is ſent with conſiderable Forces by Count* Fuentes, *chaſe the* French *from out that Province: wherein he had good ſucceſs; as had alſo Monſieur* de la Motte, *in the recovery of the aforeſaid Caſtle. From hence* Fuentes *reſolves to paſs into* Picardy. *His deſign touching the recovery of* Cambray, *and many difficulties in the undertaking; yet* Fuentes *prepares for it. He firſt beſieges* Chatelet, *and ſuddenly turns from thence, in hopes of winning the Town of* Han: *But being deceived, he returns to his Siege, and quickly ends it. From thence he goes to before* Dorlan. *The French come to ſuccour it. A field-fight, wherein* Fuentes *hath the Victory: He therefore ſtraitens the Town yet more; and after a fierce aſſault the oppugners ſtorm it, and commit all manner of Hoſtility in ſlaughter and ſacking. Immediately he incamps before* Cambray. *The deſcription of that City, and the particular ordering of the Siege. Duke* Retel *enters the Town with a ſmall ſuccour; and ſoon after comes in Monſieur* de Vich, *a valiant and greatly experienced Souldier. He makes the Spaniſh Camp reſent his oppoſition ſoundly; yet* Fuentes *loſeth neither hope nor courage. His ſecret intelligence with the Citizens, who are ill affected to the Marſhal of* Baligni, *as Uſurper of that Dominion. He joyns threats to his practices, and prepares to ſtorm the walls by aſſault. But the Citizens prevent him; and falling into tumults, reſolve to deliver up the City into* Fuentes *his hands. Which they do. The Confederate Provinces move this mean while with their Forces; but ſucceed not neither in their Siege before* Groll, *nor in the ſurpriſe which they attempt upon* Lira. *Archduke* Albertus *comes to the Government of* Flanders, *in the name of the King: And ſoon after his arrival* Fuentes *departs, and goes into* Spain.

WE will begin in the year 1595. with the reſolution taken by the King of *France* to break into open war with the King of *Spain*. He conſidered that many Towns in *Picardy*, were under the ſelf Forces of *Spain*. That indeavours were ſtill had to win more. And that look how much more the League did decline in *France*, ſo much the more was it fomented by *Flanders*, his having declared himſelf to be a Catholick, and his having advanced his endeavours of reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*, with the Pope ſo far, not cauſing them any whit to alter their deſign. Wherefore thinking that he was already too much injured, he reſolved not to endure it any longer. To the which he was the more encouraged for that he ſaw his Authority and power did daily increaſe in *France*. He therefore proclaimed War againſt the King of *Spain*; and endeavoured by a bitter Declaration to invite all his Subjects to the War. Nor was it long ere another contrary manifeſto came from *Flanders*, wherein the King of *Spain* indeavoured to juſtifie all that he had done in order to the affairs of *France*. And ſome other Declarations were added, which were requiſite upon ſuch an occurrency. War being thus declared between the two Kings; the greateſt deſigns of both ſides were turned towards the Frontiers of *France* and *Flanders*. The King of *France* had ſent the Duke of *Bullion* with good Forces a little before into the Country of *Luxemburg*. Wherein the United States did likewiſe joyn with a certain number of Horſe and Foot on their behalfs. Wherefore *Bullion* having ſoon won the Towns of *Frette* and *Yvois*, which lay neareſt the Frontiers

tiers of *France*, he marched further into the Country, pillaging and preying upon that Province in hoſtile manner. At the ſame time the States took likewiſe the Town of *Huy* in the Country of *Liege*, that they might advance nearer the Confines of *France* on that ſide, and in the mutual communication of their deſigns, communicate their Forces alſo the eaſilier. The Town of *Huy* lies upon the *Mauſe*, with a Bridg which expedites that paſſage, and a Caſtle eminently ſeated, which commands the Town. The Town belongs to the Biſhoprick of *Liege*; and till this time had always enjoyed Neutrality between the Kings Forces and the adverſe party, as all the reſt of that Country had likewiſe done. *Erneſtus* the Elector of *Bavaria* enjoyed that Biſhoprick, together with the Archbiſhoprick of *Colen*. The invaſion being made, he applied himſelf to the United States for the reſtitution of that Town which was taken. But his endeavours proving vain, he had afterwards recourſe to the Kings forces, to which he promiſed to joyn his alſo, that ſuch a novelty might be the ſooner remedied. The Archduke was no leſs moved upon this occaſion, nor leſs ready on his part to remedy it. And he being dead, Count *Fuentes* appear'd to be of the ſame mind. He therefore (and 'twas his firſt action) ſent Monſieur *de la Motte* with good Forces to recover *Huy*; which were quickly augmented by thoſe which the Elector added unto them. *La Motte* being come near the Town, began to play upon it, and within a few days took it, and reduced the State of *Liege* into total ſecurity. He being afterwards ſent for back by Count *Fuentes* to *Bruſſels*, who intended to imploy him elſewhere; Colonel *Verdugo* was ſent by the Count with a great ſtrength of men, to free the Country of *Luxemburg* from the excurſions made by the *French*, and to recover the Towns which *Bullion* had taken. *Verdugo* went thither, and did ſo handle the *French*, as making them firſt forſake the field, he made them afterward quit the Country and the Towns which they had taken. The King of *France* his Forces were then chiefly turned upon the Dukedom of *Burgony*, to take it from the Duke *Du Mayn*: To the defence whereof, as alſo of the County of *Burgony*, which was likewiſe threatned by the King, the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, Governour of *Millain*, was come with very gallant Forces from *Italy*. *Fuentes* had thought to have ſent *Verdugo* thither alſo with ſome aſſiſtance from *Flanders*. But he dying at that time, it could not be effected. In him the Spaniſh Nation loſt one of the moſt valiant and beſt experienced Commanders in War, that was then in all thoſe Provinces. Wherein he had ſerved the King of *Spain* little leſs than 40 years. And paſſing through all the degrees of the Militia, he had ſtill ſhewed himſelf moſt worthy in the laſt; and particularly moſt in ſuch as required either greater vigilancy in command, or greater wiſdom in advice. He commanded the Kings Forces with great authority a long time on the further ſide of the *Rhine*, with much variety of acquiſitions and loſſes; till that the Spaniſh Forces being diverted too much in *France*, the Kings own affairs in *Flanders* were brought to too bad a condition.

Count *Fuentes* being freed from that diverſion which the enemy had occaſioned in the Countries of *Liege* and *Luxemburg*, and leaving Colonel *Mondragone* well furniſhed with Forces thereabouts, he applyed himſelf wholly to the Frontiers of *Picardy*, reſolving to go thither himſelf, accompanied with a great ſtrength of men, and to advantage the Kings affairs there as much as he could. Count *Charls Mansfield* did formerly command the Kings Flemiſh Forces which were upon that Frontier, as hath been often ſaid. But he being gon into *Germany*, to ſerve the Emperour againſt the *Turk* in the Wars of *Hungary*; the Arch-duke, before he died, had ſubſtituted the Marquis of *Barambone* in his place; who was Governour of *Artois*, which joyns upon *Picardy*. Who being entred into that Province, had overrun it in divers parts, and taken *Anker*, and ſome other Towns, all but of ſmall importance. He afterwards returning into his own Province, had ſent Monſieur *di Rone* in his place, of whom and whoſe Military worth, mention hath been often made already: He was one of the chief of the League of *France*; but reſolving at laſt actually to eſtabliſh himſelf in the King of *Spains* Service, he was received thereunto, and had a great ſtipend allowed him, and was made Campmaſter General of the Army. Wherefore the command of thoſe parts being paſt into his hands, he went thither, and made likewiſe ſome ſmall acquiſitions.

The Spring was by this time over; and Count *Fuentes* did no longer delay to prepare for putting his deſigns into execution. He deſired above all things to take the City of *Cambray* from the French; and to reduce it, as formerly it was, under the particular Authority of the King of *Spain*. In the revolutions of *Flanders*, ſoon after the death of *Don John*, that City was fallen into the hands of the Duke of *Alanſon*, as was then ſaid. *Alanſon* at his death, left the Queen his Mother Heir to thoſe parts which he could pretend to, by ſuch an acquiſition; and ſhe had confirmed the Government of *Cambray*, and of the Caſtle and Territory of *Cambreſis* upon *Signor di Baligni*, who had the ſame charge whilſt *Alanſon* lived. Nor did *Baligni* omit to make uſe of the preſent conjuncture of times, by becoming as it were abſolute Lord of that City, and all that depended upon the Dominion thereof. He having always wrought his advantage on both ſides during the troubles of *France* and *Flanders*; had brought that Country into a condition as it were of neutrality. Yet upon all occurrences he lean'd much more to the French, where his acquiſition might cauſe leſs jealouſie, and conſequently receive more protection. But

the King of *France* his affairs bettering every day in that Kingdom, and especially upon that Frontier, *Baligni* had condescended to put the City of *Cambray* under the direct dominion of the King, reserving unto himself the useful part thereof, together with the Prerogative of calling himself Prince of *Cambray*. *Baligni* being thus become Lord of that City, he began to be diligent in fortifying it, and munniting it with Bulwarks, Arms, Ammunition and Victuals. He foresaw the Tempest which was likely to fall upon him from the King of *Spains* Forces in *Flanders*, if ever any occasion thereof should be offered. And doubtless as that was the greatest advantage which *France* had reaped in those parts during the troubles of *Franders*: so could not the King of *Spain* benefit himself better upon that Confine, than by reducing *Cambray* to its former condition. In former times the City of *Cambray* had been as it were a strong Bulwark to the whole *Walloons* Country against the French assaults on that side. And the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, the better to secure himself thereof, had by the Archbishops good will, who was Lord both Spiritual and Temporal of that City, built a strong Castle there; which was better furnished and fortified afterwards by *Baligni*. He kept the two neighbouring Provinces of *Henault* and *Artois* in great subjection: grieving them with quartering, indamaging them with inroads, putting them to pay Contributions, and using other great violences against them; such as if greater could not have been used by a declared enemy; at least not by a bad neighbour. They therefore greatly desired to see that Town return under the King of *Spains* devotion: And had offered all possible assistance of to Count *Fuentes*, to make him the willinglier resolve upon that enterprise. But in the mature agitating thereof in the Council of War there was some opposition found; and there was great ambiguity in Votes. Monsieur *de la Motte*, General of the Artillery, and a man of long experience and known valour, was particularly against the Enterprise. He said,

That the Kings forces were not as then strong enough to be thought proportionable for such a Siege. That the City of Cambray *was of a very large circuit, and very well munited with Flanks and Ditches on all sides. That the City was secured by a very strong Citadel; and that it was to be believed that neither the Citadel nor City would want either men, ammunition, or victuals requisite to make resistance; That on the contrary the Kings Forces being well considered, it would clearly appear that they were not sufficient so to begirt such a Town as that, as it ought to be. That if it were not well surrounded with Trenches, it could not be kept from being relieved; and say it should be perfectly incompassed; was it not to be believed that all means possible would be used by* France *to force those Trenches? That lesser Interests gave way to more urgent necessities. That there could be none of greater consideration for* France, *than to keep* Spain *from making so important an acquisition. That therefore it was necessarily to be supposed that the King of* France, *laying aside all other affairs, would bend all his Forces to keep the City of* Cambray *in* Baligni's *command, which was as much to say, as in his own. That the agreement between him and* Du Mayn *was still in hand; which the King would endeavour the more, that the concord might be made in such a conjuncture of time. Neither would the United Provinces lose that opportunity; but seeing the Spanish Arms in* Flanders *more languishing now than ever, they would certainly apply themselves to some important Siege, which they might as easily effect as design.*

These were the Objections made by Monsieur *de la Motte* against the Enterprise. But the new Camp-master-General, *Ronye*, was very stiff for it; shewing himself the more to be a Spaniard in his opinion, lest he might be thought to be too luke-warm, as being a Frenchman. He said,

That the Province of Henault *and* Artois *had made large promises of assistance, toward the effecting of the Enterprise. And that it was to be hoped all the rest of the Walloons Country would concur thereunto: That therefore the Kings Forces might be so increased by such and so opportune helps, as they might be sufficient to make such a Siege, and manage it as it ought to be. That the City of* Cambray *seemed very much to hate* Baligni: *and that he was acknowledged by the people thereof rather as a Tyrant than a Prince. Wherefore by reason of the jealousies within, he would be the less able to withstand the forces without. That it was doubtless to be believed the French would not omit doing of any thing which might keep the Town from being lost. But that the King was already so deeply ingaged in* Burgony, *and was so prest upon on one side by the Duke* Du Mayn, *and on the other by the Constable of* Castile, *as he would hardly free himself of that trouble. That the King being held in play so far off, there was small fear to be had of his Captains that were nearer hand. And what a madness would it be thought in the Duke* Du Mayn, *if when he might better his condition the more, amidst Arms, he should so slightly forego them? That if in the mean time the United Provinces should make any opposition, they might be met with forces sufficient to suppress them. That all men were usually set upon in their highest designs by hopes and fears. That in this, hope was to have the upper hand. And why should they not hope to find a friend of Fortune, since their Cause was so just? For what remained, that the recovery of* Cambray *was of so great consequence, as all the expences the King of* Spain *had been at in the present occurrences of* France *might be thought well imployed, if only thereby* Flanders *might be again possest of such a Bulwark as this, in that so suspicious corner.*

Fuentes inclined to this opinion, being naturally full of high thoughts, and desirous to innoble his Government by some extraordinary success. He therefore acquainted the Provinces

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of *Henault* and *Artois* with this his reſolution, moving them the more to aſſiſt him. He eaſily drew over likewiſe the Cities of *Torney* and *Lille*, with the Countries which lie more inward upon the *Walloons*, to be of the ſame mind. But the Archbiſhop himſelf ſeemed more deſirous of this Enterpriſe than all others. Who alſo offered ſome monies towards the effecting of it; hoping by the King of *Spains* power and protection, to return to his City, and enjoy his former Government thereof.

Whilſt theſe aids were preparing, and that divers other neceſſary proviſions were made to the ſame purpoſe, Count *Fuentes* reſolved to enter *Picardy*, with thoſe men which he had already gathered together; ſo parted from *Bruſſels* about the beginning of *June*. Being come upon the Frontier, his firſt deſign was to get *Chatelet*, a ſtrong place, and ſo near *Cambray*, that unleſs he could bereave the Enemy of it, it might much hinder the intended enterpriſe. He treated likewiſe at the ſame time with the Town of *Han*, to get it into his hands; it being a place ſeated advantagiouſly likewiſe thereabouts. Monſieur *di Gomeron* was Governor of this place, and Monſieur *Orveglier*, his brother by the mothers ſide commanded the Caſtle, which joy'nd upon the Town on one ſide. With both theſe there had been much tampering already, and at laſt *Gomeron* received 1000 foot, part *Neopolitans*, part *Spaniards* and *Walloons* into the Town. He promiſed faithfully to make *Orveglier* do the like in the Caſtle. And for a greater gage of his fidelity, he was gone to *Bruſſels* with two of his younger brethren, and gave himſelf up into *Fuentes* hands, who therefore cauſed 20000 Crowns be given to him. And loaded him with divers other great offers, in caſe that the Town and Caſtle of *Han* ſhould remain in the King of *Spains* abſolute poſſeſſion. And this *Fuentes* did the more hope for, for that *Gomeron*, and *Orveglier*, had been always partial for the League upon that Frontier. This was the condition of *Han*, when *Fuentes* began to begirt *Chatelet*. Which was fortified in oppoſition of the Citadel of *Cambray* even from the firſt time that that Citadel was built by *Charles* the Fift; *Chatelet* being the neareſt Town of *France* to the Frontiers of *Flanders* on that ſide. The form thereof is four ſquare, like that which was deſcribed in the Siege of *La Chapelle*, but it is not altogether of ſo large a content. At every corner is placed a Royal Bulwark, the Ditch about it part dry, part full of water. And it was ſo well provided with all other things neceſſary for defence, as it might be feared it would hold out a long time. The greater the acquiſition was known to be, the greater was *Fuentes* his deſire to compaſs it. He therefore with much fervor begirt the Town; and advancing with his Trenches, prepared to batter the Wall on one ſide with a many great Guns. When on the ſudden news came, that inſtead of his taking of the Caſtle of *Han*, the Marſhal *Bullion*, with the Meſſieurs of *Sanſeval*, and *Humiers*, all of them Commanders of the French forces in thoſe parts, were entred thereinto; and that they prepared to ſtorm the Town likewiſe. *Fuentes* began already to ſuſpect *Orveglier*, the Governor of the Caſtle, by reaſon of ſome of his no ſincere proceedings: But then he thought that the Garriſon which was placed in the Town, would keep from all novelties. And he was herein the more confirmed by his having *Gomeron* the Governor of the Town, and two of his brothers as gages, in his hands. Captain *Checco di Sangro*, a Neopolitan, and *Olmedo* a Spaniard commanded the King of *Spains* Flemiſh Forces in *Han*. Theſe immediately acquainted *Fuentes* with what danger the Town was in. He made no delay, but ſuſpending the continuation of the Siege, and leaving Campmaſter *Auguſtine Meſſia* with ſo many men only as might keep any relief from being brought into the Town, he went immediately away with the reſt of his Camp towards *Han*: hoping that when he had ſecured the Town, he might take the Caſtle: but it fell out otherwiſe. For the French Commanders not loſing any moment of their advantage, as ſoon as they were entred the Caſtle, did forthwith furiouſly aſſault the Town. Which firſt aſſault was no leſs vigorouſly ſuſtained by the Kings Flemiſh Forces. But being aſſailed not many hours after with greater violence and more men a ſecond time; they were at laſt forced to yield, and march out of the Town; a great ſlaughter being firſt made; and almoſt all their Commanders taken priſoners; particularly *Sangro* and *Olmedo*. Nor did the the French eſcape without loſs of bloud; Particularly *Humiers* was there ſlain, who was highly eſteemed of for his valour by the French. *Fuentes* hearing this news, returned as ſuddenly to his Siege, and apply'd himſelf more hotly thereunto than before. That he might make amends for the loſs of one Town by getting another. Advancing therefore ſtill forwards with his works, he came ſoon to battery. And having made one very great one, the Spaniards with equal ardor fell to the aſſault. But the defences not being ſufficiently taken away, they could not ſtorm the Wall: to boot that the beſieged plaid their part manfully. Monſieur *de la Motte* was in the Camp, who failed not in making all diligence, to facilitate a ſecond aſſault by his Batteries, he being the General of the Artillery. And they were now ready to fall on more fiercely than before, when an unfortunate accident befalling them within, did mightily diſcourage them. For ſome fire lighting among the powder which they had brought to the Wall that was play'd upon, as to the place where they were to uſe it moſt, blew it almoſt all up, and conſequently very much weakened their defence. Wherefore having no hopes of relief, not waiting for a ſecond aſſault, they came to parly, and delivered up the Town upon honourable

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conditions to *Fuentes*, where he reſted his Army a few days, and at which time he received new hopes from *Orveglier*, of putting the Caſtle of *Han* into his hands. And *Gomerons* own mother came to the Camp and confirmed the ſame; fearing leſt otherwiſe *Fuentes* might proceed againſt her ſons. *Fuentes* being then allured by theſe ſecond hopes, marched again with his Army to within ſight of *Han*: but failing of his expectation, and thinking himſelf too much deluded, he could contain himſelf no longer, but in view of the whole Camp made the eldeſt *Gomerons* head be cut off, and ſent the other two brothers to be kept at *Antwerp*.

He returned from thence towards *Cambray* again, intending to beſiege it: but thinking that it was not ſufficient that he had taken *Chatelet* from the French, unleſs he ſhould alſo take *Dorlan*; he reſolved to encamp before *Dorlan*, and to bring that Town likewiſe into his power. In his march he took the Towns of *Clery* and *Bray*, which made hardly any reſiſtance; and about the midſt of *July* began to begirt *Dorlan*. There is no Town in all *Picardy* which is nearer the oppoſite Confine of *Flanders* than this; nay it doth rather interfere than joyn upon the Confines of *Artois*. It is little above an eaſie days journey from *Cambray*. It is a large Town well invironed with a Wall and Ditch: and it is munited on one ſide by an indifferent ſtrong Caſtle. The Duke of *Nevers* commanded over all the King of *France* his forces upon all thoſe Frontiers, being made Governor of *Champagne*, in ſtead of the Duke of *Guiſe*: who having made his peace with the King, had the Government of *Province* given him in lieu of *Champagnia*. *Nevers* began already to ſuſpect that *Fuentes* intended to beſiege *Dorlan*, and therefore he had added a good number of horſe, and choice foot to the Garriſon thereof, before *Fuentes* ſate down before it. The King had conferred the Government of *Picardy* upon Count Saint *Paul*; after that the Duke *d' Umale* had been proclaimed Traitor in *Paris* by the Kings Commiſſion, and had his head ſtruck off in Effigie. And in *Normandy* Monſieur *de Villiers* commanded under the King; who was eſtabliſhed as formerly in his Office of Admiral of *France*, in recognition of his being alſo reſolved to adhere unto the King, and for his having drawn the City of *Roan* to the like. To boot with theſe Governors of Provinces, the Marſhal of *Bullion*, and Monſieur *de Sanſeval* had a great influence upon the Forces within the ſame Frontiers, but the chief command lay in the Duke of *Nevers*. All theſe Commanders uſed the greateſt induſtry they could in gathering together ſuch Forces as might ſuffice to keep *Dorlan* from falling into the King of *Spains* hands. *Fuentes* was this mean while encamped before the Town. And it was argued in the Council of War, whether were the better to begirt it on the Towns ſide, or on the Caſtle: and at laſt it was reſolved that they would bend all their forces againſt the Caſtle. For that being won, they might much more eaſily take the Town. Amidſt which contrariety of opinions, whilſt Monſieur *de la Motte* in order to his Office was viewing where he ſhould fitteſt diſpoſe of his Batteries, he was caſually ſhot in the eye with a Muſquet, and ſlain. A great loſs: For *Flanders* had not a more experienced Commander in Arms, nor who had paſſed with greater approbation through all Offices, even from the meaneſt to the greateſt. The winning of the Caſtle being then reſolv'd upon, divers Forts were raiſed on that ſide in ſuch places as were moſt requiſite to ſecure their quarters on the outſide, and the Works which were to be made within. They fell preſently to make Trenches. On one ſide which was of greateſt concernment, the Spaniards, Burgonians, and Walloons were ſo fervent at their work, as they ſoon fell into the Ditch. *Hernando Teglio Portocarera* Serjeant-Major of a Spaniſh Brigado did in particular merit great praiſe herein. To become maſters of the Ditch more eaſily, it was neceſſary to take a little Ravelin from the beſieged. To this end the Spaniards and the reſt made a furious aſſault upon the Ravelin, which was ſo well ſuſtained by the French, as that the ſucceſs was doubtful for ſome hours: But thoſe without being ſtill reinforced by new men, they took the Ravelin at the laſt, and lodged in it.

The Town was thus begirt, when *Fuentes* came to know that the French came to relieve it. The Admiral *Villiers* had brought 400 horſe a little before this, to this purpoſe, out of *Normandy*; and a great number of Horſe was raiſed to the ſame end in the neighbouring Frontiers by *Saint Paul*, *Bullion*, and *Sanſevalle*. The beſieged deſired only to be ſuccour'd by 800, or 1000 Foot. And though the Duke of *Nevers* was diligent in his endeavours likewiſe to ſecure the Town as ſoon as might be with new men, yet he maturely judged that it was needful to aſſemble yet greater Forces together, whereupon the ſuccour might be better grounded. To the which he was the rather moved, for that he knew *Fuentes* had received conſiderable Recruits from the *Flemiſh* and *Walloons*. But the French Commanders confiding in the Cavalry which they already had, and which conſiſted of prime Gentry, ſent word to *Nevers*, who was at St. *Quintins*, that he ſhould no longer delay endeavouring the ſuccour; and that undoubtedly they would effect it with the forces which they had. Going therefore from *Amiens*, which is the chief City of *Picardy*, and which is within a ſhort dayes journey of *Dorlan*, they moved with 1500 Horſe and 1000 Foot, intending to convey the foot into the Town, and that the Horſe ſhould make their way. When they were come within ſight of the Spaniſh Camp, *Fuentes*

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and the reſt of his Commanders thought that this was rather to make a diſcovery, than to fight. But when they ſaw that the real intention of the French was to endeavour the ſuccour with thoſe men; *Fuentes* getting on horſeback, and in that poſture ſuddenly ſending for the reſt of the Commanders to Council, they reſolved to leave the Trenches well provided, and to march and meet the Enemy with the reſt of the Army. And *Fuentes* foretelling the certainty of the Victory,

This (ſaid he) *may be termed a* French Butado. *Do they think to find us aſleep within our quarters? or that we be not able to ſuſtain that double aſſault which they peradventure intend to make at once, theſe from without, and the beſieged from within? I believe they will ſoon find they are deceived; and that this their deſign partakes much more of fool-hardineſs than of Courage.*

Then taking all requiſite order for the defence of their Trenches, and particularly for withſtanding the aſſault which the beſieged might make, he drew forth the reſt of his men into the field, obſerving firſt in what order the Enemy marched. They had made three almoſt equal bodies of Horſe: the firſt was led on by Admiral *Villiers*; the ſecond by Monſieur *Sanſevalle*; and the third by Count *Saint Paul*, and the Marſhal *Bullion*. Under the ſhelter of theſe Horſe the Foot marched on the right hand; and in ſuch order as they might eaſily disjoyn, and get into *Dorlan*, when the Horſe ſhould have opened them the way. Thus came the French marching on; and *Fuentes* ordered his Camp thus: On the right hand he formed a Squadron of Flanders Train-band Horſe, which in ſeveral Companies might come to 600 Curaſiers, and who upon this occaſion were commanded by Count *Boſſu*. He placed the Light-Horſe on the left hand under the command of *Ambroſio Landriano*, who was Lieutenant-General of the Horſe; the Duke of *Paſtrana*, who was a little before returned from *Spain*, being not well then. He himſelf kept in the midſt with his wonted Guard of Lances and Carabines; and followed by a great many Perſonages of great Port, amongſt which were the Duke *d' Umale*, the Campmaſter-General *Ronye*, the Princes of *Simui* and *Avelino*, the Marquis *Barambone*, and divers others of the beſt quality that were in the Camp. The foot were divided in the moſt advantagious places; and there was thereof particularly one little flying Squadron of *Spaniards*, which might be ready to turn whereſoever occaſion ſhould moſt require. *Fuentes* having thus ordered his Army, *Villiers* advanced, and with great fervency charged the firſt Squadrons of the Light-horſe: Thoſe firſt Squadrons, which were all *Spaniards* and *Italians*, did not ſtand the charge of the *French*; but wheeling about, were diſordered and almoſt made to run. The ſecond Squadrons did then advance, who were *Spaniards* led on by *Carlo Colonna*; and fiercely ſetting upon the *French* on the Flank, they came to cloſe fight. The French Vanguard being thus advanced, *Sanſeval* made forwards with the Battail; againſt him came *Landriano* with the reſt of the Light-horſe, which were placed there: And here began a fierce and bloody conflict; where *Villiers*, *Sanſeval*, and the reſt of their Company fighting couragiouſly, the *Spaniards* Light-Horſe were again diſordered. *Fuentes* gave the ſign then to the Curaſiers, who charged ſo cloſe and home upon the French Horſe, as they beat them back; and the reſt of the Horſe being rallied together and come in to them, they at laſt routed and diſſipated them. Wherein notwithſtanding the Foot had a great ſhare; who advancing, and letting flie with their Muſquets on ſundry ſides upon the French, did more facilitate the ſucceſs in opening and breaking their ſquadrons, and in making a bloody ſlaughter: But it prov'd particularly moſt bloody againſt the Foot; for they being quite abandoned by reaſon of the Rout given unto the Horſe, were almoſt all of them cut in pieces; with a great deſire of revenging the blood which the French had drawn of the Spaniards in the aforeſaid aſſaults at *Han*. And for the ſame reaſon the like cruelty was uſed againſt the Horſe, after they were routed and defeated. Yet the third Squadron of the Rere-guard got almoſt all ſafe off: For *San Paul* and *Bullion* ſeeing what ill ſucceſs the other two had, retreated without further fighting, and did it ſo early as they could not be purſued. Whilſt they were thus buſie on this ſide, the beſieged failed not to ſally out upon the Spaniſh-quarters, endeavouring to overcome them, and then joyn with the French that were without: But they met with ſuch reſiſtance, as all they could do was in vain. And thus *Fuentes* had the victory on both ſides. Few in his Camp were either hurt or ſlain. On the contrary, few of the Enemies Foot were ſaved, and great ſlaughter was made amongſt the Horſe. Many Priſoners were likewiſe taken, and of thoſe, many of the chief men: One, and the chiefeſt of them all was Admiral *Villiers*: when contention ariſing amongſt thoſe in whoſe hands he was, and he offering a very great ſum of money to ſatisfie all their greedineſs; *John Contrera*, a Spaniard, who was Commiſſary-General of the Horſe, fuller of rage than anger, made him be cruelly put to death. An action whereat *Fuentes* was highly diſpleaſed. Another of chiefeſt eſteem amongſt them that were ſlain, was Monſieur *de Sanſeval*, who was Lieutenant-General of *Picardy*; of a noble family, and of high deſerts in War. Many others of the prime Nobility of thoſe part were either taken Priſoners, or ſlain. And *Fuentes*, were it either to boaſt his victory or civility, ſent the bodies of *Villiers* and *Sanſeval* to the Duke of *Nevers*, that they might be honorably buried by their friends, according to their meſits.

Fuentes

Fuentes having gotten this Field-victory, returned with more fervency than formerly to beſiege the Town, and the beſieged ſeemed as reſolute in the defence thereof. Count *Dinan* was Governour of the place; and he had a very numerous Gariſon in the Town, compoſed almoſt altogether of Gentry, who were reſolved rather to die than yield. Reſiſtance was made in the Ditch, as you have heard; and though the Spaniards had won the little Ravelin, yet the French did ſtill defend themſelves there with Galleries and ſuch other works. But *Fuentes* reſolving to force the Town as ſoon as poſſibly he could, placed a great Battery almoſt cloſe to the Counterſcarp, to thunder furiouſly from thence upon the Walls: He planted likewiſe ſome Artillery upon the riſe of a Hill, which from above, ſhot point blank upon the *French*, much to their prejudice, and might continue doing ſo without hurting the *Spaniards*, when they ſhould make an aſſault. The wall was plaid upon for many hours; and a great part thereof with its platform being thrown down, inſomuch as the breach was almoſt levell'd, thoſe without preſented themſelves to make the aſſault, and thoſe within to receive it. *Fuentes* ordered the Aſſault on his ſide thus. He made three Squadrons, the firſt conſiſting of 600 Foot, and the other two of not full out ſo many: The ſecond was to ſecond the firſt, and the third the ſecond. The beſieged on their behalf likewiſe prepared to make all manly defence, with military order and reſolution. The chiefeſt for valour and birth were placed in the firſt Files; who keeping cloſe together, and well arm'd, ſeemed like a great high bank covered with iron. And a ſufficient breach being made, thoſe without marched to the aſſault. The firſt Squadron advanced firſt, and with great courage endeavoured to get footing upon the wall that was beaten down; but it was ſo much better defended than aſſailed, as the ſecond Squadron muſt come in to aſſiſt the firſt. Then the combat began to be very fierce; for thoſe within being likewiſe reinforced with freſh ſuccour, they did renew their reſiſtance with more ardor than before. In the heat of the conflict, like waves ſucceſſively, now theſe, now thoſe were ſeen to give way: Pikes were ſucceeded by ſwords, and ſwords by all manner of other cloſe fight, which not only the deſire of defence, but of offence might teach upon that occaſion: The ground was all covered with dead bodies, or ſuch as were ſorely wounded; and thoſe who were unwounded ſeemed much more deſirous to dye than to live: Blood ran down every where; all was full of horror and death. And the conflict was ſo various between hope and fear, as it could not be diſcerned to which ſide the fortune of the day would turn. Thus did the combat for a while continue: But *Fuentes* reſolving to try the utmoſt, made the third Squadron come in; and thoſe within were likewiſe invigored with new aids: inſomuch as it is not to be ſaid how fierce and uncertain the fight was for a while. Yet the aſſailants be already to prevail, by reaſon of two manifeſt diſadvantages which the aſſailed ſuffered under: The one was the great ſlaughter which was made amongſt them from aloof off by the Artillery that was placed upon the little Riſe, while they fought at nearer diſtance: The other, that the place where they fought being very narrow, they could not make way one for another, nor keep ſuch order as they ought to have done. Not being therefore able any longer to reſiſt, they were at laſt inforced to yield: But they ſtill gave back with their faces towards the Enemy; and with ſo great undauntedneſs, as the moſt of them, at leaſt the better ſort choſe rather to loſe their lives than their ſtation. The Caſtle being forced, the Victors ſoon entred the Town; and the Gates being opened, all the reſt of the Camp came in, who ſtraightways pillaged and plundred it all over in hoſtile manner. Great was the number of thoſe that were ſlain, and great the number of Priſoners. But the Plunder proved not to ſuch a value, as did any ways ſatisfie the Souldiers avarice; which was the cauſe, as it was thought, why (the Prey not anſwering their hopes) ſome houſes were deſpightfully ſet on fire; which firing a great many others, the whole Town would quickly have been conſumed, had not *Fuentes* come in himſelf in perſon, and remedied the diſorder. Count *Dinan*, the Governour of the place, whilſt he gave proof of great valour, dyed in the Aſſault: And his Brother Monſieur *de Ronſoy* was ſo ſore wounded, as he lived not long after. All the reſt of the better ſort were ſlain or taken priſoners. Divers Captains of the Spaniſh Camp were ſlain, and many inferior Officers, together with a great number of common Souldiers. In fine, the ſucceſs of this Aſſault was ſuch, as a more fierce, bloody, and longer doubtful fight had not till that time been heard of neither in the Wars of *France* nor *Flanders*.

Fuentes having taken *Chatelet* and *Dorlan*, and gotten the aforeſaid victory in the field, he had the greater deſire to incamp before *Cambray*; and he hoped the more to win it at laſt. He firſt reſted his Army for ſome days, and in the mean while ſollicited thoſe aids, which diverſly and plentifully was preparing for him in *Henault*, *Artois*, and in the other neighbouring Countries, and by the Biſhop of *Cambray*. The aids conſiſted in Monies, Souldiers, Victuals, Ammunition, Artillery, together with a great number of Pyoners, to ſerve for the manual work of the Siege. But in the Interim, he being willing to gain as much time as he could, parted from *Dorlan*; and with thoſe men which he had, incamped about the midſt of *Auguſt* before *Cambray*. His Camp conſiſted not then of above 7000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe. Wherefore the Duke of *Nevers* who was then in *Peronne*, reſolved to try whether he could bring any relief into the Town or no, before his Army ſhould be increaſed. He to this purpoſe ſent his eldeſt ſon, the Duke of *Retel*,

who

who was not then above 15 years old, accompanied with 500 Horſe. By ſending ſuch a pawn *Nevers* deſired to aſſure the beſieged the more, that he himſelf would ſoon come to ſuccour them with other Forces. The young Duke met with a brisk oppoſition, wherein *Carlo Colonna* with his Cavalry did particularly ſignalize himſelf. But the French prevailed, and having loſt ſome of their men, entred moſt of them into the City. *Fuentes* his Army did this mean while daily increaſe; in a ſhort time his Camp conſiſted of 12000 Foot and 3000 Horſe; he had moreover above 80 pieces of Artillery, great abundance of Ammunition and Victuals, and 4000 Pyoners. At his firſt incamping, *Fuentes* had rather deſigned where he would take up his Quarters about the Town, than taken them up, dividing them the moſt advantagiouſly that the ſeveral ſituations would ſuffer him to do. But now abounding in all things that was neceſſary to fortifie them, he applyed himſelf ſuddenly to bring them to intire perfection. *Cambray* is ſeated (as hath ſeveral times been ſaid) upon that edg of Frontier made by the two Provinces of *Henault* and *Artois* on *Flanders* ſide towards *France*, oppoſite to *Picardy*. It hath under its command abroad, only the little Caſtle of *Cambreſis*, with a very narrow precinct of ground; but the Prerogatives of the City, make good the ſmallneſs of the Territories. It enjoys a free Government, under the ſpiritual and temporal dominion of its Archbiſhop. It is indowed with very large Priviledges; full of noble Churches, whereof the Cathedral is ſuch as hath not its like in any of the chief neighbouring Cities. It is ſufficiently provided alſo of other Edifices, either for uſe or ornament; yet are not the Inhabitants anſwerable in numbers to the houſes. Many of which being Eccleſiaſticks, forein Commerce, and Merchandizing do rather languiſh than abound there: Neither doth the *Scheld*, though it run through the City, afford Commodity for it; for that River takes it head but from a little above that City, and hath therefore there ſo ſlender a Channel, as it is hardly Navigable in thoſe parts. The City is about a league in compaſs, and is invironed with an ancient Wall, flank'd for the moſt part after the ancient manner; but with many Bulwarks alſo after the modern way of Fortification. It hath a ditch which is very broad and deep on the one ſide, whereinto for a great part the *Scheld* runs; but the reſt thereof by reaſon of the height of its ſituation is dry; but ſo much the deeper. On the higheſt ſide, which is on the Eaſt, ſtands a Citadel, with four royal Bulwarks, having a great half Moon between two of them which are next the fields; and divers other defences for the better cuſtody of the ditch. The ground deſcending from hence towards the South-ſide, and ſtill more and more as it inclines towards the Weſt, ſtands the Port *Neufe*, and then that of St. *Sepulchre*; afterwards another called *Cantimpre*; and more towards the South, that of *Selle*. And laſtly more higher towards the Citadel there is another Gate called *Malle*. Between theſe Gates is the compaſs of the City divided. It had for the defence thereof about 2500 Foot, and 600 Horſe beſides 500 Foot which were reſerved for the Citadel. Amongſt the Foot ſome Companies of Swiſſers were comprehended, and ſome others of the confining Walloons which ſerved *Baligni*. The reſt were French, all of them well trained up in wars. The City and Citadel did abound in Victuals, Ammunition, Artillery, and with whatſoever was requiſite for the maintaining of a long and hard Siege.

Now to turn to the adverſe party. *Fuentes* had taken up his Quarters chiefly over againſt the Gates, that he might block up the moſt frequented avenues: and that he might the better keep out ſuccour. On that ſide which lay neareſt *France*, from whence relief was moſt to be feared, and which was on the South-ſide, he raiſed a great Fort near the Village *Nicrny*, and gave the cuſtody thereof to the Prince of *Simay*. He raiſed another Fort towards the Weſt called *Premy*, taking its name from a near neighbouring Village; and gave the charge thereof to Count *Bilia*, Colonel of a *German* Regiment. Then turning towards the North, he added another Fort, which was called St. *Olao*, the name of a Church not far from it; and he committed the defence thereof to the Baron *Auſi*. On the fourth ſide towards the Eaſt did *Fuentes* his ſelf quarter, by reaſon of the near accommodation of the Village *Evendunre*; and here he raiſed the greateſt Fort, for on that ſide which was the moſt eminent, and where the ditch was dry, he intended to open his Trenches and to make his batteries. Theſe were the chief quarters, and the defence was to be ſecured by the aboveſaid Forts. From one Fort to another, did certain little Forts, or rather Redoubts run, with double Trenches; becauſe the inward might ſerve to refrain ſallies, and the outward to keep out ſuccour. To each Fort and Redoubt he aſſigned ſuch men as were requiſite, together with all things neceſſary for the well maintaining of them. And the Horſe were likewiſe diſtributed in places moſt needful to ſcour the Country and to be ready to diſturb relief. The Siege being thus ſetled, they began to work their Trenches againſt the wall. But as that higheſt or moſt eminent place which hath been ſpoken of, was moſt commodious for the opening of them, ſo was the wall on that ſide the City hardeſt to be forced. A half Bulwark was thruſt out from the Cittadel with a great Orillioune: which with the well covered fences within, did ſerve for a curtain to a long line of wall which ran between that Bulwark and the Port *di Malle*. Between that Port and that of *Selle*, another great Ravelin ſtood out likewiſe, called *La Nue*, and ſo high was the ditch every where thereabouts, as it appeared more difficult being dry, than if it had had water in it. But in all other parts thereabouts the Earth was ſo ſoft and myery, and ſo troubleſome for the making of Trenches, as *Fuentes* no

leſs out of neceſſity than choice, reſolved to accoſt the City on that higher and ſteeper ſide, and to ſtorm it there. The works being then begun with great fervency, great and ſudden advancement was made therein, through the inceſſant labour of ſo many Pyoners; though it coſt much labour by reaſon of the quality of the Earth, which moſt commonly was too hard, and ſometimes ſtony. They wrought upon two Trenches, the one juſt over againſt the wall, which ran along from the Port *di Malle*, towards the Bulwark *Robert* (ſo was the aboveſaid *Orillioune* called) and the other towards the ſame Port *di Malle*, which the Townſmen by reaſon of the Siege had then block'd up with Earth. *Fuentes* had given the care of all theſe works to the Campmaſter *Auguſtin Meſſia*; who with the Spaniards did moſt tend that which was the chiefeſt, and which led towards the Bulwark *Robert*. The Campmaſter *Barlotta*, with his Walloons apply'd himſelf to the other which led towards the Port *di Malle*, and great diligence being had in the making of both theſe Trenches, they were within a few days brought even to the edge of the ditch. This mean while thoſe within the Town ceaſed not continually to moleſt theſe works both nearer hand and at a further diſtance; nearer hand by frequent ſallies, and at a further diſtance by their Canon from off their Walls. So as many actions had, and did daily happen; ſometimes between Foot and Foot, ſometimes between Horſe and Horſe; and often between both Horſe and Foot. *Baligni* was one of the Marſhals of *France*, and his wife was in *Cambray*. A woman ſo highly ſpirited as ſhe would not yield unto her husband in ſuſtaining the difficulties of the Siege. She her ſelf made the round. She reviewed the Sentinels, encouraged the Souldiers, took care for what they wanted: and behaving her ſelf valiantly in all other Military exerciſe, ſhe appeared to be of ſo warlike a ſpirit, as almoſt nothing of womaniſh was ſeen in her. The husband and the wife ſtriving thus who ſhould moſt encourage their men to reſiſtance, they endeavoured to retard the Enemies proceedings as much as they could. But theſe did every day advance more and more, and had already begun to fall into the ditch, and to place their batteries on two ſides; the one being of 14 great pieces of Canon, againſt that part of the wall towards which the Campmaſter *Meſſia*'s works tended; and the other of 10 ſuch like Canon, aganſt the Port *di Malle*, towards which the Campmaſter *Barlotto* did addreſs his works. Nine pieces were placed in a Battery apart againſt the Bulwark *Robert*. And above 30 others here and there; to play where it was moſt behoveful, and ſo much the better impede the Defence. They fought this mean while in the Ditch; and the dryer the Ditch was, the greater was the Conteſt. But thoſe within ſeeing themſelves daily to be more and more ſtraitned, *Baligni* began to be afraid, and to preſs very much for ſpeedy ſuccour; which was no leſs deſired by the *French*.

The King of *France* had juſt now reconciled himſelf to the Apoſtolick See: and as Pope *Clement* the eighth could not have ſhown more zeal in endeavouring the preſervation of that Kingdom in the unity of the Church, nor more wiſdom in guiding that buſineſs throughout; ſo did not the King omit doing any thing which might make the reverence and honour moſt appear, which he deſired upon ſuch an occaſion to render to the Holy See. His affairs in *France* were hereby mightily advantaged; and no reliques of the League now remaining, it was daily expected when the agreement already begun between the King and Duke *Du Mayn* ſhould be perfected. The King was therefore much grieved, that amidſt ſo much felicity, he muſt be in danger to loſe *Cambray*, unleſs it were ſpeedily relieved; Wherefore he reſolved to go thither in perſon with powerful Forces; but not being then in poſture to do it ſo ſuddenly, he reſolved to ſend one of the prime Captains of *France* thither for the preſent, very ſpeedily, by whoſe authority and valour the Siege might in the interim be the better ſuſtained. To this purpoſe he choſe Monſieur *de Vich*, who was eſteemed the beſt of all *France*, particularly for what concern'd a Siege. *Du Vich* viſited the Duke of *Nevers* firſt at St. *Quintin*: and taking from thence 500 choice Dragoons, he marched about the midſt of *September* upon the coming of night, towards the Enemies Trenches; and winding about on the left hand towards the gates *Cantimper* and *Selle*, he came before them, intending to enter by one of them into *Cambray*. As he advanced the Spaniſh Scouts gave the alarm.

And *Landriano* advanced ſuddenly with ſome Troops of Horſe, and 300 Foot to obviate him. *Landriano* knew not by which of the two gates *Du Vich* intended to enter; wherefore placing himſelf between them both, he hoping to keep him from entring at either of them. *Du Vich* fained as if he would enter by the gate of *Selle*, and drew *Landriano* with all his Dragoons light on foot, that their ſorrowful Horſes might ſerve for prey to *Landriano*'s Souldiers, who already followed him, and ſo to entertain them the longer, he came to the City without the loſs of one man. He was welcomed thither with great applauſe, and ſoon confirmed the opinion, both of the King that had ſent him, and of the others that received him. He ſuddenly reviewed the Line, and endeavoured divers ways to advantage it on that ſide where the Enemies Trenches, and the Batteries which they were preparing, did moſt threaten it. He firſt raiſed a great half moon between the Bulwark *Robert*, and the gate *Malle*; thinking that that Curtain was not ſufficiently Flank'd. Upon the Rampire, between the Gate *Malle* and the other Gate *Selle* he raiſed a great Platform, the more to annoy the Enemies works; and he furniſhed it with good

ſtore

ſtore of Artillery: He diſpoſed of many other pieces by way of Counterbattery to the fourteen which were placed without, to play upon the Curtain between the Bulwark *Robert*, and the Gate *Malle*. He placed ſome likewiſe againſt thoſe nine which were to play upon the Bulwark *Robert* in a Battery apart: He raiſed divers other advantagious works in the Ditch; and from the firſt day that he entred into *Cambray*, thoſe within the Town were ſo encouraged, as they ceaſed not afterwards to make continual Sallies. It was now towards the end of *September*; and the Artillery on the outſide were ſo prepared for Battery, as they were ready to fall to execution; when *Du Vich* prevented them with his from within, and began to ſhowre down a horrible tempeſt upon the Enemy. Theſe continued to play a whole day and a half unceſſantly, and had ſuch effect, as they diſmounted nine pieces of Canon of the *Spaniards* Camp, and ſlew many Canoneers, and many other Souldiers. Thoſe within the Town, by their accommodation of working within the dry Ditch, had undermined the nine pieces which were to play upon the Bulwark *Robert*, ſo to blow them up, and cauſe ſome impediment to the Enemy. And though the effect was not altogether anſwerable to the deſign; yet did the Mine ſo much indamage them, as four of thoſe Canons were buried in the ground, and the reſt were made unuſeful for the preſent, and for a good while after.

This ſo lively and ſo well weighed reſiſtance, cauſed great confuſion in the Spaniſh Camp. Some of the Commanders propounded to *Fuentes*, that the Aſſault might be removed from the higher to the lower ſide. Nor were there thoſe wanting, who ſeeing further into the difficulties of ſtorming ſo large a Town, and which was ſo well defended, adviſed to raiſe the ſo cloſe ſiege, and to beleaguer it at a further diſtance by the way of Forts. Theſe thought it impoſſible but that the cold and rainy weather would come in before the Siege ſhould be ended, and that likewiſe the King of *France* would appear in ſuccour of the City with great Forces; in either of which caſes they muſt of neceſſity do that with ſhame, which they might now do out of choice, with leaving at leaſt ſuch Forts as might keep thoſe of *Cambray* from making ſuch excurſions as they formerly were wont, to the great annoyance of all the parts thereabouts. As for altering the place of aſſault, *Fuentes* did no ways incline thereunto: For he conſidered that that would be to begin the Siege anew; that peradventure the difficulties would not prove leſs elſewhere; and that the mean while all the labour which they had imployed in making Trenches and raiſing Forts would be loſt. But he was much more againſt raiſing the Siege: How could he excuſe ſuch an act to the King of *Spain*, to the *Walloon* Provinces in *Flanders*, and to his own Honor? Nor yet could he approve of a Siege at a further diſtance by the way of Forts: For if the Duke of *Alanſon* had formerly freed *Cambray* from thoſe that the Duke of *Parma* had planted about it, certainly the King of *France* might much more eaſily do the like now to theſe. Wherefore no ways yielding to the difficulty of the undertaking, he reſolved to continue the Siege in the ſame place. The Commanders in chief, in all governments, uſe always to keep ſomewhat to themſelves of ſecret and of weight: And thus did *Fuentes* at this time. One of the chiefeſt motives which made him fall upon that Siege, was the ſecret intelligence which chiefly by the Archbiſhops means he held in *Cambray*: He had received much encouragement from his Complices within the City, for his incamping before it, and for his continuing the Siege, which had been ſo well begun. Hoping therefore no leſs in theſe ſecret machinations of intelligence, than in his other openly put in execution, he appear'd more firm than ever in his former reſolution. And he did this the rather by reaſon of his new recruit of Forces, of which a ſtrength of 700 choice Horſe was very conſiderable, which the Mutiniers of *Tillemont* prepared to ſend to ſerve him in that enterpriſe, but upon certain conditions whereby thoſe Mutiniers were more aſcertained of their pay. They returned then again to work upon their Batteries; the two Campmaſters *Meſſia* and *Barlotta* being very diligent therein. A great Rampier of Earth was raiſed to ſhelter *Meſſia*'s greater Battery from *Du Vich*'s new Platform; and ſome pieces of Artillery were placed upon a Riſe without towards the Gate *Selle*, which did command that Platform; which Pieces did not only ſerve to weaken that defence, but alſo to clear all that Wall which ran between the Gate *Selle*, and the Flank *Nua*, as alſo to beat down the houſes within the City. Another way to iſſue out was alſo opened in the Ditch over againſt the Bulwark *Robert*, that they might have more Avenues, and come the eaſilier to the Aſſault which was intended to be made on that ſide. To theſe divers other Works were added to haſten the buſineſs as much as might be; and all parts where ſuccour was moſt apprehended, were chiefly re-inforced with Souldiers.

This was the condition of the Siege in the beginning of *October*: When *Fuentes* thought he might now come to Battery, and then fall ſuddenly to aſſault. All the Batteries began to thunder tempeſtuouſly on the Enemies Wall, at day-break; which they did with ſuch uniformity, as they ſeemed not to be ſeveral, but one ſole Battery. *Barlotta*'s ten pieces plaid againſt the Gate *Malle*; *Meſſia*'s fourteen againſt the Wall which ran from thence to the Bulwark *Robert*; and *Meſſia*'s other nine againſt the Orillioun of the ſame Bulwark; to diſcover, and take away that Defence, which might more hinder the Aſſault which was intended to be made in that place, than any other. Nor did the reſt of the Artillery which were placed elſewhere ceaſe playing at

the ſame time, eſpecially thoſe that were on that higher part without, from whence the houſes of the City were beaten down. Alike was the Tempeſt which plaid from the batter'd Walls upon the Batteries. So as by ſo great and horrible a Thunder, the Fields ſhook without, and the City within: The uſe of Eyes was loſt, and almoſt the uſe of Ears: Smoak clouded the Day; and the horror was the greater, for that it was obſcured by Horror. Whilſt the great Batteries plaid thus from one part, the Spaniſh Camp was in Arms in all other parts; *Fuentes* being very careful that at the ſame time the outward Line of the Siege ſhould be well guarded; to which purpoſe he had aſſigned particular ſtations and Forces to the Duke *d'Umale*, to the Campmaſter-General *Ronye*, to the Prince of *Avelino*, and to divers other Commanders. And to the end, that when ſufficient breach ſhould be made by the Batteries, the Aſſault ſhould immediately enſue on *Meſſia*'s and on *Barlotta*'s ſide; *Fuentes* gave likewiſe ſuch Orders as were moſt requiſite for them both: He gave *Meſſia* eſpecial charge, that when the Aſſault ſhould be given, he ſhould by all means hinder the Town from being plunder'd, and from ſuffering any other kind of diſorder. The Batteries continued the ſpace of eight hours; and had made ſuch ruine, as the *Spaniards* began to prepare for the Aſſault: when it appeared, that the machinations within the City had wrought more upon the Citizens minds, than thoſe without whereby the City Walls were ſo cruelly batter'd. Thoſe who were for *Fuentes*, and eſpecially the Eccleſiaſticks who depended upon the Archbiſhop, taking this occaſion, had ſundry ways endeavoured to intice the People againſt *Baligny*, and againſt the *French*: And juſt at this time *Baligny* and his Wife were become more odious than before, by having coyned a great quantity of Braſs-money, which went at the rate of Silver; giving out, that when the Siege ſhould be over, every one ſhould be ſatisfied with their true value: but this was not believed. *Baligny*, whilſt the Batteries were a playing, had aſſembled a great number of Armed Citizens together in the largeſt Piazza, that they might be ready to ſuccour the Wall which was plaid upon. When the aforeſaid Firebrands diſperſing themſelves boldly here and there amidſt thoſe Citizens, with a loud voice ſaid,

Shall we through obſtinacy rather ſuſtain the intereſts of a baſe Tyrant, than our own concernments? Nay, not of one only Tyrant, but of two? the Wife having by her actions done more to merit that name, than her Husband. Were not the paſt inventions ſufficient to get monies, but that this of equalling Braſs to Silver ſhould be added? What defence is there now to keep our wealth from being devoured by the one or the other of theſe whirlpools? Where is the ancient ſplendor of our Cambray? *where her glory amidſt ſo many negotiations both of Peace and War, and of all other kinds which have hapned in the greateſt occurrences of Chriſtendom? The Duke of* Alanſon *brought firſt into theſe miſeries; and now we are enforced to endure them more than ever by the King of* France *his Arms.* Cambray *is full of French Garriſons, our houſes full of their Rapines and Violences; and in all other kinds, in all other places, the City groans under this ſo heavy yoke. It is now therefore time to throw it off. And what better occaſion can we have to do it, than to ſtir now whilſt the* French *Souldiers are imployed, and to call in the* Spaniards? *So the throwing open of the Gates ſhall be our work; it ſhall be our work to reſtore to the Archbiſhop to his dominions: and it ſhall be we who will make ſo great and ſo Catholick a King enjoy his former Priviledges on theſe Frontires. But this reſolution muſt be acted, before it be conſulted upon. The Guns thunder from without againſt our Walls: Aſſaults will quickly follow; and we in* Cambray *ſhall have our houſes plunder'd, and our ſelves ſlaughtered, according to the freſh and fatal example of* Dorlan. *And finally, when our City ſhall be ſtorm'd, we ſhall loſe all our rights, and in lieu thereof receive whatſoever either the reaſon of War, or the will of the Conquerors ſhall pleaſe to impoſe upon us.*

Theſe Citizens being by ſuch incitements moved to new and greater anger, and their number ſtill increaſing, a great Tumult ſuddenly aroſe. From tumults they came ſoon to inſurrection, and from inſurrection, to reſolution of letting in *Fuentes*, and of withdrawing themſelves from *Baligny*'s yoke. To thoſe Citizens, which were 3000 in number, did 300 Walloon Horſe joyn, which ſerved under *Baligny*; and 200 *Switzers*, who were in another neighbouring *Piazza*, were what by threats, and what by intreaties drawn to be of the ſame mind: Whereby the Citizens were the more encouraged; who made no longer delay, but chuſing out ſome of the beſt of them, acquainted *Fuentes* with the Cities reſolution, and intreated him that he would give over ſhooting. *Baligny*, together with his Wife, *Du Vich*, and the other French Commanders were this mean while very much troubled at this unexpected novelty; and knowing that to uſe force would be but in vain, they thought it better to uſe intreaties. *Baligny* and *Du Vich* went therefore to the Piazza, and ſtrove by divers ways to appeaſe the Tumult; and *Baligny*'s Wife appeared there likewiſe, with great ſtore of Money, ſeeking by that means to mitigate the Citizens anger; but ſhe did thereby the more exaſperate them; for they thereby ſaw that it was rather avarice than need which had made Braſs be turned to the value of Silver. The Citizens did therefore utterly refuſe to treat with *Baligny*; and continuing the Treaty which they had already begun with *Fuentes*, it was ſoon concluded: The ſubſtance whereof was,

That

That the Archbishop should return to his former Government; and should be as formerly, under the particular protection of the King of Spain.

But the so jealous considerations of that Confine, and the like jealousies touching the Government of that City, did not long after make those that governed under the King extended their authority almost as much to the Civil as to the Military Government. This Agreement being made, *Fuentes* sent *Messia* with such numbers of men as was thought fit, into the City; and he himself entred soon after, with resolution to fall afterwards upon the Citadel with all ardency. But *Baligny* and *Du Vich*, together with the other Commanders, thinking that they were not able to defend it, for it was not so well fortified towards the City as it ought to have been, treated of surrendring. Which insued upon all the most honorable Conditions which could be desired. *Fuentes* received the young Duke of *Retel*, as also all the rest of the French Commanders, with all possible honour. But *Baligny*'s Wife, (who was woman of a high and domineering spirit) not being able to digest such a fall, and to return to her former condition, fell so very sick for sorrow, as at the instant of the surrender she ended her Principality and life together. Thus did *Fuentes* happily end the Siege, to the unexpressible joy of the obedient Provinces, and particularly of the Walloons, who had assisted the enterprise with so great Forces, and were now with so much advantage to enjoy the fruits thereof.

Whilst they were thus busie on the Frontiers of *France*, with so greatly considerable success, the United Provinces suffered not their Forces to lie idle in *Flanders*. *Fuentes* being entred at the time as we have told you into *France*, Count *Maurice* delayed not to march with a great strength into the Field, and in the beginning of *July* turn'd upon *Groll* in the County of *Zutfen*. This was almost the only place of any consequence, which as then remained under the King of *Spain*'s Forces in the parts beyond the *Rhine*: And therefore the United Provinces desired to make themselves masters thereof, and to have all those Countries at their free will and disposal. *Groll* is but a little Town; but strong both by situation and handy-work, and placed in a very important Pass. *Maurice* had not above 8000 Foot and 2000 Horse; with which he sate down before the Town and began to begirt it, hoping to win it before *Mandragone* could come to succour it; who, as we told you before, was left in those parts with good Forces, after *Verdugo*'s death, to counterpoise whatsoever of evil which might be endeavoured there by the United Provinces to the Kings prejudice. But *Maurice* was soon deceived: For *Mandragone* who had a watchful eye to all dangers, provided quickly for this. To boot with his former body of men, he gathered as many more together as the Kings near Garrisons could furnish him withall; so as he was almost as strong as *Maurice*. And passing suddenly over the *Mause* and *Rhine*, he marched towards *Groll*; resolving either to relieve the place, or to fight the Enemy. *Maurice*, tho in his prime of youth, began even then to shew that he listned more to wary than to hazardous Counsels. To the which inclination, as was then seen, and afterwards in the continuance of his military Command, he was not so much drawn by his own proper addiction, as by the express orders of the Confederate Provinces, which have always made it their maxim, to hazard their Forces as little as may be to the uncertain event of Battels. Therefore shunning the Combat he rose from before *Groll*; and retreating towards *Zutfen*, tarryed there to observe *Mandragone*'s ways. There was some conformity in the ends of these two. For as *Mandragone* had determined to keep *Maurice* from making any acquisition: So *Maurice* resolved to entertain *Mandragone* with such jealousies, as he should not be able to go from those parts, and consequently not to joyn with *Fuentes*. This was particularly agreed of likewise between the King of *France* and the United States. For the King hoped that *Fuentes* his Forces alone, would not be able to effect what you have already heard, and particularly not that wherein *Cambray* was concerned; though it proved otherwise. *Maurice* being retreated from *Groll*, and *Mandragone* having provided well for that place, he tarried not far from the *Rhine*, over against *Reinberg*, the better likewise to secure that place, and that passage, and to be victualled from thence with more safety. *Maurice* drew afterwards towards the Kings Camp, each party endeavouring to hinder the others design.

Between the two Armies ran the River *Lippa*, which falls into the *Rhine* not far from *Wessel*; and over which River they had often occasion to pass and repass to get Forage. There happened therefore divers Skirmishes between the two Camps, which for many days were but very slight, without any considerable event. But there happened one in the beginning of *September*, which was very notable, and wherein much blood was spent. The Kings Camp suffered much more for want of Forage than did the other; wherefore they were to fetch it from far, and with great convoys. *Maurice* thought therefore to light with such advantage upon the Enemy, upon this occasion, as they should not by any means be able to escape his hands; to this purpose he made *Philip* of *Nassaw*, General of the Horse, to lie in ambush with 500 horse, and gave him such other orders as were requisite for the effecting his design. Woods are very frequent in these parts: and Plains as frequent between them. *Mandragone*'s vigilancy was such as he got notice of this Ambuscado. Wherefore willing to delude one fraud with another,

ther, he firſt reinforced the Forrages convoy, and then placed divers Troops of Horſe in a wood, giving them ſuch further orders as were requiſite upon ſuch an occurrency. *John di Cordova* commanded the Horſe of his Army, an ancient Commander, and whoſe valour was well known: and this *Cordova* was preſent at the prepared action. He had with him Count *Henry de Berg*, *Jerolomo Carafa*, Marquis of *Montenegro*, *Paulo Emilio Martiningo*, and their Troops, together with his own, and ſome others without their Captains. In ſo much as theſe Horſe were not only equal, but rather more in number than thoſe of Count *Philip*. The Forragers appearing where the Enemies were placed, they were ſet upon on divers ſides, nor was their Convoy through reinforced, ſufficient to defend them. Wherefore many of them either ran away, or were taken, or ſlain. Then came Count *Henry* out of the Wood; and many of the Enemies Horſe iſſued likewiſe out of another Wood. In ſo much as the Action falling out there, and coming from ſecret ambuſhes to an open field, a fierce and bloudy Fight began, the Enemy at the firſt had the better over the Kings men; Count *Henry* and his aſſociates being worſted, but being ſuddenly back'd bythe reſt, his men rallied & returned couragiouſly to the conflict. And the Enemy being again reinforced by their whole Horſe, the ſucceſs was for a while doubtful. Count *Philip* in particular fought egregiouſly on their ſide, when being mortally wounded, he drop'd off his Horſeback; which did ſo much diſcourage the reſt, as beginning preſently to give back, they were ſoon diſordered, and at laſt quite routed. To boot with Count *Philip* who was taken Priſoner, and who ſoon after died, his Brother Count *Erneſtus*, and another *Erneſtus* Count of *Solme*, and who was their kinſman, were taken Priſoners, and *Solme* died likewiſe of his wounds. Divers other Captains and perſons of quality were likewiſe taken. There were above 300 ſlain, many of which were drowned as they paſſed over the *Lippa*. Of the Kings men there was not above 60 ſlain: but *Caraffa*, *Martiningo*, and *Caracchiolo* were all three ſorely wounded. After this, the two Camps made no further attempts: but remaining in the ſame quarters till the end of *October*, *Maurice* firſt went from thence, to lead his men to their winter quarter. And *Mandragone* did the like; going himſelf to his wonted Government of the Citadel of *Antwerp*. Where not long after he died, being 92 years old; but ſo luſty, as in the late mentioned occurrency, he was able both to undergo the greateſt weight of Command, and indure the greateſt troubles alſo of the field. He ſpent about 50 years in *Flanders*; and very few Actions of conſequence happened there in his time, where he was not preſent either in execution or command, and wherein he did not merit great praiſe for ſomething done by him. He was rigid in Diſcipline; and yet ſo beloved of all Nations, as each of them deſired him for their Commander; and all of them ſtrove who ſhould moſt reverence him, as their Father.

A little before Count *Maurice* and *Mandragone* left the field, the Confederate Provinces attempted a ſurpriſal in *Brabant*; which if it had ſucceeded, had much advantaged their affairs in that Province. And it fell out thus, *Charls Haraweger* was Governor of *Breda*, by whoſe means the place had been ſo happily ſurpriſed. He had likewiſe lately gotten the Caſtle of *Huy* in the Countay of *Liege*, by Stratagem: though Monſieur *de la Motte* did ſoon recover it, as you then heard. Being therefore encouraged by theſe paſt ſurpriſals, *Haraweger* reſolved to try whether he could have the like ſucceſs upon *Lira* in *Brabant*, and joyn ſo important an acquiſition to the other two not long before effected, of *Breda* and *Getrudenberg*. *Lira* lies almoſt in the midway between *Antwerp*, *Malines*, and *Lovain*; it is a good Town ſtrongly ſituated, and of great conſideration, being concentred between ſo principal Places. *Alonſo di Luna* was Governor thereof, who was a Spaniard, and had but a ſmall Garriſon there of the ſame Nation. *Haraweger* therefore making uſe of the preſent conjuncture, and ſuddenly gathering together about a thouſand Foot, and an hundred Horſe, which he had out of *Breda*, and other neighbouring Garriſons; he marched unexpectedly, and came with great ſilence, and in the quieteſt hours of night to the ditch of *Lira*, and to the place which he had intended for the ſurpriſal. One of the Gates towards *Malines*, had a certain Ravelin, which was begun for its defence, but which was not finiſhed. Thither did *Haraweger* addreſs himſelf, and paſſing over the ditch, which was not very deep, he eaſily ſcaled the Ravelin, and as eaſily did chaſe away ſome few Souldiers who had the guard thereof; then forcing the Gate about the break of day, wherein he met but with little withſtanding, he came unto the Market place, where the Governor for a little while oppoſed him; but being at laſt forced to give back, retired to the Gate which looks towards *Antwerp*, and endeavoured by all ways poſſible to fortifie himſelf there: he ſent with all ſpeed at the ſame time to acquaint *Antwerp* and *Malines* with what had happened, and to crave aid from them, hoping that he might defend that Gate, till relief might come. Neither of theſe Cities are above three leagues diſtant from *Lira*: nor was he deceived in his opinion; for *Gaſpero Mandragone* iſſuing immediately with 200 Spaniſh Foot out of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, whereof he was Governor in the others place; and 2000 Inhabitants of the City being with extraordinary diligence armed and put together by the Magiſtrate thereof, he marched ſpeedily with all theſe towards *Lira*: 600 armed Townſmen were alſo ſent with like diligence from *Malines*; and both theſe Forces meeting by the way, they endeavoured to get to *Lira* as ſoon as they could.

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The Town was this mean while plundered by the Enemy; and giving themſelves over to joy in the victory, before they had fully accompliſh'd it, they forgot themſelves in pillage, and in all other kind of diſſoluteneſs. So as when *Haranger* went to poſſeſs himſelf of the aforeſaid Gate, he found not Souldiers with him ſufficient to do it; and the weaker his Forces were, he met with the ſtronger reſiſtance. But ere long news came to thoſe of the Gate, that the ſuccor was coming: and ſoon after they were aſſured for more certain, that they were near at hand. The defendants thereat incouraged, held the Enemy play till ſuch time as their Companions might be expected: who when they came, the face of affairs ſoon altered. *Luna* and *Mandragone* advanced with the Spaniſh Souldiers of *Lira*, and with thoſe of the Cittadel of *Antwerp*, and being followed by the reſt who came in to the relief, they entred the Town, they put the Enemy to flight, and ſlew many of them, and many of thoſe who were not ſlain were taken priſoners, and many were ſtifled in the ditch ſeeking to ſave themſelves that way. Thus within a few hours was a place of ſuch conſequence loſt and recovered. Count *Fuentes* hearing of this novelty ſent the *Prince* of *Avelino* with 4000 Foot, 500 Horſe, to ſuccour the Town if he could; and in caſe he could not, to begin to begirt it, till *Fuentes* himſelf ſhould follow him with greater Forces. The mutineers of *Tilemon* had likewiſe readily ſent away 1000 of their Souldiers to relieve *Lira*. But theſe and *Avelino's* men hearing by the way, how that the ſurpriſal had not ſucceeded, they all returned back.

Fuentes this mean while had ſetled the affairs of *Cambray*, and leaving Campmaſter *Meſſia* there for Governor, he came himſelf to *Bruſſels*, where he was received with much honour, for ſo much good that had been done by the Kings Forces, in the time of his Government, which was juſt then to end; for the King had reſolved to ſend the Cardinal Arch-duke *Albertus* into *Flanders*, to ſucceed in the place of his deceaſed Brother *Erneſtus*: and the flying news thereof was ſoon confirmed by more certain intelligence, that the Cardinal was already parted from *Spain*, and was come by Sea to *Italy*. From thence he made his journy by land, and leaving *Savoy* was come into the Country of *Luxemburg*, he ſtaid ſome days in *Namures*, to tarry for the Souldiers which he brought with him that they might accompany him to *Bruſſels*. He brought with him two Spaniſh brigadoes, under the Campmaſters *Emanuel de Vega*, and *John Teſſeda*. An Italian brigado, under the Campmaſter *Alfonſo d'Avalos*, and alſo certain Neopolitan foot, and ſome Troops of Horſe; and he moreover brought with him a million and a half of Crowns. But by reaſon of the Winter, and ſo many other ſufferings, the Souldiery was ſo much leſſened, as in *Namures* it was thought neceſſary to make a general reformation, and to recruit the old Bands with theſe new men. Duke *Erneſtus* of *Bavaria*, Elector of *Cullen*, and the Biſhop of *Liege*, came to viſit the Cardinal whilſt he was yet in the Province of *Luxemburg*, and would accompany him to *Namures*, and from thence to *Bruſſels*. *Fuentes* came likewiſe to him at *Namures*, with all the flowre of the Nobility, which were then with him at *Bruſſels*. But the Duke of *Paſtrana* being come a little before into *Burgony*, as General of the Horſe, with ſeveral Troops, for the better ſafety of the Cardinals perſon, died ſuddenly when he was come to the Town of *Luxemburg*. At the Cardinals departure, the King was contented to reſtore *Philip William*, eldeſt ſon to the Prince of *Orange* that was ſlain, to his intire liberty, and to let him return to *Flanders*, and enjoy his eſtate, and ſuch a place of honour in the Cardinals Court as was due unto his quality. He had been kept in *Spain* almoſt thirty years; but in ſuch a ſort, as though a Priſoner, he enjoy'd much of liberty. Thus accompanied, the Cardinal entred into *Bruſſels* about the midſt of *February* in the year 1596. and it is not to be ſaid how great the concourſe was from all parts, to celebrate his arrival, and how magnificently he was received into that City with Arches, Statues, Inſcriptions, and all other extraordinary Pomp. *Fuentes* tarried here ſome days to inform the Cardinal fully with all neceſſary Inſtructions for that Government. And then taking his leave, went back the ſame way into *Italy*, and ſo to *Spain*; whither the King ſent for him, aſſuring him that he would ſhortly give him new and honourable Imployments.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

PART III. BOOK III.

The King of France *beſiegeth* la Fera; *it receives a ſmall ſuccour, and the Cardinal Archduke thinks to go thither with his whole Army. But afterwards reſolves to make a diverſion, and unexpectedly incamps before* Calis. *The ſituation and importancy of that place. The Sea-port being won, the Cardinal takes the Suburbs; and ſoon after the Town is ſurrendred to him. Means are uſed to put the Caſtle likewiſe into his hands: But the King of* France *ſending ſuccour, the Spaniards aſſault it and take it by ſtorm. The Cardinal turns ſuddenly upon the Town of* Ardes, *and begirts it round. The King of* France *ſtorms at the former loſs, and at the danger of receiving a ſecond. Yet will he not riſe from before* La Fera, *to go and relieve* Ardes. *So as almoſt at the ſame time he loſeth the one Town and gets the other. He then draws near the Enemies Camp with all his Forces, and endeavours to draw him out to Battle. Which the Cardinal avoids: and having provided well for the Towns which he had newly taken, he retreats with the reſt of his Army into* Artois. *From thence he paſſeth into* Flanders; *and ſeeming firſt as if he would make ſome other ſieges, ſits down before* Hulſt. *The deſcription of that place; the Country about it; and the whole ſiege, with the inſuing ſurrender thereof. This mean while the Marquis of* Barambone *is routed and taken by the Marſhal of* Biroun *upon the Frontiers of* Picardy. *And ſoon after* Barambone's *Brother the Count* Varras, *is put to flight and ſlain in* Brabant *by Count* Maurice.

AT the Cardinal Archdukes arrival in *Bruſſels*, all mens eyes were turned upon the Frontiers of *France* and *Flanders*. It being the generally conceived opinion that, the greateſt heat, and chiefeſt ſeat of War between the two Kings would be there. The King of *France*, not long before the Cardinals arrival, was in *Picardy*. He had hoped to eſtabliſh himſelf at one and the ſame time in *Burgony*, and to relieve *Cambray*: not thinking that either *Baligni's* misfortune would be ſo great, or yet *Fuentes* his happineſs, as to end that Siege ſo ſoon. Touching the affairs of *Burgony*, the King had had all good ſucceſs in thoſe parts; for Intereſt at laſt prevailing over Arms, the Duke *du Main* had made his peace with him, quitting the Government of *Burgony*, and taking in lieu thereof that of the Iſle of *France*, together with divers other conditions wherewith he was fully ſatisfied. Wherefore the Conſtable of *Caſtile* returning to *Milan*, *Burgony* remained eaſed of Arms, and the King began already to have intire obedience therein. The greater advantages he got on that ſide, the more was he diſpleaſed with thoſe which *Fuentes* had obtained in *Picardy*; but he was chiefly troubled that *Cambray* ſhould be fallen again into the King of *Spains* hands. The King of *France* had not any great Forces as then, yet they were ſuch as he thought he might beſiege *La Fera*, and ſoon take it. *La Fera* is ſtrongly ſeated; for being almoſt wholly environed with Mariſhes, there is no acceſs unto it but by two narrow avenues. It ſtands a good way within *Picardy*; wherefore the Duke of *Parma* had choſen it, as one of the beſt places that were in that Province, and whereby the King of *Spains* affairs in thoſe parts might receive the moſt advantage. There are two avenues whereby acceſs may chiefly be had unto the Town; of both which the King did quickly poſſeſs himſelf: and having block'd them up with good Forts, he fell to dividing out his quarters. *Alvarus Oſorio*, a Spaniard, and a greatly eſteemed Souldier commanded in chief within the Town; he had with him a choice Gariſon, and had ſufficient ammunition for war;

but

but was ſo very much ſtraitned in victuals, that unleſs he ſhould receive good ſtore thereof all the ſooner, it was impoſſible for him long to ſuſtain the Siege. The King was not ignorant of this; wherefore quitting all thought of aſſault he reſolved to ſtraiten it only by Siege: hoping that by keeping them thus from ſuccour on all ſides, and eſpecially from victuals, he ſhould ſoon be Maſter of it.

This was the condition of *La Fera*, when the Cardinal Archduke came to *Bruſſels*. Wherefore the firſt thing that was taken into conſideration by his Council of War was, Whether they were to relieve *La Fera* with all their Forces, or endeavour to neceſſitate the King to raiſe the Siege by ſome important diverſion. There were ſo many and ſo efficacious reaſons which made againſt the ſuccour as they were not to be anſwered: It was conſidered,

That La Fera *being ſituated ſo far within* Picardy, *it was as it were inviroued with St.* Quintain, Han, Guiſe, *and* Peronne, *and ſome other Towns alſo, which were all of them in the Enemies poſſeſſion, and were all very well gariſoned and munited. That therefore if the Spaniſh Army would approach* La Fera, *it muſt of neceſſity leave divers of theſe Towns upon its back; that if ſo, the Enemy might at their pleaſure ſcour the Country, cut off the ways, hinder victuals, and eſpecially diſturb forage. That* La Fera *was almoſt inacceſſible on all ſides by reaſon of the Mariſhes. That the beſt Avenues were well guarded with Forts by the King of* France. *That the Siege was ſtill more ſtraitned by him on all ſides; and that new men came in daily unto his Camp, which would abound as uſually it did, eſpecially with choice Cavalry. What hopes could they then have either of coming near* La Fera; *or by doing ſo, of introducing relief? unleſs they would at the ſame time aſſault the Enemy in his own quarters. But what hope of good ſucceſs could they have herein? the King was intrenched ready to fight, or not to fight, according as ſhould make for his moſt advantage. That if he thought his Forces were ſuch, as he might buckle with the Spaniards in the field, no reaſon either of War, or yet of State would permit that the Spaniards ſhould hazard themſelves upon the uncertain event of a battle. That if the King ſhould be routed, he might eaſily gather new forces; but put the caſe the contrary ſhould happen, what difficulties would the Cardinal Arch-Duke meet withal, and what expences would he be at, in making new Levies of Spaniards, Italians, and of other Foreiners, of which the chief body of the Kings forces in* Flanders *is uſually framed? And ſay ſuch a loſs ſhould enſue, what new acquiſitions would the Confederate Provinces hope to make?*

Theſe reaſons bore with them ſo much weight to plead againſt the aboveſaid ſuccour, as the votes were already for propoſing ſome diverſion, which might force the King to riſe from before *La Fera:* when news was brought that by *George Baſtie*'s means that Town was victualled ſufficiently for at leaſt two months, not long before this *Baſty* was returned into *Flanders*; with leave for ſome ſhort while from the Emperor, who had long before imployed him in the wars of *Hungary* againſt the Turks: he had won very great experience in War, by his having ſpent ſo much time in the War of *Flanders*, and by reaſon of the ſo many noble employments, wherein he had ſerved the Duke of *Parma* in particular: in whoſe laſt expeditions in *France*, *Baſti* had almoſt always commanded the Armies Horſe: in which ſort of ſervice, there was no man held more able at that time than he, nor who knew better what belong'd thereunto neither in point of command, nor execution. He had received orders from the Cardinal, that he ſhould endeavour to relieve *La Fera* with ſome victuals, from the neareſt Frontiers of *Flanders:* to which purpoſe 800 choice Horſe were in readineſs upon the ſame Frontiers, which were to take each of them a ſack of Corn behind them, and to cauſe them to be brought by ſmall boats into *La Fera*. This deſign required great ſecreſie; wherefore *Baſti* having very ſecretly acquainted *Oſorio*, Governor of the Town therewithal, and ſuddenly aſſembled the 800 Horſe together, upon ſome other pretence, came with ſuch ſpeed ſo near the Town, as he might eaſily effect the ſuccor. The Agreement made between him and *Oſorio* was, that *Baſti* ſhould come at a certain prefixt time to a part where the Mariſh was moſt watry, and that *Oſorio* ſhould ſend all the Boats he could get to receive the Corn, and to bring it to the Town. And juſt ſo it fell out, to *Baſtie*'s unſpeakable praiſe and honour; he having been continually on Horſ-back for little leſs than Forty hours, and having known ſo well to chooſe his time, to deceive his own men firſt, and then the Enemy much better: and how to return without the loſs of ſo much as one man; nay more, having defeated ſome of the Enemies Horſe which would have oppoſed him as he returned.

This ſmall ſuccour gave ſome hopes that a greater might enſue; but the former oppoſitions ſtill ariſing, and it being known that the King did ſtill more and more fortifie his quarters and that his Forces grew ſtill greater: the Cardinal began to incline to the making of ſome important diverſion, and hereupon they gave their opinions in the Council of War. Some were for beſieging *Peronne*, others St. *Quintain*, and others other Towns thereabouts, The Camp-maſter General *Ronye*, was very well acquainted with every corner, and every paſs of the Province, by reaſon of his being ſo long thereabouts in the time of the League: he was more averſe to the ſuccour than any other, and adviſed more to the diverſion, and willing to ſpeak his mind clearly therein to the Cardinal; but with ſuch ſecreſie as ſo jealous an affair required: He took an occaſion to ſpeak thus unto him in his Chamber, when but ſome few were with him.

It is now agitated (most excellent Prince) whether it be better to succour La Fera *by all our Forces, or to endeavour such a diversion, as the King of* France *may be thereby more damnified, than he shall be advantaged, though he doth not raise his Siege: enough hath been already said touching the difficulties of the Siege; which truly are so great, as there is no hopes of overcoming them: Let* La Fera *then be lost, provided that in lieu thereof we get another Town which may recompence the loss thereof with advantage. I must confess the keeping of* La Fera, *and other Towns in* Picardy, *was of some concernment during the League, and Civil Wars of* France; *but now that there is no sign of League left, nor of Civil Commotions, and that* La Fera *is surrounded with so many Towns towards the Frontiers of* Flanders, *what considerable advantage will it be to the King if he do chance to get it? Nay how great will his trouble and expence be to keep it? Let the King continue then at that Siege, and let us betake our selves to a diversion: but, as I have already said, let it then be such a one, as the acquisition which shall thereby be made may much exceed the loss which may be apprehended by the other. I shall not propound* Peronne, *St.* Quintain, *nor any of those other Towns wherewith* La Fera *is surrounded, unto your Highness; every one of which may be thought equal, or rather inferior to this; I shall advise you to another, of so much greater concernment, as it may of it self alone, weigh against all those put together. I mean* Callis. *Callis, a Sea Port; the Key to the English Channel, from whence passage may be had in a few hours into that Island, and in a few more into* Holland *and* Zealand. *Callis, where succour may so commodiously be received by Sea from* Spain, *and which certainly will be the sharpest Thorn at the present in the sides of* France, *which fears nothing less thereabouts than to see* Calis *besieged. The Commander there is a very weak man, the Garrison at the present is as weak, and you shall find all other provisions for defence of equal weakness. This is the diversion which I propound; in enterprises of this nature, in the first place great secresie is requisite in the resolving thereupon; and then speed in putting it in execution. Your Highness must therefore possess your self of all the Avenues about* Callis, *before the Enemy get any inkling of it; otherwise succours will be soon sent thither both by Sea and Land, and so the undertaking will be defeated before it be begun; when on the contrary, if the Avenues be speedily secured, either my Military experience deceives me, or our Arms and your Ensigns shall in a few days be seen to enter there.*

The Cardinal seemed to be mightily pleased with the propounded diversion, and which was fully approved of by the rest that were with him, who were the chief Commanders of the *Flanders* Forces. They then fell to treat of putting it into execution, and the Cardinal chose *Ranye* to be guider thereof, who was the first adviser: but for the better concealing it, they gave out, that they were resolved to relieve *La Fera*, or attempt some diversion thereabouts. To this purpose *Valentiennes* was chosen for their Rendezvouz; one of the neareſt Cities upon that Frontier: and after having made great store of victuals be brought thither, the Army began to march, which was one of the most flourishing ones that had of a long time been seen in *Flanders*. It consisted of 5000 *Spaniards*, 1500 *Italians*, 1000 *Burgonians*, 1000 *Irish*, 2500 *Germans*, and 6000 *Walloons*, all these were very choice Foot; and to these were added 3500 Horse the Train-bands of *Flanders* being numbered thereinto, which did serve upon that occasion. The Cardinal was in *Valentiennes* about the beginning of *April*, and had with him the greatest part of his Army, and ordered divers marches the more to confound the King of *France*, and to keep his true design unknown to him. From hence he sent *Ranye* with great celerity and secresie towards *Callis*, with the Camp-masters *Lewis di Velasco*, *Alonso di Mendosa*, *la Charlotta*, and the Count *Bucquoy*: The two first Spaniards with their Brigadoes, and the other two Walloons with their Brigadoes also: and these Foot were accompanied by 400 Horse. *Callis* lies upon the very brink of the Channel which divides *France* from *England*; and in that very point of Land where the two Kingdoms are neareſt one another. This was the last place from whence the English were driven, after they had so long possest *Normandy*, together with so many other Provinces of *France*; and as the re-purchase thereof made by the French, was thought a great concerment; so did they ever after studiously endeavour to keep it. But the Kingdom falling into Civil discord, *Callis* was no happier than were the other Towns, which being all of them almost in private mens hands, for their own ends, could not be so well kept as the service of the Kingdom and Crown required. *Callis* was not therefore now so well provided of Flanks, Platforms, and other Warlike provisions for its defence, as was necessary. It is no Town of any great Circuit, nor much inhabited; but it is of good Commerce by reason of its situations: it hath a Suburbs but meanly fortified, which looks towards the Sea; and a Castle of four Bulwarks which command the Haven. On the Land side it is fortified more or less, according as the several situations will allow of. From the side where the Town lies, a great bank of Sand thrusts it self out into the Sea, and then bends back again towards the Land; which being reduced to a better form by Art, makes the Haven, which is one of the best that is upon that Channel. Upon the utmost point of the bank stands an ancient Tower, called the Rise-bank, which commands the mouth of the Haven; and usually this Tower is very carefully kept. More within Land, and about a quarter of a league from *Callis*, there is a Pass or Avenue of great consequence, called *Nieulet*, by reason of a Bridg which opens and shuts the coming to the Town on the Lands side; this Pass is likewise guarded

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by another Tower. The other ſituations about it are for the moſt part low and watry, ſo as but little part thereof is tractable.

Monſieur *de Gordan*, a valiant and well eſteemed Souldier, had for many years been Governor of this Town; and a Nephew of his called Monſieur *di Bidaſſan* ſucceeded him therein, rather for his Wealth than Merit. This man being but young in years, and younger in experience, had not been ſo careful as he ought to have been in cauſing the Town be well munited and provided for; and at this time there was not above 600 Souldiers in the Garriſon. *Ronye* parting with his men from *Valentiennes*, drew ſo unexpectedly near *Calis*, as at the firſt aſſault he took the Tower of *Nieulet*. The Tower was munited by a little Fort; but all was ſo weakly looked unto, as the Aſſault met not with almoſt any reſiſtance. Having won this Paſs, *Ronye* turn'd immediately upon the Riſe-bank which commanded the mouth of the Haven: here ſome more reſiſtance was made; but the Artillery was no ſooner preſented before the Garriſon, but ſome of them being ſlain, the reſt were ſo diſcouraged, as that *Ronye* within a few hours made himſelf maſter thereof likewiſe. He did not believe he could ſo ſoon have taken theſe two Paſſes: And doubtleſs had either of them been better guarded by the *French*, ſuch a ſuccour would ſoon have entred *Calis*, as there had been little hopes of taking it. *Bullen*, which ſtands upon the ſame Sea, is within ſix leagues of *Calis*, from whence ſome Boats with men in them were ſpeedily diſpatcht to relieve *Calis*; and ſoon after many others appeared both from *England* and *Holland* to the ſame end. But *Ronye* had already ſo fortified himſelf in the Riſe-bank, as none of them could get in.

The Cardinal being advertiſed of this ſo fortunate beginning, went preſently from *Valentiennes*; and muſtering all the men who upon occaſion of the aforeſaid March were divided into ſundry quarters, brought them all before *Calis*; which being ſurrounded on all ſides, they began to play upon the Suburbs. Before they could come to an aſſault, they muſt needs wade through a low piece of Marſh ground, which was overflown by the high Tide, ſo as they were forced to expect the Ebb. About break of day they began their Battery; nor was it long before they had thrown down above 30 yards of Wall. The Aſſault fell to *Mendoza*'s Foot, with whom were likewiſe ſome Companies of *Velaſco*'s and *Barlotta*'s Brigadoes. The Tide was no ſooner over, but the Aſſailants fell on with great reſolution, who found ſo weak withſtanding, as they preſently took the Suburbs: then turning their Battery upon the Town, which was likewiſe but weakly fortified on that ſide, the Inhabitants began to parley and the Articles agreed upon, were,

That the Governor might go from the Town with all his men, and with what goods he pleaſed into the Caſtle, leaving ſuch Ammunition and Victuals in the Town as were there at the preſent.

But thinking himſelf as unſafe in the Caſtle, he parlied again, and had ſix days ſpace allowed him to ſurrender in; in which time he was permitted to wait relief, which if it ſhould not come in that time, he was to retreat with all his men either by Land or by Sea to *Bullen*. This mean while Arms were ſuſpended, and it was agreed upon by both ſides, That for thoſe ſix days it ſhould be lawful for each of them to make what Works they pleaſed. To which agreement it was interchangeably added; That if the Caſtle ſhould be relieved within the aforeſaid time, it might be lawful for them within to defend it, and thoſe without (as formerly) to oppugn it. Wherefore they without fell immediately to making of Trenches, diſpoſing of Batteries, and to preparing all things which might make for their Aſſault. They within the Caſtle on the other ſide built a great Half-Moon, in the place which was fitteſt for it, and two great Platforms; they fill'd that Wall which was to be batter'd, better up with Earth, and did all things elſe which might make moſt for their defence. And for that theſe Works were made without any oppoſition, there were never better known of their ſeveral kinds. And certainly you have hardly heard of ſo ſtrange a novelty in any other Siege: For in this, all thoſe that were without, ſave ſuch as were imployed about the Works, ſtood with a great deal of ſafety and quietneſs, looking upon the Works made by the beſieged; and on the other ſide, thoſe within the Caſtle were ſpectators on the Wall, as in a Scene, obſerving with all quietneſs and attention all that the beſiegers did. So as the ſpectacle ſeemed rather to be a fiction than a truth; and it appeared rather to be a gratulation for Peace, than any thing that bore with it a neceſſity of real War.

The King of *France* was this mean while mightily incenſed, conſidering in what danger he was of loſing *Calis*, unleſs the Caſtle were all the ſooner ſuccour'd. The King was come from before *La Fera*, upon the firſt news that *Ronye* had taken the Tower of *Nieulet*, and the *Riſe-bank*: And was come in all haſte to *Boloign* with only 1000 Horſe, that he might be near *Calis*, and take the beſt courſe that might be for the relief thereof. He would not abandon his Siege, knowing that *La Fera* could not keep long from falling into his hands for want of victuals; and believing that the Suburbs and Town of *Calis* might have held out much longer, and that he might ſo have ſuccour'd it as it might not have been ſo ſoon loſt. But ſeeing what progreſs the Cardinal had on a ſudden made, and that the Caſtle was in ſo great danger, the King was

ſtrangely madded to think he ſhould be in ſuch a condition, as he could not with his whole Forces endeavour the ſuccour, and that thoſe that were with him were too weak to effect it. Four of the ſix days granted for the relief of the Caſtle, were already paſt. Wherefore the King not willing to leave any thing unattempted which might contribute to the preſervation of it, reſolved to ſend 300 choiſe men with all poſſible ſecreſie from *Boloign* to *Calis*; with a reſolution that hazarding themſelves upon all dangers, they muſt either get into the Caſtle, or die in the attempt. He would have many Captains and Officers of known valour to be of this number; and he gave them the Signor of *Campignuola* for their Commander, a Souldier of great eſteem, and who was Governor of *Boloign*. *Campignuola* marched on; and being come two hours before day to within half a league of *Calis*, he went to enter the Caſtle. The chiefeſt difficulty lay in getting over certain low Marſhes whither the Tide came, and which were guarded by a Fort govern'd by the Marquis of *Treviſo* a Neopolitan, with his Brigado of the ſame Nation. But the *French* had ſuch luck to come at a low Ebb, and ſuch was the careleſneſs which was uſed in the Fort, as *Campignuola* entred into the Caſtle with all his men not meeting with any obſtacle. Here he declared the Kings Commiſſions, concluding, that they muſt either defend the Caſtle, or die in the defence thereof: That if they could but make it good for a ſmall time, the King would come himſelf in perſon with full Forces to relieve it; and that he was reſolved thereupon, as he would uſe all imaginable means to do it quickly. Theſe words did much inhearten thoſe within the Caſtle: inſomuch as the Governor *Bidoſſan*, together with the Garriſon, and the reſt of the Inhabitants aſſured *Campignuola* that they would be faithful in making the defence. The Spaniſh Camp began to ſuſpect, by the proceedings in the Caſtle, that it had received ſome ſuccour; which when the Cardinal was better aſſured of, he complained much of *Treviſo*. Yet that he might come to the more perfect knowledg thereof, the ſix days drawing now to an end, the Cardinal ſent to the Caſtle, to demand the delivery of it according to the agreement. To which the Governor anſwered, That without violation of faith, he was at liberty to defend it; for he had received ſuccour, and ſuch, as he hoped he ſhould be very able to hold it out. This being known, thoſe without prepared for the Aſſault, and thoſe within to defend the Caſtle. And during theſe preparations, the ſixth day was fully expired. The next day did hardly well appear, when they began from without to play furiouſly upon the Caſtle; and the chief Battery was placed againſt the chief Bulwark which did moſt command the Gate. Many other pieces of Artillery were made uſe of, at the ſame time to bereave them of their defence. Wherefore the tempeſt of ſhot was ſo great, and ſo continual for ſo many hours, as the greateſt part of that ſide of the Bulwark being beaten down, the oppugnors thought they might fall to the Aſſault. The Artillery had plaid inceſſantly at the ſame time from the Caſtle; and they within received the Enemy with great courage, ſo as a ſore conflict inſued. The Aſſailants were *Spaniards* and *Walloons*, with their Campmaſters *Mendoſa*, *Velaſco*, and *Barlotta*: Who ſtriving to give example, and their Souldiers to imitate them, there could not be a fiercer fight on this ſide. Yet thoſe within did ſo ſtoutly withſtand the firſt Aſſault, as the Aſſailants not able to mount the breach, were beaten back: But at the very inſtant of their giving back, being aſham'd that they had done ſo, they ſuddenly returned, and falling more fiercely than before to the Aſſault, they ſo renewed the fight, at one and the ſame time almoſt they got upon the Breach, planting their Colours there, and entred with the defendants into the Caſtle. In this renewing of the Aſſault, the Governor *Bidoſſan* was ſlain, together with many Captains, and other valiant Souldiers, who were preſent at the defence-making. For what remained, Military fury was uſed, few being left alive, of which *Campignuola* was one. From blood they fell to plunder: which tho it was not anſwerable to expectation, yet it was thought to come to about 500000 Crowns worth in goods, together with a very conſiderable quantity of Victuals and Ammunition. Many of the Aſſailants Captains and Officers were ſlain: The greateſt loſs they ſuffered was in the death of Count *Pacchiotto* an Italian, chief Enginere of the Spaniſh Camp, who through a deſire of Honor would be preſent at the Aſſault, where fighting valiantly he was ſlain. Thus in leſs than 20 days, *Calis*, one of the chief Towns of *France*, fell with ſo little oppoſition into the King of *Spains* hands. *Guines* and *Hames*, two Towns near *Calis*, ſurrendred themſelves alſo quickly to Monſieur *de Ronye*: The firſt was of ſome conſequence; the other very weak, and not able to make any reſiſtance. The Cardinal ſtaid ten days in *Calis*, that he might leave the Town well munited and provided. To the recovery whereof it appeared that the Queen of *England*, and the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* would buckle themſelves with great Maritime preparations; both theſe parties thinking themſelves more concern'd in the loſs of *Calis*, than the King of *France* himſelf.

The King having received ſo great a blow, returned ſpeedily to his Siege of *Fera*, that he might put an end thereunto as ſoon as he could, and keep the Town from being relieved with Victuals. Yet before he went from *Bullen*, he ſecured that Town from all danger, and furniſhed *Montruille* and *Ardres* with ſufficient Garriſons and all manner of neceſſary proviſions; but eſpecially the laſt, as being nearer *Calis*, and againſt which it was moſt to be feared that

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the *Spaniards* would addreſs themſelves. Wherein he was not deceived: For after divers conſultations had, the Cardinal being ſtill thereunto adviſed by *Ronye*, made his Army march towards *Ardres*, and on the beginning of *May* incampt before it. The Town of *Ardres* is placed in a valley which is much more long than broad, not above three leagues diſtant from *Calis*: The Country about it is more watry than dry: It is but of a ſmall circuit, but very ſtrong both by nature and induſtry; in the higheſt part thereof there is a Suburbs, which being formerly but weakly fortified, was now very well munired by the Garriſon and Townſmen. Monſieur *de Anneburg*, a well reputed Souldier, was Governor of the Town; and there were about 2000 Foot, and 150 Horſe there in Garriſon, with good proviſions for all things neceſſary for defence: And for its greater advantage, the Marquis of *Belin*, the Kings Lieutenant of *Picardy*, was come thither; and with him Monſieur *di Monluck*, a young man, but one of the moſt cry'd up valour that was in all *France*. *Ronye* had the chief care of the Siege: Wherefore having firſt well diſpoſed of the Quarters, and then provided for their ſecurity, he began to advance with his Trenches. They were firſt led on towards the Town; but *Ronye* thought it better afterwards to endeavour the winning of the Suburbs, the taking whereof would make much for carrying the Town. The beſieged this mean while made out frequent Sallies, in all which *Monluck* was ſtill the formoſt; nor made they leſs oppoſition by their Artillery which were plated upon their Walls. So as great was the damage which thoſe without received by both theſe means. Yet overcoming all difficulties, they ſtill ſtraitned the Town more and more. And *Monluck* being ſlain by a Canon-ſhot, it might ſoon be diſcerned that thoſe within cooled in their courage. Coming at laſt to Battery, *Ronye* was very ſolicitous in endeavouring the effect thereof, for fear leſt the King having rid his hands of *La Fera* might come with his whole Army joyn'd together, time enough to relieve *Ardres*, as it was clearly ſeen he intended to do. But the Suburb was ſo well defended, that ſuch progreſs could not be made by Battery as the ſtraitneſs of time required. Between the Suburb and the Town there was a certain ſecret way, which led out afterwards into the Fields abroad, and which was but little known ſave to ſuch Inhabitants as moſt frequented that place: The Campmaſter *Teſſeda* had notice hereof by a Walloon Souldier, who upon other occurrences had been converſant in that paſſage. *Teſſeda* therefore acquainted the Cardinal that entrance might be had into the Borough ſecretly by night, through that paſſage; and he deſired that he might be truſted with the Government of the deſign. The Cardinal yielded to the propoſal and to the deſire. Wherefore *Teſſeda* went to the aforeſaid place the next night, taking with him 1000 foot, part *Spaniards*, part *Walloons*. To divert the defendants the more, a briſk Alarm was given againſt both the Town and Suburb, from the part without, where the Batteries were placed. The Enemy flocking apace to thoſe parts, *Teſſeda* paſſed on, and began to enter the Suburbs with his men. But the Enemy being aware thereof, they ſuddenly turned all their oppoſition thither, ſo as for a while the buſineſs was hotly diſputed on both ſides; till *Teſſeda* being recruited with new Forces, got a good way into the Suburb, and forced the Enemy at laſt to quit it, and to retreat to within the Town: in which retreat there happened a misfortune which added much to their loſs. For the Percullis being too haſtily let down by thoſe that guarded the Gate, for fear leſt the Aſſailants might enter into the Town pel mel with the aſſailed, 200 of their own men were ſhut out, who were all miſerably put to the Sword by the Aſſailants. The Suburbs being won, *Ronye* immediately turned the Batteries upon the Town; and that they might be the more terrible, ſome pieces of great Canon were brought from *Calis*, and planted upon the chief Battery; and many other pieces of Artillery were planted againſt the fences; in ſo much as the like preparation for thundring ſhot upon the Town, had not been ſeen in many former Sieges.

It was this mean while diſputed between the Marquis of *Belin*, and the Governor of the Town, whether it were better to do their utmoſt to withſtand the aſſault, which was to be expected would inſue the batteries; or not to hazard a fight, the event whereof was ſo uncertain, and dangerous. The Governour was for making good the Defence, alleadging,

That the Garriſon could not be more incouraged, and that the mean while the King having diſpatched the buſineſs of La Fera, *would undoubtedly come himſelf in perſon to the relief of* Ardres.

The Captains were of the ſame opinion, and the Souldiers likewiſe ſhewed great reſolution therein. But *Belin* was of another mind. He ſaid,

That if it ſhould come to the tryal, they ſhould not be able to withſtand the aſſault. That the greateſt part of ſo valiant Souldiers would be loſt. And that it tended much more to the Kings ſervice, to preſerve than to loſe them.

Theſe reaſons were not admitted of neither by the Governor nor Garriſon. But *Belin* urging Authority, which was diſcerned to proceed wholly from fear, would by all means, that without expecting ſo much as one ſhot, they ſhould treat of ſurrender. He deſired that he might firſt ſend unto the King. But his requeſt being denyed, he yielded to the ſurrender, upon ſuch honorable terms as he could get. One thouſand five hundred Souldiers marched out of

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the town with him: at which Action it cannot be conceived how haineusly the King was incenſed. Both in reſpect of the action it ſelf, and for that *La Fera* falling juſt then into his hands, he did verily hope either to make the Spaniſh Camp quit the Siege of *Ardres*, or elſe to force them to fight with him in the open fields. And his Forces were by this time ſo increaſed, as he had great reaſon to hope for one of theſe two. *Belin* would have gon to have juſtified himſelf; but the King inſtead of hearing him, thought to have put him to an ignominious death; though afterwards, together with his anger he mitigated *Belins* puniſhment, and only baniſhed him the Court.

This mean while thoſe of *La Fera*, being reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity of hunger, could no longer defer the ſurrender of the Town. The King, that he might the ſooner be gon from thence, and come to the relief of *Ardres* granted them all the honourable conditions they could deſire. But *Ardres* being loſt, and the King ſtill more incenſed thereat, he ſeemed to be much perplexed in his thoughts, not knowing what to reſolve upon. His Forces were then very ſtrong: he had no leſs than 18000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe, together with the flower of the chiefeſt of the Kingdom, and a numerous other Nobility which did then wait upon him. His end would have been, either to have recovered *Calis*, or ſome other of the Towns which he had loſt; but he foreſaw all Sieges would coſt much expence both of time and monies: and the Kings monies were at this time ſo exhauſted, and *Picardy*, together with the other Provinces, ſo waſted with the ſo long quartering of Armies, as out of each of theſe conſiderations, it was impoſſible for him, long to maintain ſo great Forces, or to make uſe of them in any long Siege. He therefore by the conſent of his Council of War, reſolved to draw near to the Cardinal Archdukes Army: and to endeavour by all means poſſible to draw him forth to Battel. But the Cardinals intentions were far otherwiſe; for being fully informed of the Kings mind and knowing himſelf to be much ſhort of him in men, as being inforced to leave ſtrong Gariſons in the places which he had won; he thought it might ſuffice if he could ſecure theſe, and for what remained ſhun all Field-battel. His people had likewiſe ſuffered much diſaccommodation in theſe laſt expeditions. In ſo much as being willing to refreſh them with the moſt commodious quarters he could, he reſolved to go into *Artois*; and going himſelf into St. *Omers*, he diſpoſed of his Army in divers Towns thereabouts; having firſt left that part of the Frontiers of *France* which was then in the King of *Spains* hands, well provided. The King of *France* perceiving this, reſolved to diſmiſs the Nobility and Gentry that followed him; and leaving Marſhal *Biron* with 4000 Foot, and 600 Horſe, to ſecure ſuch places of *Picardy* as he was moſt jealous of, he went himſelf for ſome other important affairs to *Paris*.

Whilſt the Cardinal Archduke was in *France* about theſe aforeſaid enterpriſes, the united Provinces of *Flanders* took this occaſion, and infeſted and overrun divers parts of *Brabant* with 800 Horſe. But ſoon meeting with ſuch oppoſition as was needful, and particularly by the Italian mutiniers, who ſent the greateſt part of their Horſe from *Tilemon* againſt the Enemy, the excurſions laſted but for a while, nor did they do any great damage. The Cardinal this mean while raiſed 3000 Walloons, and as many Germans, to ſupply the place of thoſe that were found wanting, and of thoſe that were left in the French Towns. The particular Province of *Flanders* could have very much deſired that he would have undertaken the taking of *Oſtend*, a ſtrong Sea-Town; and from whence the inland Countries thereabouts were much damnified. The Cardinal ſeemed no leſs deſirous thereof; to witneſs which, he went himſelf to *Newport*, which is not above three hours journey from *Oſtend*, and being there nearer at hand, he cauſed the condition of the Town to be diligently examined. But judging that it was impoſſible to keep it from being relieved, and that being ſo near *Zealand*, it might be ſuccoured every hour, the Cardinal thought it was not a thing feiſable, and that therefore it was by no means to be undertaken. On the other ſide, not being willing to loſe the Summer, without imploying his Army about ſome new expedition, he thought good to know his Council of Wars opinion therein. Some propounded the Siege of *Hulſt* in the particular Province of *Flanders*: as well for the importance of ſuch an acquiſition, as for the ſatisfying of that Province in ſome ſort, ſince it was impoſſible to pleaſe it in the enterpriſe of *Oſtend*. Others thought upon *Bergben ap Zome*, *Getrudenberg*, or *Breda*, all of them Towns in *Brabant*. As for *Breda*, it might the eaſilyeſt be kept from ſuccour, becauſe it lay more within land. But for all things elſe, it was ſo well munited, and ſo well provided to make long reſiſtance, as there were found great difficulties in bringing that Siege to a good end. The other places were ſo ſeated by nature, as enjoying the opportune neigbourhood of *Holland* and *Zealand*, either by the accommodation of Channels or Rivers, it would be very hard to keep the Enemy from relieving them whenſoever they would.

The difficulties of the propounded ſieges being weigh'd, and the hopes of overcoming them, the Cardinal reſolv'd at laſt to beſiege *Hulſt*, and to uſe all poſſible means for the taking of it. On the Eaſt ſide where the Province of *Flanders* terminates, and where with the interpoſition of the River *Scheld* it joyns to *Brabant*, there lies a ſmall Territory called the *Waſſe*. It is bounded on the Eaſt by the *Scheld*, that River keeping ſtill its own name; on the North it is bounded by the *Honte*, a branch of the *Scheld*; but which is already grown ſo large, and ſo ready

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to fall into the Sea, as it may rather be called an arm of the Sea, than the branch of a river. On the West and South it reaches more within land, and is not far from the Territories of *Gaunt*. The *Waesse* hath many great Villages in it, and also some walled Towns. And though the situation thereof be very low, yet it enjoys many commodities as well by its own natural situation, as by the Inhabitants industry. In almost the midst of it, stands the Town of *Hulst*. Which is but small in circuit, yet of great Traffick: and out of some other circumstances, the chief Town of that Country of *Waesse*. Count *Maurice* had won it five years before, whilst the Duke of *Parma* was upon his diversion in the French expedition, as was then more largely related. To boot with its situation and some handy works, which made it even then a considerable place; the fortifications thereof had since been much increased by the United States; flanking it better where it was most needful, and securing it better by Pallisadoes, and other Works. But not content with having fortified the Town, they would for as much as they could make the Country for a good part inaccessible. They therefore resolved to make it an Island between two large Channels; and to this purpose they cut one which fell into the *Scheld*, and another which fell into the *Hont*. The former was over against their great Fort of *Lillo*, which lies upon the other shore, and the latter drew nearer *Zealand*; with equal design notwithstanding of receiving such succour as was requisite, from the one and the other of them: to which purpose they had built two Forts to secure both their mouths; calling that towards *Lillo*, *Nassau*; and the other towards *Zealand*, *Maurice*. By means of these two Channels, they at the high tide could overflow the Country, and make it thus almost inaccessible.

The Town of *Hulst*, and the circumjacent Country being thus secured, the Confederate Provinces assigned a great Garison, not so much for keeping the Town, as to overrun the Kings Country thereabouts; and to get either greater contributions of free-will, or larger booty where they would not contribute in a friendly way. This prejudice grew sensible, even in the time of Archduke *Ernestus*, and Count *Fuentes*. Wherefore to bridle their inroads in some sort, they had then placed two chief Forts upon the banks of *Scheld*, turned towards the Country of *Waesse*, and called the one the Fort *Austria*, and the other the Fort *Fuentes*. And to these two they added some other lesser ones, more inward, in such places as were thought fittest. These Forts being raised, the Enemy raised some likewise against them on their side. They built two upon the banks of the neighbouring Channel which fell into the *Scheld*; and for the greater security of them both, they raised a lesser in the midst between them. They called one of the greater *Morual*, and the other *Rape*; and that which was in the midst, and might rather be termed a Redoubt than a Fort; they called little *Rape*. Unless it were the rise of the Dike, which served for building the Forts, (and it was that which was towards *Hulst*) all the rest on both sides was laid level, to make the greater overflowing, and the difficulties of the two chief Forts of *Austria*, and *Fuentes* the greater, either in hindring the Garisons excursions, or in attempting any other enterprise against the Town. In Islanded ground between the two Channels, not far from *Hulst*, there was a rise spacious enough, and of such a height, as the highest tide never reaching it, the Town was chiefly to be indamaged from thence, and might be best from thence besieged. The Cardinal having exactly informed himself of the condition that *Hulst*, and the Country thereabouts was in, and being resolved to besiege the Town, he feigned, as is usually done in such cases, to besiege another, that he might divert the Enemies Forces in sundry parts, and so make them the weaker. Count *Maurice* was chiefly jealous of *Breda*; wherefore the Cardinal seemed as if he would sit down before it. and to colour it the better, he made Monsieur *Rouy* pass over the *Scheld* with 7000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, and to bend thitherward; nor was this done to no purpose.

There was little less than 5000 Souldiers in *Hulst*, all almost Foot, and the best that the United Provinces had. Upon this conceived danger of *Breda*, Count *Maurice* made almost half the Garrison that was in *Hulst* pass suddenly into that Town, and into other Towns in *Brabant*, which might be subject to the like suspition. Of which the Cardinal being advertised, he delayed no longer discovering his true design: but mustering his Army, he marched in the beginning of *July*, to enter into the Country of *Waesse*, and to straiten *Hulst*, by all such ways as might make him hope for good success in that enterprise. The chief care of the two abovesaid principal Forts of *Austria* and *Fuentes*, and of the other lesser ones were given to Signior *Bissa*, who had been formerly Commissary General of the Horse, and who divers times had carried himself very gallantly against the Garrison of *Hulst*. The Cardinal therefore gave orders to him, and to the Camp-master *Barlotta*, that they should do their utmost to enter the Island, and to possess themselves there of such a place, as they might keep footing in. To this purpose 2000 Foot, part Walloons, part Germans, were chosen out, who were led on by their own Colonel *Tesselingben*, and to these were added 300 Spaniards, and 200 Italians. These were mustred in Fort *Fuentes*; and Signior *Bissa* the mean while with great diligence, made some Barks be towed over the drowned Country at a low ebb. The Superficies of that Earth, though the water was gon off, remained still very soft and miery, wherefore it was very hard getting over it. Yet those difficulties were overcome, and the barks were at last brought to the Channel, upon the

banks whereof stood (as hath been said) the Enemies two greatest Forts, *Mornal*, and *Rape*, and the little *Rape* between them. Under the same silence and obscurity of the night, the Souldiers began to move, and *Barlotta* led the Van with his Walloons, Spaniards, and Italians. When he was come to the Channel, after having suffered very much in his passing over that miery piece of ground, he arrived at the bank over against the little *Rape*, intending to storm it. The march, arrival, and assault was so sudden and unlooked for, as those within were much perplext. And tho the Enemies neareſt great Fort, when they discovered the Kings men, failed not to annoy them with its Artillery; yet did they but little harm there, since it was by night; so as the assault growing still hotter, *Barlotta* at last took the little Fort, and began to fix his Foot in the Island: where he fell to fortifie. The mean while *Tessilinghen* came in with his Germans, and he fortifying himself also, as much as the narrowness of the bank, and the annoyance from the Enemies Forts, would permit him to do, he endeavoured to more secure the entrance into the Island. The Count of *Solm* was Governor of *Hulst*, and he had with him a Garrison of little less than 3000 Souldiers, and had all such provisions as were requisite for the defence of any how important a place soever. He then seeing himself assaulted, in manner as hath been said, failed not upon break of day to sally out against the Kings men, to chase them from the little Fort which they had taken, and from the bank where they were fortifying themselves. The Germans had not yet sufficiently fenced themselves; wherefore turning upon them a great Squadron, he easily disordered them, which was much occasioned by *Tessilinghen*'s being suddenly slain, whilst he valiantly withstood the fury of the Enemy. But *Barlotta* coming suddenly in with more men, after a fierce bickering, wherein many of each side were slain, the Enemy retired into the Town, and the Kings men kept themselves in the places they had possest, with more security than before. At the news of this the Cardinal would approach himself in person, and took up his quarters in a Village, called St. *Nicholas*. From whence sending *Ronye* suddenly back, he ordered that he, together with all the rest of the Commanders, and the whole Army should presently enter the Island, and that they should beleaguer the Town on all sides where it was possible so to do. *Rônye* being entred the Island with his men, all the rest of the Kings Camp passed over thither: but not without some slowness and trouble, by reason of the mire, and the narrowness of the space which they had won. *Ronye* began then to distribute his quarters, and his chief end being to keep off succour, and particularly such as might be had neareſt hand from *Zealand* by the Channel which was turned towards *Honte*, he used all possible diligence to that purpose. The Fort *Maurice* was built on that side for the service of the Enemy; so as neither then, nor during the whole Siege, could they keep off succour on that side, and especially by little boats, which passing through the Channel by night, received very little harm. The Walloon Brigadoes of Count *Bucquoy*, of *Grison* and *Cochella* were quartered thereabouts, as also *Augustine Messia*'s Spanish Brigado, which in his absence was commanded by his Sergeant Major *Pietro Ponze*. Nearer the Town lay *Alphonso di Mendosa*, with his Spanish Brigado; the Signiors *Frisen*, and *Lyches*, with their Walloon Brigadoes; and Count *Bilia* with his German Regiment; the Spanish Camp-masters *Velasco*, and *Zuninga* were quartered in the higheſt part of the Island, and near them the Marquess *Trevisô* an Italian, with his Brigado of the same Nation; and further off in other parts, where the more firm ground afforded commodity of joyning with the more muddy, Count *Solz* was quartered with a new German Regiment which he had raised; as also Count *Bossu*, and *il Signor Barbenson* with two other Walloon Brigadoes. Not any Horse was brought into the Island, because they could be of no use there. Thus did *Ronye* divide the quarters; each of which began afterwards to open their Trenches. But this mean while Kings Camp began to be in great want of Victuals. There was no entrance to be had into the Island, save only by way of the little Fort which *Barlotta* had taken; which lying in the middle between the two greater of *Mornal* and *Rape*, and in a narrow space, it was very hard to get thither, and very dangerous to keep there: Wherefore *Ronye* resolved in the first place to possess himself of all that whole bank upon which the two aforesaid greaters Forts stood; and then to use all his endeavours to win *Mornal*, which lay neareſt the Town, and from whence the Kings Camp received most prejudice. To effect which the two Campmasters *Velasco* and *Barlotta*, after midnight, and when the tide was at the loweſt, began to move with some of their *Spaniards* and *Walloons*. The Enemy had fortified themselves upon that bank with divers earth-Works, and hoped also to be better defended by the Artillery from the Town, and Forts: Yet did the Royalists make so fierce an assault, as after a bitter bickering, the Enemy was forced to retire from the bank, and the Royalists remained in full possession thereof. But this business cost them much blood, and in it divers of the best Spanish and Walloon Commanders, and other Officers were slain. Then *Ronye* began to batter the Fort *Mornal* which lay neareſt the Town, and the Kings men being already lodged between the Town and the Fort, so as the one could not succour the other, the defendants would not wait an assault, but resolved to surrender the Fort; which was accepted of, upon condition that the defendants, who where almost 800 in number, should not re-enter into *Hulst*, but should retreat with their Arms and

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Baggage to the *Holland* Fleet which was then about *Lillo* in the *Scheld*. The taking of this Fort, together with the command of the Bank, gave free paſſage for the bringing of Victuals; great ſtore of which was quickly brought into the Iſland, and their very ſore ſufferings for many days for want of Victuals was remedied.

After this the Cardinal came himſelf in perſon to view the quarters, trenches, and all the other Works. And then returning to his former quarter at St. *Nicholas*, it was reſolved in the Council of War, that all diligence ſhould be uſed in advancing the Trenches, upon which in that higher part, *Velaſco*'s and *Zuniga*'s Spaniards, and *Trevico*'s Italians, which were quartered near them, wrought. Theſe Trenches were drawn out againſt three Ravelins, by which the Town was defended on that ſide. Thoſe Ravelins ſtood looſe from the principal Wall, and tho they were made only of Earth, yet they ſerved for a good defence, becauſe they had a good Ditch without, and there was a high Platform on that ſide within the Town. which did much diſturb the oppugners: inſomuch as many perſons of account were ſlain from thence, and the prejudice grew daily greater. Yet ſince it was thought the Works could not be better advanced from any other part, the Cardinal reſolved they ſhould be chiefly proſecuted there. But a ſore miſchance ſoon rendred that reſolution fatal. *Rony* went oft thither, to give ſuch orders as were requiſite: and being one day under the Campmaſter *Velaſco*'s Tent, which lay open to the Canon from the Town, an unfortunate ſhot came, which took off his head. A loſs which was highly reſented in the Kings Camp.

Monſieur *de Rony* was born in *Champania*, where that Province looks neareſt *Lorain*. And becauſe in all the French Revolts, he always adhered to the Princes of the Houſe of *Lorain*, he was uſually taken to be a *Lorainer*. He was come of a noble Family, and was called *Chriſtian of Lavigny*. The Princes of the League had not a more zealous Officer, nor a more worthy Commander than he, in all their affairs both of State and War. He executed the chiefeſt part under the Duke *Du Mayn*, in thoſe two ſo famous ſuccours of *Paris* and *Roan*; and may be ſaid to have executed the ſecond, under the Duke of *Parma*. Then putting himſelf wholly into the King of *Spain*'s ſervice, valour was ever ſeen to vye in him with loyalty, and loyalty with valour. He was maſter of all the moſt practiſed Tongues; and all they of ſo many and ſo different Nations, took him for their Countryman: ſo greatly was he beloved and eſteemed by every particular Souldier. He was equally good at Command and Execution; though his being very corpulent made the latter ſomewhat troubleſom to him: But for the former, there was never any who gave out more clear Orders, more ſpeedy, nor more reſolute.

The Cardinal expreſt more ſorrow for this loſs, than any one. To witneſs the which, he made his Corps be carried to *Bruſſels*, where by his direction his obſequies were ſolemnly celebrated in the chiefeſt Church. The Cardinal declared the Count *de Varras* General of the Artillery, to be Campmaſter General in *Rony*'s place. He was brother to the Marquis of *Barambone*; and of himſelf a perſon of great experience, and much cry'd up in Arms. He had uſed much diligence and induſtry particularly in this Siege, in conveying many pieces of Artillery into the Iſland, notwithſtanding the difficulties ſometimes of the high Tide, ſometimes of the low and miery ſituations. And having already placed many of them againſt thoſe Ravelins, towards which the Trenches of the *Spaniards* and *Italians* pointed, thoſe Ravelins were furiouſly plaid upon, and likewiſe their Defences with other pieces. They this mean while labour'd their falling into the Ditch: Which ſucceeded, and then falling to fill it, wherein they were much oppoſed by the Enemy, the *Spaniards* at laſt, and at the ſame time almoſt the *Italians*, marched to go to the aſſault. The *Spaniards* endeavoured to get upon a ſide of the Ravelin which was beaten down; but meeting with ſtiff reſiſtance there, the Campmaſter *Velaſco* made the other ſide be aſſaulted. By which the Aſſailants entring whilſt they within were buſied in making the firſt defence, the ſecond unexpected Aſſault proved ſo lucky, as the Enemy were forced to retreat from the Ravelin, and to get into the Town. The *Italians* had not ſo good ſucceſs in their aſſault; yet they lodged themſelves under the very foot of the Ravelin, and after three days making of a Mine play, and then returning with great courage to the aſſault, they likewiſe poſſeſt themſelves of that the Enemies Flank. The two Ravelins being won, Count *Varras* planted ten pieces of Canon between them, to play therewithal upon the oppoſite Wall; and many other pieces of Canon in places which were thought moſt fit to diſcurtain it on the ſides and to take from it its defences. The Wall was likewiſe made of Earth, and therefore the Batteries could not much ruine it; and the Earth yielding, they found that to make themſelves maſters of it they muſt uſe Pickaxes and Mines; but they could not come to this kind of work till they had fill'd up the Ditch. To effect the which all poſſible diligence being uſed, and the *Spaniards* vying with the *Italians* who ſhould moſt advance the Works, they endeavoured to put an end to the Siege as ſoon as might be. But ſtill they met with many difficulties; ſo often did the beſieged ſally out, ſuch bold oppoſition did they make on all parts, and ſo fierce were the contentions every where. A continual ſhower of ſhot poured down from their Artillery; and the tempeſt of fire which was thrown, by reaſon of the abundance thereof proved almoſt greater. The which was done in ſeveral ſorts; particularly by Granadoes which

ſhot off three or four times, miſerably lacerating the ſouldiers which were near at hand, and indamaging thoſe that were further off. It was impoſſible to keep the Enemy from being ſuccour'd by way of the above-mentioned Channels: Wherefore the more to encourage his men, the Cardinal reſolved to draw nearer the Camp, and lodged in the Fort *Fuentes*. From thence he went to view both the Channels, and conſultation was had how the uſe thereof might be taken from the Enemy. But the two Forts of *Maurice* and *Naſſaw* did too much intricate the buſineſs. In ſo much as all their endeavours in that point proved to no purpoſe. For by night, and eſpecially at the high tides, ſome boats by the ſaid Channels did continually bring victuals into the Town: The Enemy being ſtill incouraged by theſe advantages, made out a great ſally againſt the Campmaſter *Mendoſa*'s Trenches; and did ſo reſolutely aſſault them, as they killed above a hundred Spaniards, and clog'd ſome of their Artillery. *Mendoſa* after this, fortified his Trenches better, and the reſt of the Kings men grew more wary in theirs. And being more vigilant than formerly in keeping out relief, which was convoyed in the Channels, the Kings men took ſome of their boats, and by the example thereof, bridled the boldneſs of the reſt. *Velaſco*'s Spaniards, and *Trevico*'s Italians, did this mean while eagerly attend to advance againſt the Wall that was plaid upon; and being already entred into the Ditch, they endeavoured as much as in them lay to fill it up: Wherein the Enemy manfully oppoſed them. So as there was any day that paſt which brought not forth ſome conteſt, nor no conteſt which drew not the beſt blood on both ſides. Mines, and Counter-mines were uſed by theſe and thoſe. And all was done that Art could inſtruct, both on the offenſive and defenſive part, upon ſuch an occaſion. The Kings men were this mean while notwithſtanding ſo far advanced, as they lodged at the foot of the Wall; which being continually plaid upon, ſeemed as if it might be ſoon aſſaulted. But the Cardinal underſtanding that the Enemy had undermined it on ſundry parts, to blow up the Aſſailants as they ſhould mount the breach; and that they had provided themſelves within with a new and ſtrong defence; it was therefore judged better by the Council of War to uſe countermines, and to deter the aſſault for ſome few days. This was the condition of the Siege, and theſe the difficulties which appeared of ending it; when the Count *de Solm* gave the Cardinal to underſtand that he would liſten to ſome honorable Treaty of ſurrendring up the Town. The Cardinal greedily imbraced the offer: and that the ſurrender might be all the ſooner made, he willingly granted all whatſoever large conditions to the Count, as well for himſelf, as for the Garriſon, and for the Inhabitants. And the agreement being made, the Town was delivered up to the Cardinal about the end of *Auguſt*. About 2500 Souldiers marched out of *Hulſt*; beſides thoſe that were in the two Forts of *Maurice* and *Naſſaw*. Wherefore ſo numerous a Garriſon being conſidered, and that of ſo ſelect Souldiers: and that by reaſon of the plenty of all proviſions, the Town might have held out longer; it was thought that *Solm* had received expreſs orders, not to delay the delivering up thereof, that ſo he might preſerve thoſe men, for the Confederate Provinces other greater affairs. The Cardinal went from *Hulſt* to *Antwerp*, where after he had tarried awhile, he went to *Bruſſels*, full of glory and reputation, for the ſo many noble Enterpriſes which he had undertaken, and ſo happily atchieved in the beginning of his Government. When he was come thither, the firſt thing he did, was to pay the Mutiniers of *Tilemone*, that he might the ſooner make uſe of ſo good a ſtrength of men. Though when they had received their pay, a good part of them returned to *Italy*, to enjoy the moneys in quiet at home, which they had got by ſo long and bloody ſervice.

The Arms which on the behalf of *France* and *Flanders* lay then on that Frontier, were not this mean idle. The Marſhal *Byron* commanded the *French*; and the Marquis of *Barambone*, the King of *Spains* men, as hath been ſaid in its proper place. Nothing conſiderable had notwithſtanding been done all this while, But ſoon after the ſurrender of *Hulſt*, there hapned an incounter of concernment. Which was this, *Byron* was reſolved to enter the Country of *Artois* with ſome troops of horſe, and to overrun it as far, and in as hoſtile a manner as he could. *Barambone* had notice hereof, who with a good number of horſe likewiſe, went to meet *Byron*. Scouts being ſent out to make the uſual diſcoveries on both ſides, *Byron* haulted, and placed the greateſt part of his in ambuſh in an opportune place. This mean while Count *Alfonſo Montecuculi*, Captain of a Company of Lanciers, came up. He immediately charged *Byron*, who being afterwards overlaid with the reſt of *Barambones* horſe, retreated till he had drawn the Enemy into the ambuſh. The French came forth then very fiercely, and *Byron* fighting according to his wonted valour, more than any of the reſt, *Barambones* men were ſoon routed and put to flight; he himſelf and *Montecuculli*, were taken priſoners; and Count *John Jacomo Belgioſo*, who was there alſo with his Company of Lanciers, was ſorely wounded. The Marſhal was much incouraged by this ſucceſs; who therefore endeavoured to do the aforeſaid damage, and greater alſo to the Frontiers of *Artois*. But meeting ſtill with ſuch oppoſition as was ſufficient to break his deſigns, and the Winter coming on, he retreated with his men into their Garriſons, as did alſo the Spaniards. Now began the Year 1597. in the beginning whereof there hapned another ſucceſs in *Flanders*, which was of great damage to the King of *Spain*'s Party.

During

During the ſiege of *Hulſt*, the United States had cauſed *Brabant* be infeſted and overrun, in ſo much as a good part of that Country, to keep themſelver from further evil, had ſubmitted to pay contribution; by means whereof the States did ſo much the more eaſily maintain their Gariſons of *Breda*, St. *Getrudenberg*, and of other Towns which they were Maſters of in that Province. This grievance was likewiſe felt in *Campagne*. Wherefore the Cardinal as ſoon as he was returned to *Bruſſels*, he ſent Count *Varras*, General of the Artillery with 4000 Foot and 300 Horſe to *Turnaut*, a Town which lies towards *Campagne*, to free the Country (as he did) from the contributions which they paid, Look how much the Kings party was thereby eaſed, ſo much were the United Provinces perplexed. Nor was Count *Maurice* ſlow in endeavouring to regain the ſame advantage. Wherefore gathering together with great ſpeed and ſecrecy 6000 Foot, and little leſs than 1000 Horſe, and making the Rendezvouz near *Breda*, he marched with theſe men about the end of *January*, towards the Royaliſts who were in *Turnaut*. *Maurice* could not make the aforeſaid preparation neither ſo ſoon nor ſo ſecretly, but that Count *Varras* got notice of it. He had with him the Marquis of *Trevico*'s Italian Brigado, which was commanded by his Serjeant Major. Count *Sols* his new Regiment of *Germans*, and two *Walloon* Brigadoes of *Barlotta*, and *Aſſicount*. Theſe *Germans* and *Walloons* were alſo without their Commanders, and were governed by other inferior Officers. *Nicholas Baſti* Commanded the Horſe, which were all Spaniſh and Italian. Count *Varras* having diſcovered the Enemies march, and thinking that he had not ſufficient Forces to fight him in the Field, knowing alſo that *Turnaut*, as being an open Village, was not a place for defence, reſolved to go to *Herentales*, a Town which he might eaſily get unto, being but three hours eaſie march from *Turnaut*. Yet he would retire by day, leſt if he ſhould have marched by night, his retreat might have ſeemed a running away. Thus reſolved, and ſending out his baggage by night, upon the break of day *Varras* left *Turnaut*, and made his men march in this manner. He divided the Foot into three Squadrons; in the firſt he placed the Walloons, in the ſecond the Germans, and in the third the Italians. But that which at their firſt going out was the reer, if the Enemy ſhould come upon them, was to be the van. The Horſe were placed on the right hand, where the field was more free; and a great wood ſerved for a ſufficient defence on the left hand. *Maurice* hearing of this removal, he ſuddenly advanced with all his Horſe, and with 300 musketiers behind ſo many Curaſſiers *en Croup*, and the Curaſſiers advancing foremoſt, with the musketiers *en Croup*, he gave them order to charge the Enemy home in the reer, and that they ſhould endeavour to hold them play till his Foot ſhould come up. With *Maurice* were the Counts of *Hollack* and *Solm*, Colonel *Vere* an Engliſh-man, and divers other Commanders of great experience and valour. The Kings Horſe valiantly oppoſed the like of the Enemies; and the Squadrons facing about, did likewiſe ſuſtain the firſt charge of the Enemy. But all *Maurice* his Horſe coming in, and ſoon after his Foot, the Kings Horſe being no more in number, could make no longer reſiſtance. So as theſe being routed, the reſt were diſcouraged; though Count *Varras* galloping here and there, and in every place, ſhewed all the proofs of valour and undauntedneſs which could be deſired of him upon ſuch an occaſion, And finally preſſing forwards amongſt the *Italians*, when he ſaw their Squadrons begin to flie, he was ſuddenly ſlain; and he failing, the Kings men were wholly overcome, and the Enemy had total victory over them. The *Walloons* fought not that day according as they were wont to do; and the *Germans* made but little reſiſtance: And therefore the moſt that were ſlain or wounded, were *Italians*. In all there were above 1200 ſlain, and almoſt as many taken. There were 37 Colours loſt, and a great part of the Baggage. There were not above 100 of the Enemy ſlain: And *Maurice* wan ſuch a Victory with the loſs of ſo little bloud, as made much for the advantage of the Confederate Provinces, and for his own Honour in War. After this miſchance, the Cardinal failed not ſuddenly to provide for the neceſſities of *Brabant*, by ſending in many Horſe and Foot. He was about likewiſe to make many great new Levies: But the King was in ſo great ſcarcity of monies, as the Cardinal could not make proviſions ſo ſoon, nor yet ſo fully as the neceſſity of the *Flanders* affairs required, and much more thoſe which were of ſo great concernment on the part of *France*. Nor was it long ere an occaſion aroſe in *France*, which being one of the moſt remarkable which the wars of *France* or *Flanders* hath produced in point of Surpriſe and Siege, you ſhall have a particular diligent account thereof in the next Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

PART III. BOOK IV.

The Spaniards *ſurpriſe the City of* Amiens *by ſtratagem. The King of* France *immediately beſiegeth it. The chiefeſt ſucceſſes thereof, and of the Defence are related. The Cardinal-Arch-duke goes himſelf in perſon with a powerful Army to relieve the beſieged: but being kept off by the Enemies forces, the Town returns at laſt into the Kings hands, who preſently fortifies it with a ſtrong Caſtle. The Cardinal retreats to* Artois, *and from thence paſſeth into* Flanders. *Here he viſits* Oſtend; *but not attempting any thing, he returns to* Bruſſels, *and puts his Army in Gariſon. The acquiſitions this mean while made by Count* Maurice, *to the great advantage of the Confederate Provinces, are related. Nor it is long ere Peace is declared between the two Crowns; ſo as the Kings Forces are now at liberty to attend only the proper affairs of* Flanders. *At this ſame time great conſultations are had in the Court of* Spain *about a Marriage propounded between the Cardinal-Archduke, and the Infanta* Iſabella, *the Kings eldeſt daughter; with the giving of the* Low-Countries *to the Infanta for her portion. The King inclines thereunto out of many good reaſons, and therefore will have it effected. The Archduke parts from* Flanders, *to go for* Spain; *and Cardinal* Andrea d' Auſtria *ſtays in his place. The Cardinal-Archduke is not well gone, when the King of* Spain *dies; and his ſon* Philip *the third ſucceeds him. To whom the King alſo a little before deſtined the Arch-dutcheſs* Margaret *of* Auſtria *for Wife.*

HErnando Teglio Portocarrero was Governor of *Dorlan*, *Anno* 1597, being left there by Count *Fuentes* after the taking of that place, as choſen by him for one of the beſt Souldiers that the Spaniſh Nation had in *Flanders*. *Portocarrero* not ſatisfied with the bare cuſtody of *Dorlan*, wherein he was extraordinarily vigilant, he oft-times iſſued out with his Gariſon; and aſſaulting the Enemy ſometimes in open Fields, ſometimes by ambuſhes; now preying upon their Cattle, and then ſetting their Villages on Fire, he was almoſt become the Terror of that Frontier. But neither did his thoughts end here: He had an earneſt deſire to do ſome great action for the Kings ſervice in thoſe parts, by which he himſelf might likewiſe acquire reward and glory. *Amiens* is the chief City of *Picardy*; and *Dorlan* is not above ſeven leagues diſtant from it. This neighbourhood afforded occaſion to *Portocarrero* to penetrate almoſt hourly into what was done in *Amiens*, and thereabouts. That City had appeared much for the League; and being now fallen into the Kings hands, it coveted much to have its antient priviledges obſerved, and eſpecially that the City ſhould be governed by Perſonages of their own Inhabitants, and by their own proper Forces. Nor would the King (the preſent condition of affairs conſidered) do any thing to the contrary. Thus the City was its own Guardian. And though there were a great number of Citizens who had liſted themſelves under Colours, yet were they not any way diſciplin'd according to cuſtome in the handling of their Arms; nor were they ſo vigilant as they ought to have been in guarding their Gates: The Country without was not well ſurveyed before they opened them; and being open, they were but careleſly look'd unto, and more for form ſake than out of duty. *Portocarrero* being fully informed hereof, he thought he might by ſome ſtratagem ſurpriſe that Gate of *Amiens* which lay neareſt *Dorlan*; and that then bringing in a great body of men, he might poſſibly poſſeſs himſelf of the

reſt

reſt of the City, To this end he by fitting means made the Gate be firſt well ſurveyed, and all the Country and ways thereabouts, whereby with all poſſible ſecreſie ſuch men might be brought in as were to back the enterpriſe. And this was the order he took to effect it. Three Souldiers clad like Peaſants of *Picardy*, with ſacks upon their backs, full of Nuts and Beans, and ſuch like ſtuff, were to ſeem as if they brought this ware into the City. After the three Souldiers a Cart was to follow under the ſame pretence loaded with ſacks of Corn; but theſe ſacks were to lie uppermoſt; ſo as the ſuperficies being only ſurveyed, the reſt of the body of the Cart ſhould be full only of great Planks. His deſign was to get within the Gate by means of this Cart; and by the Planks to keep the Percullis from falling to the ground, which otherwiſe might have been let down, and ſo have kept the Aſſailants from coming in. The guidance of the Cart and Horſes which were to draw it, was given to eight or ten other Souldiers, clad as were the other like Peaſants, who together with the other three were to be the firſt actors in the ſurpriſe. The gate being thus got, and the ſign being given by the ſhooting off of a Piſtol, 300 Souldiers were preſently to make in, who were lodged as near the Gate as was poſſible; and to behave themſelves ſo in getting further into the City, as the reſt might have time to come up, and perfect the work.

Thus had *Portacarrero* plotted the ſurpriſe; and hoping ſtill more and more to ſee it happily effected, he with very great ſecreſie diſpatcht away *Franciſco del' Arco* a Spaniard, to *Bruſſels* to acquaint the Cardinal therewithal, and (if he ſhould approve of it) to receive ſuch Orders from him as were neceſſary for the putting of it in execution. The Cardinal approved of all that was propounded, and ſuch Commiſſions were given as were requiſite, to ſuch Commanders whoſe Gariſons lay neareſt *Dorlan*. *Franciſco del' Arco* being returned from *Bruſſels* with theſe Orders, *Portacarrero* deferr'd the buſineſs no longer. He gathered together with as much ſecreſie as might be, about 2200 Foot, and 600 Horſe; and did ſo well lay the time, and the places, as they met all at *Dorlan* on the tenth of *March*. The Foot conſiſted of 600 Spaniards; of Germans, Iriſh, and Walloons, all of them about the like number. The Horſe was compoſed part of Launciers, part Curaſſiers, part Harquebuſiers; in a like equal numbers of Spaniſh, of Italians and Walloons. There could not be a more ſelect company of Souldiers, nor could they be commanded by more experienced Officers. *Jerollemo Caraffa*, Marqueſs of *Montenegro* a Neopolitan, commanded the Horſe. But *Portacarrero* was to have the chief command, as Author of the deſign, and he as who had received full authority from the Cardinal for the leading of it on. *Portacarrero* was low of ſtature, but of a very ſtrong Body, and yet ſtronger ſoul; and capable of guiding any enterpriſe, no leſs for the maturity of his judgment, than for his courage in execution. Having then diſpoſed of his men in ſuch order as they were to march, he went from *Dorlan* about the coming on of night, and took his way towards *Amiens*. He had not as yet diſcovered his deſign to any of them; but after they were a little advanced, he haulted; and drawing aſide the Captains both of Foot and Horſe, he with words full of Military vigour, acquainted them with the occaſion why they were firſt ſummoned to meet at *Dorlan*, and wherefore they were now marching towards *Amiens*. He ſhewed them the Cart, and wiſhed them to ſpeak to their Souldiers that were to ſurpriſe the Gate. He further added,

How great will be our good fortune, how great our glory, if we coming in with the reſt of our men, can purchaſe ſuch a City for our King, which is the chiefeſt of all Picardy, *and one of the moſt eſteemed of all* France? *How great will the preſent plunder be for all of you? And how much greater rewards are we hereafter to expect from our King. But this action will prove particularly glorious to us the Commanders, who making this ſucceſs memorable to perpetuity, ſhall thereby likewiſe eterniſe our own names,* Amiens *is within three ſhort days journey of* Paris; *the Country open, without either rivers, woods, or any other obſtacles.* Amiens *may then be made ſo great a Magazin of Arms, and may admit of ſo numerous a Gariſon, as may rather be termed an Army than a Gariſon; and how eaſily may we then march even to the gates of* Paris? *Infeſt all the adjacent Country; And every day add to our acquiſitions in* Picardy? *So as the King of* France *will at laſt have good reaſon to repent his having choſen rather to make War than Peace with our King. I confeſs, as there cannot be a purchaſe of greater importance, ſo muſt we expect to meet with all poſſible difficulties therein. I know what the nature of a ſurpriſal is; and how great the difference is between the framing it in our fancies, and the effecting of it. I know that* Amiens *is a great City, full of a warlike people: and who will ſpeedily make in, either to keep us from making our ſelves Maſters of the Gate, or to take it from us, when we ſhall have gotten it. But I would we had got it, as the careleſs keeping of it, may make us hope we ſhall; as for the reſt, it will be our parts, by the vigour of our bodies, and the valour of our arms, not only to maintain the entrance but to advance further into the inhabited places; and at laſt to make full conqueſt of the City I ſpeak my hopes; let us then couragiouſly purſue our march, and let each of us diſcover the deſign unto our Souldiers, and enflame them thereunto. I for my part will rather act than command. And whether I ſhall live or dye, How can I live or die more gloriouſly?*

Portacarrero was very attentively liſtned unto; for all the Commanders, as alſo all their Souldiers deſired much to know what enterpriſe they were led unto at that time of the night, and with ſuch ſecreſie. The Commanders thought it almoſt impoſſible that ſo negligent

guards

guards ſhould be kept in *Amiens*; there being ſo many Spaniſh Garriſons near it, and the War being ſo hot round about. They had therefore but ſmall hopes of the ſurpriſal; judging that they ſhould meet with much greater difficulties in endeavouring it, than was thought upon when it was firſt deſigned: but *Portacarrero*, did ſo aver for truth all that he had told them, as both they, and their Souldiers ſhewed themſelves ready, to do what upon ſuch an occaſion might be deſired of them. They came to within ſight of the Gate which lies towards *Dorlan*, and which is called *Montrecurt*, about the break of day; there with great ſilence they poſſeſſed themſelves of a certain Abbey, within leſs than a mile of the City: they took likewiſe another place, yet nearer the City, where was a little Hermitage; from thence thoſe that were clad like Peaſants advanced towards the Gate, with their Cart and Sacks full of Apples, and ſuch other things as have been ſpoken of. This mean while the Citizens opened the Gate; and ſurveying the Country about with their wonted negligence. They ſtayed in the Court *de Gard* under the ſame Gate; but the Souldiers were ſo few in number, and ſo unfit for ſuch an office, as the Gate could not be more weakly, nor more negligently kept. It was now Lent, and Sermons being uſually made in *France* early in the morning, almoſt all the people were then at Church. *Franciſco d'Arco* had the command of thoſe that were clad like Peaſants, and who were to make the ſurpriſe: He who, as you have heard, *Portacarrero* ſent to *Bruſſels* to negotiate the buſineſs with the Cardinal; *Baptiſta Dognano*, a Milanoiſe, was another chiefly imploy'd; and Captain *la Croy* with particular diligence attended upon the Cart, who was a Burgonian: The reſt were almoſt all Walloons, who by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Frontier, were better known both in the language and faſhion of the Peaſants of *Picardy*: But were all of them Souldiers of tryed fidelity and valour. As they drew near the Gate, theſe mingled themſelves with other Country people, who entred the Town at the ſame time either to buy or to ſell commodities. Wherefore entring more eaſily with them into the Ravelin which covers the Gate, they ſtayed under the Arch thereof, and one of them letting the Sack fall, which was upon his ſhoulders, the Nuts and things that were in ſcattered upon the ground; thoſe of the Guard ran in, and mocking either the ſimplicity or poverty of the Peaſants, began to ſcramble for what was on the ground; the Cart came in this interim, which being made to ſtay by him who guided it, at the firſt entrance into the Gate, the horſes were preſently faſtned; leſt frighted at the noiſe which was to enſue, they might run away elſewhere with the Cart. *Franciſco d'Arco* was to give notice to *Portacarrero* of the Carts being entred, by the ſhooting off a Piſtol; which he failed not to do, for carrying two under his counterfeit habit, he diſcharged one of them in the breaſt of one of thoſe that kept the Gate. Which when he had done, his aſſociates did the like; and ſeizing upon ſome Halberts which belonged to the ſame *Corps de Gard*, they ſo behaved themſelves, as they ſlew or deadly wounded all thoſe few French who had the cuſtody either of the Gate, or of the Ravelin. For the better ſecurity of the Gate it had two Perculleſes which over-hung it, they were guarded by a Sentinel, who let them both down; the firſt was eaſily kept from falling to the ground by the Cart, but the ſecond broke it all in pieces, and almoſt quite ſhutting up the paſſage, brought the Aſſailants into great ſtraits, when the other who were hid in the Hermitage came in with all ſpeed, who ſecuring themſelves firſt of the Ravelin without, and ſuddenly taking away all hindrances within, made themſelves Maſters of all the Avenues to the Gate. The noiſe was already grown ſo great, as many of the neareſt Inhabitants taking up arms, and haſtning thither, began boldly to oppoſe the Aſſailants; who increaſing ſtill in number and in courage, eaſily overcame all oppoſition: Inſomuch as having won firſt the Avenues to the City, and fully ſecured the Gate, as alſo the contiguous Walls, they afforded time for the reſt of the Foot and Horſe to come up, and fortunately to perfect the premeditated deſign. Nothing is ſo prejudicial, or doth more endanger ſurpriſes, than giving way to fall ſuddenly, and tumultuouſly to plunder: For in ſuch a caſe, the Townſmen within may either take up arms, or the Enemy may come in from without, ſo as the Aſſailants may be eaſily ſuppreſt, by reaſon of their being diſperſt, and diſorder'd amidſt rapine, and other military licentiouſneſs. For this cauſe *Portacarrero* commanded under penalty of the ſevereſt puniſhment, that none of his men ſhould dare to fall to plunder the City, till the market-places, chief ſtreets, and all the Gates were fully taken, and well guarded; which being by him performed in great order, and the Souldiers in much obedience, they fell to plunder, of which they found ſuch, and ſo great ſtore, as few the like was met withal in all the Wars of *France* and of *Flanders*. Count St. *Paul*, Governor of *Picardy*, was in *Amiens* at the time of the ſurpriſal; but he was got out as the Aſſailants firſt entred, providing in great haſte for his own ſafety, and leaving his Wife there, who was preſently ſet at liberty by *Portacarrero*, and uſed with all reſpect and honor. The plunder laſted one whole day; and nothing elſe of cruelty was uſed, or of diſſolute licentiouſneſs. There were not above 100 of the Inhabitants ſlain, and three or four of the Aſſailants, and ſome few others were hurt. At the news of the ſurpriſe and plunder, many other Souldiers of the neighbouring Spaniſh Garriſons, came flying in, to partake of the plunder; and who afterwards helped very much for the defence of *Amiens*: For *Portacarrero* would not permit them to go out again. Yet for greater ſecurity he diſ-

armed

armed the Citizens; and with great vigilancy ordering all things every where as best fitted the safety of the City, he together with the rest of the Commanders and all the Souldiers, prepared with all courage to sustain that hard and dangerous Siege which he foresaw would soon befall them by the King of *France*.

This mean while the King had speedy advertisement, both of the surprise so boldly undertaken, and of the happy success thereof. It is impossible to relate how much he was afflicted at this his mischance, and how much he was inwardly tormented in his mind, particularly in the point of Honor. He seemed to be much offended with himself.

Had he so quelled the Rebellion of France, *and so suppresst the League maintained by the Spaniards, to the end that breaking into War with them, their sole Forces should triumph over his? How many victories had* Fuentes *got the year before, sometimes by Sieges, sometimes by open Field-fights? and how many other great acquisitions had the Cardinal Archduke lately made? was not that of* Calis *sufficient by open Siege, but that the other of* Amiens *must issue by surprise? What two other Towns could the Spaniards have desired, whereby they might receive more advantage in the affairs of* France, *both by Sea and Land? The way was short and free between the Gates of* Amiens *and* Paris: *Nor did* Calis *afford less opportunity to offend so noble a part of the Kingdom by Sea. And what would* Europe *think of a King, who contented with his only home-victories, should suffer himself to be thus overcome by Forreign Forces? How much would the Malcontents of the Kingdom be hereby incouraged? to see the League on foot again, perhaps, which was or too lately suppresst, or not yet fully extinguished.*

Thus did the King of *France* with great anger storm against himself, for the surprisal of *Amiens*. But then thus agitated by these considerations, he speedily removed from *Paris* to *Corby*, a Town standing upon the banks of *Some*, not above three leagues from *Amiens*. Here he together with Marshal *Byron*, and other Commanders in War, resolved immediately to incamp before that City, and not to leave any thing undone, whereby to drive out the Spaniards, and to free *Picardy* from all their Forces. *Byron* commanded the Kings Forces, who being naturally very haughty, thought it redounded much to his own particular dishonor, that the Spaniards should daily make such advancements in those parts. The King therefore commanded him, that mustering together as many of the French Souldiery as might be had from the neighbouring Garrisons, he should begin to begirt *Amiens*, and to take a particular care that no fresh men should enter into it. This order being given, and such others as were requisite upon such occurrency, the King went again to *Paris*, to sollicite such Forces and preparations from all parts, as were requisite for such an undertaking. The River *Some* runs a long course through *Picardy*; and cutting it as it were through in the middle, falls afterwards into the *British Sea*. Upon the banks of this River stands the chiefest Cities and Towns of the Province. But *Amiens* doth flourish there beyond them all, as well for the antiquity of its foundation, as for the beauty of its buildings, and for the quality, industry, and number of Inhabitants. The *Some* enters it with many Branches, and washing the Walls in many places, makes the circuit thereof stronger on those sides than on the others; it is also well provided of Curtains, Flanks, and Ditches: but that part which looks towards *Flanders*, as being most subject to danger, is best fortified. And because the Spaniards in likelyhood would have endeavoured to relieve the City on that side, and especially from *Dorlan*, the Marshal *Byron* did therefore incamp himself on that side; and began to break up the ways, to possess himself of the Passes, and to design out his quarters for the future Siege.

Portacarrero had this mean while sent back *Francisco d'Arco* to *Brussels*, to advertise the Cardinal of his happy success, and to desire him to send some new recruits of men with all speed. Great store of Artillery, Ammunition, and Victuals was found in *Amiens*: *Portacarrero* did therefore for the present, only desire a recruit of men, that so he might make good the Town, till such time as the Cardinal might come to relieve it with a compleat Army. The Cardinal shewed such signs of joy as became such a Purchase, and sent back the same *Francisco d'Arco*, having first honored him upon this occasion with a Company of Spanish Foot, to assure *Portacarrero* that he would speedily send him some good succour; and that he would forthwith muster the whole Army, with which he himself would come in person, and undoubtedly raise the Siege. On the other side the King of *France* being fully resolved to continue it, went perpetually from one place to another to raise what moneys he could, what men, and what provisions, as were requisite for such a purpose. A Renovation of League was then in Treaty between him and the Queen of *England*; which he very much desired might be effected. And he Treated likewise with the United Provinces of *Flanders*, that they might make some considerable diversion against the Spaniards, and that in particular they might send him some aid for the business of *Amiens*. The mean while Marshal *Biron* prosecuted the already begun works; he had thrown a bridge of boats over the uppermost part of the River between *Corby* and *Amiens*; and another over the lower part thereof, where the Village *Lompre* stands, to the end that he might have free passage from the one side of the River to the other, and might at his pleasure joyn the Kings Forces on either side. He drew a Line in compass from the one Bridg to the other, of well Flank'd Trenches, towards the City; but of

much

much greater compaſs towards the Field-ſide. All theſe Works were made on the ſide towards *Flanders*, as hath been ſaid, becauſe the beſieged were to be ſuccoured from thence. Nor did he forbear beleaguering the Town in ſuch ſort as was fitting on the ſide which lay towards *France*. It is not to be ſaid with what ardency and eagerneſs *Byron* behaved himſelf; adding a rigid imperious command to his innate pride, and making it evidently appear in his Military haughtineſs, that he would bequeath the Siege in ſuch a condition to the King, when his Majeſty ſhould come thither, as he ſhould acknowledg the good ſucceſs thereof chiefly from him. Thus had *Byron* laid the Siege; but at the ſame time he hoped to make ſo important a ſurpriſe on the neighbouring Frontiers of *Artois*, as the Spaniards ſhould be ſo much the more hindred from the freeing of *Amiens*. To this purpoſe he did ſo unexpectedly aſſault *Arras* by night (which is the chiefeſt City of *Artois*) with 4000 foot, and 1200 horſe, as he indangered it. He planted a Petard luckily, his men began already to enter the Gate; but the people thereof which are numerous, and Warlike, taking up Arms, the French were ſoon repulſt; wherein Count *Bucquoy*'s valour did very much appear, who being in *Arras*, had the fortune to ſignalize himſelf more than any other upon that occaſion.

Byron being returned to his quarters about *Amiens*, attempted another ſurpriſe by Scalado againſt *Dorlan*; but failed therein alſo. So as quite forgoing theſe ſecret machinations, he applyed himſelf wholly to the Siege which he had begun. No leſs vigilancy was in the interim uſed on the Spaniards behalf. The Cavalier *Pacciotto*, an highly eſteemed Italian Ingenier, and brother to the other Ingenier *Pacciotto*, who was ſlain at the aſſault of *Calis*, was by ſtealth gotten into *Amiens*, and had brought Captain *Lechinga* with him, a Spaniard who very well underſtood the management of Artillery. Theſe two applyed themſelves diligently, the one to better the fortifications where it was moſt needful; the other to diſpoſe of the Artillery where they might be of greateſt annoyance to the Enemy. And *Byron* not having as yet fully finiſhed his Trenches, the Cardinal Archduke had given ſtrict command, that ſome endeavour ſhould be made to put ſome new recruit of Souldiers into *Amiens*, from the Frontiers of *Artois*. Count *Bucquoy* was to this effect in *Dorlan* with 4000 Walloon foot; and *John de Guſman* with 300 horſe. And becauſe it was afterwards feared that ſuch a body of men could not march ſo concealedly, as upon ſuch an occaſion was requiſite, it was reſolved that *Guſman* ſhould attempt getting into the City with his horſe. He marched away by night; but being diſcovered when he was got near the Ditch, and the Frenchmen moving furiouſly againſt him, he would have had much ado to have got into the City, had not the Defendants who ſallied out in great numbers, and did valiantly withſtand the Enemy, received him. In this action thoſe of the Town loſt Captain *Fernando Dezza*, a Spaniard, and Captain *Tomas*, an Iriſhman, two valiant Souldiers, with divers others of ordinary rank. The number of the *French* that were ſlain was greater, but of greater, but of meaner quality. *Portacarrero*, that he might have the Field more free, and might the readilier go out to Skirmiſhes, reſolved to pluck down the Suburbs, and all the houſes which were near about *Amiens*: Which he did chiefly by fire. It was a miſerable ſpectacle to ſee ſuch and ſo many delightful contentments, the bleſſings of Peace, conſumed in an inſtant by the fury of War. There was above 3000 choice Souldiers in *Amiens*; and therefore *Portacarrero* thought good not to ſuffer the Oppugnors to breath, but to endeavour by frequent and fierce Sallies to hinder their Fortifications which every day increaſed, ſo as the Cardinal might have time to come and relieve the Town with a full ſuccour. Nor was the Cardinal wanting in making all poſſible preparations to that purpoſe. A Levy of 4000 Foot was expected from *Italy*, which *Alphonſo Avalos* was raiſing. Other Levies were made to the ſame purpoſe in *Germany*, and the ſame diligence was uſed in thoſe parts of *Flanders* which were under the Kings obedience. But the monies requiſite for ſuch an affair fell far ſhort, by reaſon of the Kings ſo many former exceſſive expences, and by reaſon of the charge he was forced to be at in conſideration of the vaſtneſs of his Empire. And juſt at this time there had hapned a great diſorder in this point: For the King deſirous to curb the inſatiable covetouſneſs of Merchants, had, who traffickt Money with him, he had in thoſe days publiſhed an Edict whereby he moderated the exceſſive Gain which they formerly made. The Merchants therefore retired themſelves; and *Antwerp* which was wont to furniſh ſuch monies as were requiſite to maintain the Kings Army, was ſo pincht, as the Cardinal could no longer find neceſſary ſupplies there. And this (as ſhall be ſeen hereafter) was the chief cauſe why he could not lead up the Army time enough to *Amiens*, and preſerve the purchaſe he had made of ſo important a City.

Now to return to the Siege. The Fortifications without increaſed exceedingly every day, *Byron* being continually very ſollicitous therein. He munited the two aforeſaid Bridges with good Forts on the one and the other bank, but eſpecially on that ſide which looked moſt towards *Flanders*. He raiſed likewiſe ſuch Forts as were requiſite to defend the innermoſt Line of the Trenches, and did the like in the outward Line which looked towards the Fields. And becauſe ſuccour was chiefly to be kept out on that ſide, therefore the more Forts, and the more nobler were raiſed there, and greater care was had of all thoſe Works. *Bircuns* ſouldiery increaſed alſo daily, ſo as he would no longer delay opening Trenches againſt the City. He intended

tended to lead them on juſt upon a great Ravelin, which ſheltered the Gate *Montrecurt*; and upon the adjoyning Ditch, which was dry, and where he thought he might eaſilieſt fall in. But *Portacarrero* was as vigilant as might be all this while in making defences. His chief deſign (as we have ſaid) was to annoy the Enemy as much as he could by Sallies, and hinder their Works. The Marquis *Montenegro* ſallied therefore out one day with 400 Horſe, he having command of all the Horſe in *Amiens*: And placing a Company of Carabines in the firſt Front, commanded by Captain *Franciſco Fuentes* a Spaniard, he gave in ſo fiercely and ſo unexpectedly upon the enemy, as he ſlew above 200, ſome Souldiers, ſome Pioners, without loſing almoſt any one of his men. This Sally was purſued almoſt every day with ſome other the like; which being ſo very many, to ſhun prolixity in relating every leaſt paſſage, and to maintain the Decorum due to Hiſtory, we will acquaint you only with the chiefeſt.

Affairs were in this condition both within and without, when the King of *France* came himſelf in perſon to the Camp, attended by many Princes and great Lords, who were then at Court; particularly by the Duke *Du Mayn*, from whoſe valour and counſel as much good was expected upon this occaſion, as the Kingdom had experimented prejudice in the late troubles thereof. *Byron* was not very well pleaſed that the King ſhould come ſo ſoon unto the Army; for he would willingly have brought the Siege firſt to better perfection. But the King very much approving all the Works, and for a ſign of honor confirming the ſame ſuperiority of Command, did ſo far ſatisfie him, as he continued more fervent than ever in his former endeavours. The King being arrived, it was reſolved by the Council of War, that the buſineſs ſhould be orderly carried on, and that winning ground by the Spade and Mathook leiſurely, great care ſhould be had in preſerving the Souldiery, and that the raſhneſs of too immature aſſaults ſhould be ſhunned, the number of Pioners was therefore mightily increaſed: by whoſe handy-work the further Trenches were advanced, the broader and the deeper were they made; and to boot with the uſual windings thereof, many and greater Redoubts than ordinary were raiſed in them for their better defence. The King lay in the aforeſaid Hermitage; and the Conſtable, the Duke *Du Mayn*, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, the Prince *Jeanvile* Brother to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and other great Perſonages were lodged in the ſeveral Forts; whereof the Marſhal *Byron* kept that for himſelf which was neareſt the Works, that he might from thence haſten their progreſs the more. The Kings Army did not as then exceed 16000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe, but it increaſed every day; for it is not to be ſaid with how much impatience he deſired the recovery of *Amiens*, nor how much he was ſeconded therein by the inclination of the Kingdom, and particularly by the deſire of the Nobility. His Forces conſiſted of 3000 *Swiſſers*, 4000 *Engliſh* ſent by the Queen in relation to the aforementioned Confederacy which was concluded but a little before; and the reſt were all *French* Foot and Horſe. Monſieur *de Montigny* commanded the Horſe; and Monſieur *de S. Luke* the Artillery, which were brought unto the Camp in great abundance: Both of them Commanders cry'd up, and of a clear reputation. And the King willing that they ſhould no longer forbear annoying thoſe within with the Artillery, they began to play furiouſly upon the City; and Batteries were diſpoſed of in divers places, which were afterwards to indamage the Beſieged nearer hand. Amidſt theſe publick Works appertaining to the Siege, the King forbore not liſtning to a ſecret intelligence by which the City might be fraudulently delivered up unto him. There was a Covent of Auguſtine Friers in *Amiens*, which did almoſt joyn upon one of the Gates of the City. Many Citizens came uſually to this Covent, where they plotted a ſecret practice to put the City into the Kings hands, by privately taking in ſome Souldiers from without by night, who ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of certain Bridges under which the River ran as it went out of the City. But *Portacarrero* diſcovering the buſineſs, he made thoſe whom he ſuſpected ſure, and putting ſome of the Ringleaders to death, he ordered that all the Votaries ſhould go out of *Amiens*, and afterwards by degrees drove out moſt of the Citizens. *Portacarrero* being freed from thoſe dangers which threatned him within, minded with greater ſecurity the advancing of the outward works, which conſiſted chiefly in defending the ditch the moſt that might be: And therefore he fortified the *Chemine Couverte* in ſundry ſorts; other new Defences were added even within the Ditch it ſelf; and Mines were wrought under the *Chemine Couverte* which might be made to play when the Enemy ſhould approach. Moreover, for its better defence, it was invironed with great and ſharp ſtakes, hanging outwards with ſome little diſtance between them, which might keep the Enemy from ſuddenly aſſailing it, and the Defendants might have the advantage of being thereby ſheltered. All ſuch Fortifications as it was capable of were added in particular to the great Ravelin of *Montrecurt*. And all this while the Defendants cooled not in making their frequent Sallies; but making them every time more forceable than other, there ſeldom paſt a night that they did not iſſue out to diſturb the Works; in which the Countrymen thereabouts ſupplying the place of Pioners, it is not to be believed what a ſlaughter was made of thoſe miſerable people during the Siege. The Field-ſide towards *France* was leſs fortified, and conſequently worſe guarded as being the moſt ſecure. The beſieged iſſued forth on that ſide to provide neceſſary Forrage for their Horſes, but with good Convoys of Horſe and Foot; they were many times fortunate herein;

but falling at last into a great Ambush of 600 horse of the Enemy, they were routed, and in their retreat lost many of their Foot and Horse, and particularly a great number of the meaner sort of people who were imployed in getting together the Forrage. This misfortune did not abate, but rather increase the besiegeds courage in continuing their sallies. *Portacarrero* would therefore make out one which should be so strong and so well ordered, as it might make large amends for the loss lately suffered. Which he disposed thus. He sent out two Spanish Captains, *Diego Durango*, and *Francisco del l'Arco*, with their two Foot-Companies; and to them added two Troops of Horse, commanded by *Jovanni Gusman*, and *Martin Aguilas*, both of them Spaniards; after these came the Marquis *di Montenegro* with 300 Horse more: And the order which was given them, was, that they should at one and the same time assault the Trenches which were a working on the two neerest sides, and afterwards to make into the quarters, from whence the Works proceeded. It was about the end of *July*, when the weather is hottest and men aptest to sleep about Noon-day. At this time it was resolved the Sally should be made; Nor were the besieged deceived: For finding a great many of those that labour'd in the Trenches wearied with their working by night, and taking their rest, as also the others that guarded them, they meeting with little resistance made great slaughter amongst them; then assaulting the neerest quarter of the *English*, they slew many of them before they could well put themselves in a defensive posture; and assaulting another quarter with the like violence where the *Swissers* were lodged, they likewise slew and wounded many of them. But the Camp flying to their Arms, and new succour coming in from all parts, the fray did so increase, as it could neither be more obstinate nor more bloody. The Marshal *Byron* did first appear, who thrusting in where the business was hottest, gave miraculous proof of his courage. Nor did the King himself do less; who transported by his too warlike genius, and too much despising danger, would likewise be himself where the greatest peril was. Till such time as the besieged being forced to give back, the fray ended. In which the besieged lost above 200 of their men, amongst which *John Gusman*, who was in the flower of his age, of a very noble family, and of very great expectation. There were some 600 of the contrary party slain, as it was said; amongst which divers Captains and other inferior Officers.

Those without were still very much indamaged by the Artillery which were placed within upon the Walls, and still so much the more by how much the Trenches drew nearer the Ditch. Wherefore Monsieur *S. Luke* planted two Batteries; the one of ten pieces of Canon against the Ravelin of *Montecourt*, and the other of twelve Pieces against the neighbouring defences: He raised also against the same parts a great Platform furnisht with other Pieces, and munited it with a strong Redoubt, to keep it from the so impetuous sallies made by those within. Neither did these Batteries fail in their expected service; for they soon greatly indamaged one Ravelin, they threw down the Parapets of the contiguous Wall, and battered down the highest Defences, so as none but the lowest defended the Ditch. This mean while the Trenches did daily approach nearer the Counterscarp, the Works never ceasing, over which Marshal *Byron* had the particular care. But tho he, the King being present, had the principal care of the Siege, yet the King forbore not to have it most in his thoughts; who continually viewed all the Works, being indefatigable in his labour both by day and night; abounding at once both in a Princely and Warlike spirit: But notwithstanding of so affable a nature, and so long accustomed to be amongst Souldiers, as laying down for the most part his Regal Majesty, it seemed as if he desired rather to be a Fellow Souldier than a King amongst them. All degrees of Souldiery strove therefore who should most willingly follow and serve him; and the King did infinitely desire out of Military glory to bring this Siege to his wisht for end, that it might be known he knew equally how to be a gallant Commander as well in the most difficult besieging of Towns, as in the greatest Field-conflicts. These extraordinary diligences which were used about the aforesaid Works, made that those within had every day less Field-room to make out Sallies: Wherefore they resolved to make one sally more, which being perhaps to be the last, might prove for as much as in them lay the most prejudicial to the Enemy. *Portacarrero* assembling therefore together little less than 1000 select Foot, with their Commanders, gave order that about noon-day, they should with all possible secrecy be in the dry Ditch of the great Ravelin of *Montecourt*, that they might the more privately go from thence, and assault the enemy upon greater advantages. And because the horse now did not much service abroad, he added only 30 Curassiers to the foot, who might behave themselves according as occasion should require.

The oppointed hour being come, the sign of issuing out was given by a Canon-shot. The first assault was strangely resolute and fierce. But the Trenches being much better provided, and defended, than the former time, and especially by a good part of *Picardy* Regiment, which were almost all old Souldiers, great resistance was made; mingling themselves courageously one with another in fight, and many falling interchangeably on both sides. Yet the besieged receiving new recruits of men, they entred the Trenches, committing still more slaughter, and advancing so far, as they came to a chief Redout, and endeavoured to nail up some pieces of Artillery. But being manfully opposed by a great Court of Guard of *Swissers* which were there, and a great number of other Souldiers flocking thither, from

from ſeveral other parts of the Camp, they were forced to think of retreating, wherein the Curaſſiers proved not uſeleſs; for they likewiſe ſallying out, and giving upon many of the Enemy who had disbanded themſelves in the firſt fights, they ſlew many of them; and were moreover of great aſſiſtance in helping their companions to retreat. This combat laſted for above three hours, and from without *Byron* ſhewed his wonted undauntedneſs; and amongſt other Cavaliers of the Kings Camp, Prince *Joinville* did in particular win great praiſe. 500 of the Kings men were ſlain, and about 200 of the beſieged, together with very many wounded on both ſides. After this, the King cauſed the Works ſo ſpeedily to be advanced, as they came within a few days almoſt to the Ditch. And they might be ſtill better inforced on his part; for his loſs of Souldiers and Pioners, was ſoon remedied by the ſupply of others; and the King had now an Army of 24000 foot, and 6000 horſe; together with abundance of all other things neceſſary for the continuation of the Siege. But howſoever he was very deſirous to ſee it ſoon at an end. For news came every day of great ſuccour which were coming from the Cardinal; and it was every day diſcovered that the beſieged would hold out till the laſt gaſp. It was not long therefore ere the French came to the *Chemine Couvert*, and blowing part of it into the air with ſecret mines, and winning the reſt by fierce aſſaults, they lodged in the counterſcarp. From whence indamaging the Ditch by their Artillery, and at laſt falling thereinto, they ſtrove to make themſelves maſters thereof. Which was very ſtiffly diſputed; for though thoſe within had loſt their uppermoſt defences, yet thoſe below were induſtriouſly repaired, from whence they did in ſundry manners miraculouſly reſiſt the aſſailants. The chiefeſt part of the Siege being then reduced hither, it is not to be ſaid with how much obſtinacy and fierceneſs they fought on both ſides; thoſe within relying upon the expected ſuccour; and thoſe without willing to prevent it. The one deſirous to recover what was loſt, the others to keep what they had got. The aſſailants fighting whilſt the King looked on; and the adverſaries as if the Cardinal had been preſent. And both ſides ſo ſet on fire by wonted emulation, and by innate hatred one to another, as were it only in that reſpect their very ſouls could not be more incenſed. They fought no longer therefore with Harquebuſes and Muſquets, nor yet with Swords; but with ſhorter weapons, as Daggers and Piſtols. Stones hailed down from the Walls, and Fires of divers ſorts. And on the contrary the Enemies batteries playing inceſſantly, had ſo skarrified the Platform, as there was but very little ſpace left for the defendants to keep upon. *Portacarrero* began therefore to make inward retreats, by Half-Moons, and other good defences. And he had thought alſo to have thrown up a great Trench more inward upon the inſide of the River, which paſt with one of its branches through the City, near enough to the Wall that was plaid upon. That after the loſs thereof, and of the new retreats which he was making, he might yet make what oppoſition might be. And becauſe many of the defendants were already ſlain, and many lay languiſhing of their wounds; many being likewiſe dead of ſickneſs, *Portacarrero* had oft-times renewed his intreaties to the Archduke, that he ſhould no longer delay ſending relief. Nor did the Cardinal omit any diligence that was requiſite to that purpoſe. *Avilo's* Italians were already upon their march for *Flanders*; as alſo the new raiſed Germans; nor had the Cardinal omitted any poſſible means for raiſing ſuch monies as were neceſſary upon ſuch an occaſion.

The King of *France* was fully informed of all this. Wherefore quickning himſelf, he did ſo inforce the works in the ditch, as his men made themſelves fully maſters of it. They then fell to mining, that they might blow up the Wall, and the better order their aſſaults which they were ſhortly to make. The beſieged were already reduced to theſe ſtraits, when *Portacarrero* undertook another buſineſs to damnifie the aſſailants. The River entred on that ſide with two branches into the City. He therefore reſolved to block up the Arches of the Bridg with great beams of wood faſtened together, ſo as the water might regorge back again into the fields, and might particularly fall into the ditch which was oppugned, as might eaſily be expected by the ſituation of the place. Nor failed he in his deſign. For the River being thus withſtood, threw her waters abroad into the neighbouring parts, incommodating the Kings men who lodged there; and falling with ſuch violence into the aforementioned ditch, as made the French haſten out of it, and ſpoyled almoſt all their Works. The Kings Camp was much confuſed at this unexpected accident. But the King, calling his Council of War, reſolved to turn two great batteries againſt two Towers, the one on the one ſide, the other on the other ſide of the Gate *Montreport*, hoping that the ruines thereof, when they ſhould be beaten down, ſhould fill up the ditch which they ſtood over, and where the River chiefly entred into the oppugned Ditch, and kept there. The batteries proved very furious. Nor was it long ere the Towers falling, and that paſſage being filled up, the water began to forbear running there. Moreover the Beams and Summers of Wood not being able any longer to withſtand the violence thereof, the River returned to its former natural courſe; and the Ditch being thus ſoon dry, the French returned thither with more ardency than ever, to their former oppugnation. The falling of the Towers had almoſt beaten down the great Ravelin; in ſo much as thoſe defended it could no longer be ſuccoured, unleſs it were by a narrow Bridg which had Clothes hung up on both ſides; the mote

to blind the paſſage. But that ſerved but for a mark for the continual musket-ſhot to play upon. By which ſome of the defendants being continually ſlain, it unfortunately fell out that *Portocarrero* paſſing by there upon a certain occaſion, he received a ſhot in the flank, which immediately threw him dead to the ground. The greateſt loſs certainly which could befall thoſe within, and which was generally much lamented. But almoſt at the ſame time another misfortune befell thoſe without, which greatly diſpleaſed the whole Army, and eſpecially the King himſelf; which was the death of Monſieur *de* Saint *Luke*, who approaching too near the Batteries, was likewiſe ſlain by a musket-ſhot.

The Marquis *Montenegro* was by full Military conſent, choſen in the place of *Portocarrero*, as he who even in the others life-time, had always ſuſtained the ſecond place, both in commanding the Horſe, and in all the other moſt conſiderable actions of the Siege. He failed not together with the Office to make good the valour of the former Commander in chief who was ſlain. Labouring indefatigably and excellently performing all things that belonged unto him. But the French were this mean while ſo far advanced, as they already lodged upon the Platform of the Wall; and with new impetuous Batteries, had brought the great Ravelin to that paſs, as no longer defence could now almoſt be made. And yet though often aſſaulted, the Kings men met ſtill with ſtiff and ſtout reſiſtance.

This was the condition of the Siege, when news was brought to the Kings Camp, that the Cardinal Archduke was already upon his march with a powerful Army to come to the relief of the beſieged. It was now *September*, and the Cardinal could not aſſemble together ſuch Forces ſooner, as were requiſite to carry on the propounded buſineſs, for want of monies. Declaring the rendevouz to be at *Avene del Conte*, a place within a league of *Dorlan*, the Cardinal came thither in the beginning of the aforeſaid Month with all his men. His Army conſiſted of 20000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe. The Foot were compoſed of 4000 Spaniards, 3000 Italians, 6000 *Germans*, and 7000 Walloons, Burgonians, and Iriſh; and the Horſe of 1500 Flemiſh men of Arms, and of 2500 other Horſe, Lances, Curaſiers, Harquebuſiers, of the oft aforenamed Nations. Upon this occurrence Count *Peter Erneſtus Mansfield* took upon him the office of Campmaſter General, which was formerly exerciſed by Monſieur *de Rony*; though *Mansfield* was full fourſcore years old, and much fitter for reſt than labour. The Count *de Sora* commanded over the Flemiſh men at Arms, being one of the chief Lords of that Country; and the reſt of the Horſe were commanded by the Admiral of *Arragon*, who being come with the Cardinal into *Flanders* when he firſt came thither, and being ſuddenly ſent in the King of *Spains* name by way of complement to the Emperor and King of *Poland*, was juſt then returned.

The firſt thing conſulted on in the Spaniſh Camp, was, on what ſide they were to bring in the ſuccour. The River *Some* paſſeth through the midſt of *Amiens*, as hath been ſaid; and doubtleſs the ſide beſt fortified by the French, and hardeſt to be overcome, was that which lay towards the Frontiers of *Artois*, as hath likewiſe been ſaid. And therefore the Enemies Trenches being weaker on the other ſide the River, toward *France*, they might eaſilieſt be forced on that ſide. But they muſt firſt paſs over the River, the banks whereof the French had fortified: And when the Spaniards ſhould have paſt over the River, either above, or beneath, where-ever it was worſe guarded, how to get back over it again was too uncertain, by reaſon of the oppoſition which the French would make: So as the Army being ſhut up by the River, and in an Enemies Country, and without continual recruits of Victuals, in ſuch a caſe it would be in very great ſtraits, and in evident danger to undergo ſome ſtrange misfortune. Theſe things being well weighed, it was reſolved that they ſhould endeavour the relief on the neareſt ſide towards *Artois*; and that if need ſhould be, they ſhould give Battel. For though the Enemy did far exceed them in Horſe, yet it was thought that the Spaniſh Foot was ſo much better both in Diſcipline and Valour, as all their Forces being duly conſidered, they might very well hope for victory. The Cardinal ſtaid four days at the Rendezvouz; in which time he ordered that *John Contrera*, Commiſſary General of the Horſe, and *Gaſton Spinola*, formerly the Italian Campmaſter, ſhould go with 500 Horſe to diſcover the Enemies quarters nearer hand. The King had notice hereof; and getting on horſeback himſelf; he ſent divers Troops into other parts, that they might the eaſilier light upon and defeat the Enemy: and it ſo fell out, as thoſe Horſe wherein he himſelf was met firſt with them. The King was far fewer in number than the Enemy; yet with his wonted undauntedneſs deſpiſing all danger, and all his men fighting valiantly by his example, the Enemies Horſe were routed and put to flight; who knowing the Kings perſon, could not believe but that he was followed by a greater body of men. The Cardinal came afterwards to a full knowledge how the Fortifications of the Kings Camp ſtood, by another means: wherefore he marched with his Army towards *Amiens* on the 13 day of *September*, in this order. The Admiral of *Arragon* and Count *Sora* marched foremoſt with all the Horſe, divided into divers ſquadrons. The flying Squadron marched before the Foot, which was compoſed of 2000 very choiſe Foot, pickt out of thoſe of every Nation; and theſe were led on by *Diego Pimantel* formerly one of the moſt eſteemed Spaniſh Campmaſters in the whole Army. Then followed three great Battalions one after another with 6000 Foot, and 4 Pieces of Field-Cannon in the

Front

Front of each of them. In the first marched *Luigi di Velasco*, a Spanish Campmaster, with his Brigado of the same Nation; and the Counts of *Suls* and *Belio*, with two Regiments of *Germans*; and to these were added three Walloon Brigadoes. In the second were the Campmasters *Luis di Viglier*, with his Spanish Brigado; *Alphonso d' Avalos*, with his new-come *Italians*; Count *Bucquoi*, with a Brigado of *Walloons*, and Colonel *Estegre*, with a Regiment of *Germans*. And in the last were *Carlo Colonna* with a Spanish Brigado, of which he was chosen Camp-master but a little before; *Il Signór di Barbenson*, with a Regiment of *Germans*; Colonel *Eftenly*, with a Regiment of *Irish*; Count *Varras*, with a Brigado of *Burgonians*; and the Campmaster *Barlotta*, with his Brigado of *Walloons*. The Cardinal Archduke took his place in the Front of the first great Battalion; and with him, to boot with his particular Guards, were the Flower of all the Court. After the Souldiery there were a convenient number of Boats carried upon Carts, whereof to make a Bridg and pass over the *Some*, when they should think fit so to do. In this manner did the Army draw near the River below *Picchingny*, a good Town, seated upon the same River, and not above three leagues from *Amiens*. The Army was sheltred on the right hand by the Channel of the River; and on the left by the Carriages and Baggage, which joyned together in a long Train by three and three, did shelter and secure that Flank. Thus was the Spanish Camp ordered. It was argued at the same time in the Kings Camp by his Council of War, what they were to do in this behalf. Some were for going out of their Trenches with all their Forces, and giving Battel in the field: And Marshal *Biroun* was stiff of this opinion, saying,

That the Kings Horse was far superior to theirs both in number and goodness; that they ought likewise to hope very well of their Foot: So as what better occasion could there be wisht for to fight the Enemy, and get a glorious victory? That the whole Genius of France *was naturally addicted to such fights as these, and particularly the King himself, who excelling each other man in all military qualities, had only overcome himself in this, in knowing how to win so many and so dangerous battels. That the present Victory being got, not only* Amiens, *but whole* Picardy *would be the Kings; and with what advantage might they afterwards assault the Enemies Frontiers of* Flanders, *and carry those mischiefs thither wherewith* France *had been so long afflicted.*

Marshal *Birouns* as we have often said, was naturally very fierce; and fell often upon businesses which partook much more of precipitation than boldness. And amongst other things it was observable how much he differed from the opinion of the Marshal his late Father; who no less couragious, but much more circumspect than his son, had in the Siege laid by the King to *Roan* some years before (as we then told you) perswaded the King to keep the Duke of *Parma* from relieving the Town, by defending his own Works. But divers others of the Council were of another opinion, chiefly the Duke *Du Mayn*, who was a compleat Commander, and was thought to be the best that was then in *France*. He in a grave and considerate manner said thus:

That the Kings end in this Siege was to recover Amiens, *and not to call all* France *thither to see him vainly defie the Enemy in a Battel. And what military wisdom was it that taught to provoke Fortune unnecessitated; which was always deceitful in all Feats of Arms, and chiefly in the success of a Field-battel? Then let the King enjoy those advantages which his Trenches gave him, and suffer the* Spaniard *to come and assault them at their pleasure: For finding them well defended, they would either not assault them, or if they should, it would be in vain. Nor was it to be feared that those within would move at the same time; both by reason of the same opposition of the Kings Trenches, and for that they were already reduced to a small number, as they were hardly able to man the remainders of their own Defences. Thus the Enemy soon despairing of ever effecting the succour, the King without any further danger would happily compass his desired end of the Siege.*

This opinion carried it. But howsoever the King desirous himself to see at a near distance in what posture the Spanish Camp marched, went out with the greatest part of his Horse: which meeting with the Enemy, afforded occasion of skirmishes which lasted for a while, no advantage appearing on any side; and the King wheeling about, came in good order back to his Trenches. The Spanish Camp still advanced, till from the top of a little Rise within two Cannon-shot of the Enemy, it made them a gallant and stately spectacle; and passing forward from thence came almost within Musket-shot of the Enemies Trenches. The *French* thought for certain that the *Spaniards* would assault them; insomuch as many of the meaner sort of them began to waver; many of the Victuallers and those who had care of the Baggage, transported by blind fear, went to convey their goods to the other side of the River for their more safety sake. This disorder began also amongst some of the more ordinary Souldiers, which manifestly appeared in the ambiguous form of defence which manifestly appeared in the ambiguous form of defence which they put themselves in. Which the Admiral of *Arragon* and Count *Sora* perceiving, who led the Van of the *Spaniards* Horse, they failed not suddenly to advertise the Cardinal thereof, and did earnestly perswade him not to lose so advantagious an occasion of assaulting the Enemy. But Count *Mansfield*, who had the first place under the Cardinal, and some other of the Commanders were absolutely of a contrary opinion. He said,

That

That it would be manifeſt raſhneſs to give ſo upon the Enemies Works. That the tumults which were ſeen there might be cauſed by ſome occaſional confuſion, which the French Commanders would ſoon remedy. That if they ſhould reſolve to preſent Battel, and conſequently come out of their Works, it ſhould be accepted, and a good end hoped for: But that to aſſault the Enemy within their own Fortifications, with ſo much advantage to them, would be to adventure that Army to too evident a blow, and all Flanders *to too manifeſt a danger.*

The Cardinal thought this the ſafeſt Counſel, which he reſolved to follow; though the whole Army was generally of opinion, That if the Enemy had been aſſaulted then with due reſolution, they ſhould have met with but ſmall reſiſtance; and that together with the ſudden relieving of *Amiens*, the Cardinal might peradventure have obtained one of the greateſt victories that the *Spaniards* had of a long time gotten over the *French*. The French Commanders had this mean while provided for the aboveſaid diſorders, and the King coming himſelf in perſon to where it behoved moſt to ſecure the Trenches, he furniſht them with ſuch men as were moſt valiant. Nor herewithal content, he went forth with all his Horſe; and dividing them into many Squadrons, he extended them a great ſpace, and ſheltred thoſe parts of his Trenches which were moſt threatned by his Enemies, to defend them ſo much the better. Then letting his Artillery flie furiouſly againſt the Enemy, he did ſo prejudice them, as they reſolved to remove from that ſo near place, and went to another where they were ſufficiently ſheltred. The night came on this mean while, and the Cardinal ſtaid there with all his Army, reſolving to accoſt the Enemy again the next day, and to provoke them to Battel. The night paſt over more quietly than was expected, the ſo very nearneſs of two ſo powerful Armies being conſidered. Nor did the Cardinal fail to draw near with his, as formerly, to that of the Enemy. But the King being ſtedfaſt to his former reſolution, and preparing in like manner as before to defend his Trenches, he would not loſe his advantage.

The Cardinal having ſtaid with his Army drawn out into Battel-array, as long as he thought fitting, reſolved at laſt totally to retreat; conſidering that he could come by Victuals but too hardly in thoſe parts, and that the other incommodities which his Army ſuffered in thoſe Quarters were too great. Turning therefore his Van into the Rearguard, he made his Army march leaſurely and in good order off. The *French* endeavoured more than once to indammage the Rear; but the Flying-Squadron facing about, and with miraculous Diſcipline now handling their Pikes, now their Muskets, and being ſheltred by the Horſe likewiſe on both ſides, all the Enemies aſſaults proved vain. Thus they marched for above two hours; after which the Cardinals Camp being free from all moleſtation, took up its quarters with all ſecurity, and was by degrees divided in the neighbouring Frontiers of *Artois*. At the Armies retreat, the Cardinal ſignified to the beſieged in *Amiens*, that it being impoſſible to relieve them, they ſhould immediately ſurrender the City, and not loſe any more men to no purpoſe. He infinitely praiſed their pains, and promiſed them reward; leaving them to make ſuch conditions as they could at the ſurrender. Which when they came to be treated of, were granted them by the King, in as ample manner, and upon as honourable terms as could be by them deſired. He highly commended the worth they had ſhewed in defending themſelves; which had made the like of his Army appear in oppugning them. The Marquis *Montenegro* marcht out of the Town with 800 ſound Souldiers, and above as many more that were wounded; and was very graciouſly received by the King at his coming forth, as alſo the other Commanders the came out with him. When the King came into *Amiens*, he preſently cauſed a ſtrong Citadel to be deſigned there, which was ſoon after built, that it might ſerve for a greater curb to the people, and be a greater ſafety to the City. Then leaving *Picardy*, he went to *Paris*, where he was received with great applauſe by that multitude of people, for his new atchieved glory in having hindred ſo powerful a Succour, and recovering a City of ſo great conſequence to the intereſts of that Kingdom.

The Cardinal Archduke being retreated to *Artois*, he preſently ſent ſome of his Forces to take *Montalin*, the only Town which remained in the French hands within the precincts appertaining to *Calis*, and from whence *Calis* was much incommodated. The care of the enterpriſe was given to the Admiral of *Aragon*; who finding the place not very ſtrong, nor yet well guarded, took it within a few daays. The King of *France* was already gone from *Picardy*; nor was it known that he had as then any further end upon that Frontier. Wherefore the Cardinal reſolved to leave *Artois* likewiſe, and to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Province of *Flanders*, which did very much deſire that *Oſtend* might beſieged. The Cardinal would therefore go thitherward himſelf; and cauſing the Town to be well ſurveyed, he thought it was impoſſible to keep it from being ſuccour'd. Wherefore, as alſo becauſe *Autumn* was already well advanced, the Cardinal determined to leave the enterpriſe till a better conjuncture. Nor having any other in which it was fitting to imploy his Army at that time, wherein there was hapned a new Mutiny again, he reſolved to ſend it to its winter-quarters, and came himſelf with his Court about the end of *November* to *Bruſſels*.

But

But the United Provinces loſt not the opportunity this mean while which offered it ſelf ſo favourably to them. The Cardinal by reaſon of the Siege of *Amiens* being gone with ſo many Forces towards the Frontiers of *France*, and having left the peculiar affairs of *Flanders* in a forlorn condition; Count *Maurice* took preſently to the Field. And having ſpeedily raiſed about the beginning of *Auguſt* an Army of 10000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe, together with a great Train of Artillery, and whatſoever elſe was requiſite for his deſigned ends, he went to beſiege *Reinberg*, a Town ſituated upon the left ſide of the *Rhine*. It had but few Souldiers in Garriſon and was but weakly provided of all things elſe. Wherefore *Maurice* coming without any difficulty to the Walls, and playing upon them with his Cannon, he forced the beſieged in a few days to ſurrender the Town. From thence he went to before *Mures*, a Town not far from thence, but ſomwhat remote from the *Rhine*: And meeting with the like weak defence, he with the like eaſineſs won it. He this mean while had thrown a Bridg of Boats over the *Rhine*, and paſſing with all his Army to the other ſide, he ſate down before *Groll*, a ſtrong Town both by Nature and Art: He found ſome greater reſiſtance there; yet many proviſions being wanting which are moſt neceſſary for ſuſtaining a Siege, having dryed the Ditch on one ſide, and threatning a furious Aſſault, he forced the Defendants to deliver up the Town. From thence he turned to *Oldenſel*, a weak Town, which he therefore ſoon took. And no Town remaining now at the Kings devotion in thoſe parts but *Lingben*, a place well flanked and fortified by a good Caſtle, *Maurice* incamped before it, and beſieged it ſtraitly on all ſides. Count *Frederick de Berg* defended it, which he did very valiantly for many days: But that place being but ill provided, as were the reſt, he was forced to ſurrender it upon very honourable conditions. So to boot with *Reinberg* and *Mures*, all the whole Country on the other ſide the *Rhine* fell in a ſhort time under the Dominion of the United Provinces; which in acknowledgment of ſo advantagious ſucceſſes, did forthwith give the ſame Town of *Lingben*, with the Territories thereunto belonging, which make up a very noble Lordſhip, to Count *Maurice* and to his Heirs for ever. About the end of Autumn, *Maurice* returned with his men to their quarters; and paſſing himſelf afterwards to the *Hague*, he was received there with demonſtrations of great joy. Which afforded new occaſions to ſuch Provinces as were yet obedient to the King, to complain and grieve; conſidering that for the intereſts of *France*, which were very uncertain, the ſelf-affairs of *Flanders* were ſo much neglected: And they were more ſcandalized, that to defend the Catholick cauſe in that Kingdom for the advantage of ſtrangers, the ſame cauſe was abandoned in the Kings own Country; ſuffering ſo great a part thereof to fall into the hands of Rebels and Hereticks, who by all the moſt deſperate means would implacably maintain their double perfidiouſneſs againſt the Church and King.

Thus ended this year, and the year 1598 inſued, memorable for two of the greateſt events which could then have hapned. The one, Peace concluded between the two Kings, after ſo bitter war; and the other the Marriage between the Cardinal Archduke, and the Infanta *Iſabella*, the King of *Spains* eldeſt daughter, to whom the King her Father gave the whole Low-Countries for her Dowry. As concerning the Peace, Pope *Clement* the eight had mediated it a-whiſe before; moved thereunto by the ſame Zeal whereby he had already ſo happily reconciled the King of *France* to the Apoſtolick See, and afterwards endeavoured to reconcile the two Kings, by making ſuch a peace as might conduce to the eſtabliſhing of univerſal quiet in Chriſtendom. To this purpoſe having firſt wiſely and maturely ordered all things, he ſent a Legat into *France*, which was *Alexander de Medici*, Cardinal of *Florence*; who was judged the fitteſt for ſuch a Negotiation, for his candor of life, grave behaviour, and dexterity in handling of buſineſs. And theſe vertues, together with ſome other, raiſed him (though but for a very ſhort while) to ſucceed the ſaid *Clement* in the Apoſtolick See. He then parting from *Paris* in the beginning of the year, and going to *Vervin*, an opportune place, upon the Confines of *Henault* and *Picardy*: and the Deputies of both Kings joyning there with him, he laboured by all poſſible means to overcome thoſe difficulties which interpoſed themſelves to the effecting of the Peace. The King of *Spain* did very much incline thereunto: though he were thereby to reſtore ſo many Places which his Forces had taken in *Picardy*. But the agreement could not be made without full reſtitution. For what remained, he knew he was near death, by reaſon of his great Age, oppreſt by continual indiſpoſitions of health. That he had only one ſon, and he very young. That it would be very advantagious for that his ſon not to inherit ſo bitter a War, and with ſo powerful an adverſary. That he would find his Kingdoms exhauſted by ſuch exceſſive expences; and finally that it would redound much to the advantage of the new Princes to whom he intended to give *Flanders*, if they ſhould find *France* and him firſt at peace. Theſe were the chief reaſons which made the King of *Spain* incline ſo much to peace. But the King of *France* had altogether as many motives to make him willingly imbrace it. He conſidered that the greateſt impediments which kept him from ſucceeding to that Crown proceeded from the Spaniards. That his Kingdom was rent in pieces by ſo many diſcords, and waſted by ſo many vaſt expences. That it was now time to enjoy it in ſecure obedience; and if it were poſſible, under one and the ſame Religion. That this could not be effected but by his reconciliation to the Apoſtolick See; and by

making

making a good peace with the King of *Spain*. That the one having already had happy ſucceſs, he ſhould deſire the like in the other. So as *France* after having ſuffered ſo many calamities, horrible Factions and troubles, might once enjoy thoſe accommodations, which by a happy change might turn her troubles into quiet.

Out of theſe efficacious reaſons, the King of *France* was well inclined to deſire peace. Wherefore after a long Treaty, the knots which gave moſt diſturbance to the happy ending of the buſineſs, being untyed by the Legats abilities and authority, about the beginning of *May* the peace was fully agreed upon and concluded between the two Kings. To the ſo much glory in particular of Pope *Clement*, as he was mightily applauded for it every where; it not being eaſie to be judged by which of thoſe two Actions he merited moſt: either by his late reuniting ſo powerful a King as the King of *France* to the See of *Rome*, or in making univerſal peace throughout Chriſtendom by according theſe two Crowns. This may ſuffice to be ſaid here touching this affair, as a ſucceſs which doth not properly belong to the thred of this our Hiſtory. Wherefore paſſing now to the Treaty of Marriage, we will with all brevity firſt relate the conſultations which were had thereupon; and the Kings reſolution.

The Negotiation of ſeparating the Provinces of *Flanders* in perpetuity from the Crown of *Spain*, was doubtleſs one of the weightieſt affairs that hath of a long time been reſolved on by that Court. The King was then paſt threeſcore and ten year old. But tho as well by reaſon of his years as of his ſo long and weighty affairs, he was a Prince of infinite wiſdom, and who could of himſelf put on any reſolution how difficult ſoever; yet was he very doubtful what to do in this point. He was aſſailed on one ſide by his love to the Infanta; and on the other by his duty to his Crown. The King deſired nothing more than to Marry the Infanta to any whatſoever higheſt degree: as well for that ſhe was his eldeſt daughter, and one, upon whom, if his only Son ſhould chance to die, the ſucceſſion of ſo great a Monarchy was likely to fall: as out of the tender affection which he always bore her, and had ſtill bred her up with great contentation, in his own company. And truly it was commonly famed and thought, that there had not been any Princeſs of a long time in *Europe*, in whom ſo many rare indowments both of body and mind had met, as now in her. Great was the affection likewiſe which the King bore to the Cardinal Archduke; for paſſing into *Spain* whilſt he was a young man (as we have already touched upon) and having purchaſed great praiſe in thoſe Kingdoms, ſometimes in the Court at *Madrid*, and ſometimes in the Government of *Portugal*, he had ſo particularly conformed himſelf to the Kings ways and humour, as he made him his example, after a proportionable meaſure, in all his actions. For which the King ſo loved and favoured him, that he treated him not as a German, but as a Spaniard; nor with demonſtrations only belonging to an Unkle, but with a true Fatherly affection. Theſe conſiderations made the King very much incline to the aforeſaid Marriage, and to give the Provinces of *Flanders* in dowry to the Infanta. But on the other ſide, to divide ſo noble a member from the body of that Empire which he had inherited from his fore-fathers, pleaded hard for the contrary. The truth is, he was of opinion that the beſt courſe he could take to keep the yet obedient Provinces in their allegiance, and to reduce thoſe that had rebell'd, would be to give them a Prince of their own, who might become a *Fleming*, and from whom a Flemiſh deſcent might be expected. And he feared that if this were not done, the whole Country might one day be loſt. Yet he thought he was not to give way ſo ſoon to this danger, nor ſo eaſily loſe the advantage, which for other conſiderations the Crown of *Spain* received, by poſſeſſing even the yet remainder of thoſe Provinces. The King was therefore much agitated amidſt the ſeveral difficulties which aroſe in this affair. Nor was his Councel leſs uncertain. Where by his appointment the buſineſs was with all attention diſcuſt. Count *Fuentes*, being returned with great reputation from *Flanders*, was at this time in the Court of *Spain*. After the Duke of *Parma*'s death, he had ſupplied the chiefeſt place (as we then told you) under Count *Mansfield*, and likewiſe under the Archduke *Erneſtus*, both which were Governors of *Flanders*. And in the time of his own Government had won great Renown, in the battle of *Dorlan*, in the recovery of *Cambray*, and by his other proſperous ſucceſſes, gotten by the Arms of *Spain*, in the Frontier of *Picardy* againſt the French. The King had already deſigned him to be Governor of *Milan*, and of all the Spaniſh Forces in *Italy*. And doubtleſs there was not any one of the Spaniſh Nation, who was as then highlier eſteemed in the Military profeſſion. This *Fuentes* oppoſed himſelf with all his might to the propounded Marriage, with the ceſſion of the Low-Countries. But on the other ſide, *Chriſtoval di Moura*, Count of *Caſtle Roderigo*, who was in great authority with the King, did ſtiffly maintain the contrary opinion. *Moura* was come out of *Portugal* many years before the devolution of that Kingdom, and came to *Madrid* with the Dowager Princeſs, *Donna Jovanna*, the Kings ſiſter, being in a very good place about her; and after her death he was ſuddenly taken into the Kings Court, where he was entertained in many noble imployments. When the devolution did afterwards happen, the King imployed none more than *Moura* in the occurrences of that ſo important Negotiation; in ſo much as the differences which were therein met withal were ſoon overcom by the Duke of *Alba* with Forces on the other part, and by *Moura* his negotiating,

on the other part; whereby *Monra* ſtill increaſing in favour, merit, and authority with the King, none ſhared more thereof than he in theſe latter times. The King being willing therefore to put on his full reſolution touching this buſineſs, ſent for his Council one day into his own bed-Chamber, where for the moſt part he lay in bed, by reaſon of his great years, and the Gout which he was troubled withal; and where Count *Fuentes* ſpake thus.

The advantage is ſo great (moſt powerful Prince) which thoſe ſo many members whereof your Majeſties Empire is compoſed, do receive from Flanders, *as to bereave it of ſo noble a member now, cannot in my opinion but be of great prejudice to the reſt. Whereſoever the Sun goes, it looks upon ſome one of your Kingdoms. But though the world reverence you in ſo many parts, and bow unto you, it is notwithſtanding ſeen that your Enviers and Enemies reſpect your Greatneſs and fear it more from that of* Flanders *than from all the reſt. What, and how great the opportunities of thoſe Provinces are, none knows but your ſelf. There were you put into the Inheritance of that ſo glorious Emperor your Father, before you were yet his Heir, by that his ſo memorable Renunciation: There you began to take the conduct of ſo eminent and ſo painful a Government: And tarrying there afterwards about a year, you your ſelf had ſtill better occaſion to know how much the poſſeſſing of thoſe States did import your Greatneſs, together with the reſt of your Empire. By the Arms of* Flanders *you did then make an advantagious Peace with the King of* France; *with thoſe Arms you have oft-time ſuccoured the Catholick Cauſe in that Kingdom, and maintained your own with much honor in theſe laſt times againſt the now preſent King. And how oft have you from thence aſſiſted the Catholicks of* Germany? *and in what a terror, from that ſide more eſpecially, did you put* England *not many years ago?*

The world turns round with perpetual viciſſitude, and is continually producing new things. And therefore it is to be believed, that by the occaſion of paſt times, other the like will ariſe in times to come; inſomuch as the Arms of Flanders *are likely to be no leſs neceſſary hereafter thereabouts, either for the good of the Church, or of this Crown, or of them both; their welfare being ſeldom ſevered. I know notwithſtanding how much thoſe Provinces are leſſened; and confeſs that dangers may daily grow greater there by the obſtinate home-Rebellion, and by the malignant correſpondency which hath always been had there from neighbours. Yet when you ſhall well weigh the remainder of the yet obedient Provinces of* Flanders, *and ſhall add thereunto the other Forces which your ſo powerful Monarchy will be able to ſubminiſter thereunto; wherefore may it not be hoped that your Majeſties ſo juſt cauſe may be thereby bettered, or at leaſt be ſecured from growing worſe? If the Wars in thoſe parts ſhould ceaſe by reaſon of this new propounded Principality, and that the expences ſhould likewiſe ceaſe there, this Crown would doubtleſs be thereby much eaſed; and in ſuch a caſe it might the better be without thoſe Provinces. But it being to be believed that War will grow hotter there than ever, through the love the Rebels have taken to Liberty and Hereſie, and through the hatred which they conſequently bear unto the Auſtrian blood, and eſpecially to this Kingdom from whence the new Principality is to proceed; will not the burthen of the Forces and Expences lie ſtill upon this Crown? If otherwiſe, To what purpoſe ſhould a new Principality be erected, if it were not to be maintained by the Forces of* Spain? *So the prejudice which would redound to your Monarchy by the one ſide, would not be recompenced by any benefit from the other: And ſo wanting that advantage which it hath always received from the* Flanders *Forces, it might receive thereby ſuch prejudice as might every day peradventure prove worſe. Let* Spain *then keep* Flanders; *and let that your Empires Magazine of Arms be preſerved. Great Empires cannot be without Arms; nor can Wars be made without Souldiers; nor Souldiers be bred but amongſt Arms. And what more flouriſhing Seminary of Souldiers can* Spain *deſire, than that of* Flanders *which ſhe hath for ſo many years enjoyed, and doth ſtill enjoy? My opinion therefore is, that your Majeſty ſhall not do well to mutilate thoſe ſo important Provinces from your other Dominions. Your Majeſties greatneſs and infinite wiſdom will not want other means whereby to accommodate the Illuſtrious* Infanta *according to her own high worth, and her exalted degree.*

But the Count of *Caſtel Roderigo* was of another opinion, and ſpoke thus.

I ſhould never be of opinion (moſt glorious Prince) that your Majeſty ſhould diminiſh any the leaſt part of your Kingdoms and Dominions, if I ſhould not think that that diminiſhing ſhould tend rather to the advancement than prejudice of your Greatneſs. The Marriage of the moſt illuſtrious Infanta is now the buſineſs in hand; every one knows what, and how ſublime prerogatives both of blood and merit meet in her Highneſs. Now if out of the immenſe body of ſo many States which your Majeſty by Gods goodneſs are Maſter of, her Highneſs may be endowed with ſome of them, by the parting wherewith the reſt may rather be bettered than impaired, wherefore ſhould not your Majeſty willingly give way thereunto? And this being granted, it is not to be doubted but that your infallible wiſdome will preſently point out unto you your Provinces of Flanders: *They are moſt remote from all the reſt of your Empire, the moſt differing both in Tongue, Cuſtom, Laws, and all things elſe: It is they, who more than all the reſt abhor to fall under the Government of Foreigners, as they term them; and conſequently do moſt deſire to have a particular Prince of their own. Out of all theſe reaſons, hardly was your Majeſty gone from thence, when Hereſie began to creep in amongſt them. From thence they proceeded to Tumults; from Tumults to Rebellion: and from Rebellion to a cruel War: The unquenchable fire whereof hath now burnt above theſe forty years; and how oft to bring it to an end, to boot, by the way of force, have you uſed treaties of concord? But ſtill in vain, ſo unappeaſable hath*

the double rebellion of the Flemish proved against the Church, and against your Crown; and so very much have they continually been fomented by their neighbours on all sides: insomuch as Holland *and* Zealand, *and many other of those Provinces which are up in Arms, grow every day more obstinate in resolving never to return under the obedience of* Spain. *Then if you, who have lived whole years in those Provinces, with such experience of their own particular affairs, and of the affairs of the whole World, with so many forces, and so many valiant Commanders; when* France *was most grieved with inward wounds, and* England *apprehended the like sufferings under a Woman; have not been able to shun such great losses in* Flanders: *Why should we not fear that your successors may yet suffer every day greater? So as at last (which God forbid) this Crown may be wholly deprived of those Provinces. How much better Souldiers do those Rebels daily grow? And how much better may* France *and* England *foment them now than they could have done formerly?* France *being at peace within it self; and* England *which daily expects the King of Scots for their King? The evils which* Spain *suffers from* Flanders *reacheth even to the* Indies: *and it is to be feared they may indamage you more in the West-*Indies, *than they have hitherto done in the East. As a Canker in any one member of a Man's body works upon, and consumes the vigor of all the other members: So the ulcerate part of* Flanders, *makes the body of your whole Empire daily languish. The gold of the* Indies, *the people supplyed from* Spain, *from* Italy, *and those which for the like end are continually raised in* Germany, *are not sufficient, (as by experience is found) to maintain that War. The hunger of that ravenous Beast is still increased by food; and how much do mutinies devour? Which are now grown so Domestick, that as one ends another begins, and often too much to our loss, divers happen at one and the same time.*

This is the condition of Flanders, *and this is the state of the losses which the Crown of* Spain *hath thereby suffered till now, and of what they may suffer hereafter. My opinion therefore is, that your Majesty shall do well to give the Low-Countries in Dowry to the most Illustrious Infanta; whereof framing a principality in your daughter, and honoring the Cardinal Infanta your Nephew with her, by making him her husband, the Flemish will by this means have at last a Prince of their own, which is that which they at all times have so thirsted after. If the marriage of these new Princes prove fruitful, (as it is to be hoped it will) the yet obedient Provinces will continue their obedience to the Church, and Austrian blood at least, if not to the Crown of* Spain. *Nor is it to be doubted but that the same good and profitable correspondency will pass between that branch and this, as hath past betwixt this and that other established in* Germany. *And to say truth, of what use may such an example be? In which it is seen that the Emperor your father, in great wisdom would there aggrandise that Austrian branch, because he thought it impossible that the greatness of that and this joyned together, should continue here in your* Spain, *though the chief branch, but too far remote from* Germany. *Their neighbours will then rejoyce at this new Flemish Principality, and will assist it as much hereafter, for seeing it dismembred from this Crown, as they have been formerly averse thereunto; for that it was joyned to your Majesties Kingdom. Jealousies will be succeeded by assurances; instead of having the Wars fomented from those parts, friendly offices will be done for the introducing of Peace: And the Flemish race being by this marriage established; why should we not hope that at last even the rebellious Provinces should by degrees reunite themselves, according to the ancient form with those which are obedient? In fine; either this is the remedy which remains to heal the wounds of those Countries; or we shall never find any sufficient to effect it.*

When *Moura* had spoken, the other Counsellors gave their opinions. *Jovanni d'Ideaques*, a Counsellor likewise of great authority with the King, joyn'd with *Moura*. *Ideaques* (as we have told you upon another occasion) had been Ambassador in *Genua* and *Venice*; and after other imployments being returned to *Spain*, did now exercise a place of the greatest importance belonging to that Crown. But there were divers others of the Council who adhered to *Fuentes* his opinion. Wherefore the King was for a while in doubt what to do: yet at last those reasons prevailed with him which first inclined him to give the *Low-Countries* in Dowry to the *Infanta* his eldest Daughter. He considered, and foresaw how *France* would grow daily greater in power; That the Queen of *England* being now very old, was to be succeeded by the King of *Scotland*, who would unite that Kingdom to *England*, and of them both make but one of all *Great-Britain*; That from those parts the Rebellion of *Flanders* would still be more and more fomented, and still he should be in greater danger of losing all those Provinces. He likewise foresaw the danger wherewith the *Indies* might be continually threatned; and thought that if *Flanders* were reunited under an Austrian Prince, the Maritime Provinces returning again to enjoy as formerly the Commerce of the *Indies*, in that of *Spain*, they would no longer think of their new so long and so expensive Navigations. But the King seemed to be chiefly affected with the losses which the Church had already suffered in *Flanders*, and which they might again suffer at the same time together with him. And lastly it was believed, that to boot with the reasons formerly touched upon, this consideration swayed much with him, That in case his only Son should die, and the *Infanta* being in such a case to succeed him, he should do wisely to give her a Husband who was already so well known, already become a *Spaniard*, and who would cause no alteration in the affairs of *Spain*. The King being thus fully resolved, he caused the Articles of Marriage to be drawn up, the chief whereof were these.

That

That he gave the Provinces of Flanders, *together with the Country of* Burgony, *in Dowry with his Daughter, which she was to enjoy joyntly together with her Husband. That either Males or Females which should proceed from that marriage, should succeed; the men being notwithstanding to be preferred before the women, and still the first-born sons or daughters. That if the inheritance should rest in a woman, she should be bound to marry either a King, or Prince of* Spain. *That be the Heir either man or woman, they should not marry without the knowledg and consent of the King for the time being. That if the issue of the Princes of* Flanders *should fail, those Countries should revert to the Crown of* Spain. *That those Princes should be bound to make their Subjects desist from their Navigation into the* Indies. *That when they should come to their succession, they should swear to profess the Catholick Apostolick Roman religion. And that if they should fail in any of all these Conditions, those Countries should again revert to the Crown of* Spain.

These were the chief Articles. Neither in this Grant did the King reserve any thing to himself nor to any of his Successors, save only that they might intitle themselves Dukes of *Burgony*, and retain the Order of the Golden-Fleece. The Marriage being agreed upon, the King immediately sent the Articles away to the Archduke, to the end that he calling together the States-General of the obedient Provinces as soon as he could, should procure their necessary consent. The Assembly was held in *Brussels*; and after some difficulties, the Articles were approved of, with unexpressible signs of joy and Jubile by those people, to think that *Flanders* might hope to return again under its own ancient Principality. But it is not to be said how much contrary at the same time the other Provinces which had withdrawn themselves from the obedience of the Church and King of *Spain*, appeared to the sense of these Catholick Provinces: They spightfully gave out, that this would prove but a naked and vain Principality; That the *Infanta* being already well advanced in years, the *Spaniards* would with specious allurements give a barren Marriage unto *Flanders*; That therefore the new Princes would rather appear as Governors than as Princes; That being still to be maintained by Spanish Forces, the *Spaniards* would domineer over them more than ever; That in the Articles of Marriage, *Flanders* was spoke of as a Feudatary to *Spain*, and not as a Country depending upon its own Soveraignty; to witness which, those Articles were full of Conditions whereby the States of the new Princes might soon fall again to the Crown of *Spain*. But that let what will happen, the United Provinces would never change their former Resolves, nor ever acknowledge any other Empire than their own.

The Archduke prepared this mean while to go for *Spain*, whither the King was very earnest with him to come. But it behoved him first to provide for many necessities appertaining to the affairs of *Flanders*. In particular the mutiners disorders were grown to that excess, as the plague thereof infected even the best qualified Garisons. It began first to creep into all those Towns of *Picardy*, which the Spaniards were to quit in relation to the Peace. So as to restore them with satisfaction to the Garisons had cost a vast sum of mony. Afterwards in *Flanders*, the Garisons accustomed to be in the Citadels of *Cambray*, *Antwerp* and *Gaunt*, which were the three most suspitious Bulwarks of the obedient Provinces, did likewise mutiny. And this Infection in fine, was dispersed into so many other parts, as one Garison seemed to contend with another, in shewing no further inclination, but rather a repugnancy to the service of the King of *Spain*. Their want of pay might in some sort excuse them; but the corruption was much greater than it needed to have been. But at last, new monies coming from *Spain*, and the Country having furnished some, the Archduke was able to satisfie the Souldiery, and to betake himself to his intended voyage for *Spain*. In his absence the Admiral of *Aragon* was to have the chief command of the Militia; and in the entire administration, Cardinal *Andrea d' Austria*, Bishop of *Constance*, who to this end was already parted from his house in *Germany* to come for *Flanders*. The King desired very much to see his daughter married before he should die; wherefore he renewed his desires to the Archduke, that laying aside his Cardinals habit, and taking upon him the habit of a secular Prince, he should come unto him with all speed. Yet could not the Archduke hasten his journey, for to boot with the aforesaid reasons, the marriage being at the same time concluded between the Prince of *Spain*, and the Archdutchess *Margaret* of *Austria*, who was then at *Grats*, the chief Town of *Carinthia*, the Archduke was to take her from thence, together with the Archdutchess her mother, and to carry them both to *Spain*. This mean while Cardinal *Andrea* came into *Flanders* to govern those States, as you have heard, till such time as the new Princes should come. The Cardinal arrived some few days before the Archduke went thence: And having received full information concerning the affairs of those Countries; about the midst of *September* the Archduke took his journey towards *Germany*, first to visit his Brother the Emperour, and then to go for *Grats*, as aforesaid. But he was not well thereinto entred, when he heard news that the King, still more oppress with years, and sickness, died about the midst of that very month. Who was then little above 70 years old; the last of which had been very painful to him by reason of the extraordinary torment which he had suffered by the Gout.

Thus after having reigned three and forty years, dyed *Philip* the second, King of *Spain*, and Lord of so many other Kingdoms and Countries. He was little of Stature; but well proportioned; of a Noble aspect; in all the lineaments and colours thereof Austriacal. No age peradventure ever saw a graver, nor a more composed Prince. He had a capacity in Governing answerable to so large an Empire. He was notwithstanding still more inclined to peace than War. Wherefore passing into *Spain* after his last voyage and abode in *Flanders*, he kept continually there; issuing out his Commissions from that Center, in his Chamber and like an Oracle: and governing Wars at all times where it was needful by his Commanders. He had four Wives, and by three of them he had many sons and daughters. By the first he had *Charles*, whose Tragical end shews with what reason Princes thereunto constrained by just necessity, prefer the obligation due unto their States, before the love of their bloud. And by the last he had *Philip* the third, who hath given another *Philip* to the Government of the Spanish Monarchy. By nature, and much more by choice, the second was very jealous of his Authority, in so much as he inclined to severity; nor was he almost ever seen to lay aside that Majestical gravity which he at all times, and in all his actions observed, both in his speech and countenance. He was very easie to give audience; nor was he less gratious in tolerating them, than in giving them. It not being known that he ever interrupted any one, how much so ever the speaker might abuse his benignity and patience. He spent almost all the rest of his time in business; knowing that so vast an Empire required frequency in business. In the first place he was severely careful of Piety and Justice; and did always imploy his worthiest Subjects in the administration of them both, chusing them of himself unexpectedly, according as their merits did suggest unto him. His so great age and so long Government, made him try the more various turns of Fortune: and made it the more appear how equal, how constant, and how much superior to himself he was in all successes. And indeed it may be doubted whether prosperous or adverse Fortune swayed with him. For what greater felicity could he desire than to enjoy *Spain* with so much quiet? Than to command it wholly every where, with the addition of *Portugal*? Than to enjoy so peaceably his Territories in *Italy*? and see himself so much respected in those that appertained to others? than to have the memorable victory of *Lepanto* in favour of the Christians in so great a part attributed unto him? Than to have so highly maintained the reputation of his name? and made the Majesty of his Empire be still so reverenced and feared? But he accounted it his greatest fortune and glory to be held so great a defender of the Church; and that upon so many occasions, and in so many parts, recourse was had to his zeal for the favouring and protecting thereof. These and many others were his prosperities sundry times, both in Peace and in War. On the contrary, what greater adversity could befall him, than to see *Flanders* amidst so long and so horrible troubles? than to lose so much of that his most antient Patrimony? than to have his most remotest Countries of the Indies wounded by that wound? Than to have so unfortunately lost that great Armado, which was to have assaulted *England*? Nor had his designs in the revolutions of *France*, any ways answered his hopes. The domestical events of his own house may likewise be said to have been not very fortunate. Having hardly one son by so many marriages. The fatal death of the first; with the suspitions also of *Don Johns* death. So much more seeming than true, are the felicities which the vulgar do so much adore in Princes. And so much greater proof thereof do they give who are in highest places with them. But in affairs of Fortune, as most of these were, humane wisdom is not to be blamed. For what remains, so eminent were *Philip* the second's vertues, and which made him so memorable a Prince, as doubtless few like him have been found either in former or in latter times.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

PART III. BOOK V.

The Archduke goes to carry the new Queen of Spain *from* Germany. *They arrive happily at the King her husbands Court. The King hath this mean while powerful Forces in* Flanders. *But great mutinies insue; and great sums of money are spent in appeasing them. So as for want of pay the Army is wintered in the neighbouring Countries of* Cleves, *and* Westfalia, *and in other places under the jurisdiction of the* Empire. *The Princes that are interessed are sensible of this Novelty. They endeavour to receive satisfaction by way of Treaty; which not obtaining, they at last resolve to have it by force. Yet they move but slowly. The Kings Army is this mean while drawn out into the Field under the Government of the Admiral of* Artagon *General of the Horse, they advise what to fall upon; and by Cardinal* Andrea's *intervention, they resolve to enter the Island of* Bomel, *and to besiege the Town of* Bomel *which denominates that Island. But Count* Maurice *opposeth them with such Forces; as the Admiral is forced to forgot that design. The Cardinal resolves afterwards to plant a great Fort upon a narrow passage of the Island; to the end that so he might command the chiefest passes over the* Mause *and* Wahal; *and calls it the Fort of St.* Andrea. *Great haste is made in the erecting of it, and notwithstanding all the enemy could do, it is brought to perfection. The German Camp begins at last to move. It first besiegeth* Reinberg, *but soon retreats with no great honour. From thence it goes to recover the Town of* Res, *and rises from thence likewise in great disorder and confusion. Great discords happen between the Commanders thereof: So as it soon dishands, and is afterwards dissolved. The new Princes of* Flanders *part from* Spain. *They come to* Italy, *and pass the* Alpes *at* Turin. *They come to their own Country. An Interview between them and Cardinal* Andrea, *who returns into* Germany, *and the new Princes are received with all solemnity in* Bruffels.

PHILIP the second, King of *Spain* being dead, the Archduke haſtens his journey, that he might the ſooner bring a Wife to the ſucceeding *Philip* the third, to which purpoſe the Archduke was gone for *Germany*, as you have heard before. He came with all ſpeed to *Prague*, where having viſited his Brother the Emperor, he went to *Grats*; and from thence to *Italy* by the way of *Tirol*, with the new Queen, and her mother the Archdutcheſs. Pope *Clement* the eighth was then in the City of *Ferrara*, which together with the Dukedome thereof, was devolved the year before to the Apoſtolick See. The occaſion of this his neighbourhood was very acceptable to the new Queen and the Archduke, that ſo they might have their marriages celebrated by the Pope. Nor was the Pope leſs glad to celebrate them. They therefore paſſed from *Trent* with all their attendance to *Ferrara*; where being received as became ſo great Princes, both their marriages were effected by the Pope in the Cathedral Church with ſuch ſolemnity and magnificence as was moſt requiſite for ſuch an action, by ſuch a hand, between ſuch perſonages. The Kings part was ſupplied by way of Proxy, by the Archduke, and the Infanta *Iſabella*'s by the Duke of *Laſſe*, the King of *Spains* Ambaſſador in the Popes Court. The Queen departing then from that City, together with her Mother and the Archduke, they followed on their journey towards *Milan*, where having ſtaid awhile, they went to *Genua*; and taking ſhip there, they in a few days ſail arrived happily in *Spain*. Where

we will leave them, and continuing to relate the affairs of *Flanders*, we will with all brevity acquaint you with what passed there till such time as the new Princes came thither.

The Archduke at his departure had left these particular directions with the Admiral of *Aragon*, That he should endeavour to preserve the Army as much as he could till his return from *Spain*. That therefore he should shun all difficult Sieges, so not to lose his men, nor be at greater expences. That by all means he should endeavour to get some good pass over the *Rhine*, that so if it were possible, he might enter the Enemies Country on the other side, and quarter his Army there. Which if he could not do, that then he should strive to quarter it in the neutral Countries of the Duke of *Cleves*, and others of the like nature thereabouts. The Archduke left this last condition in particular; to the end that such quarters might serve for pay to the Army; the needs whereof he could not satisfie otherwise, by reason of the vast sums of mony which the mutinies in so many parts had exhausted. To boot that the Archduke was necessitated to be at great expence by reason of so long and costly a journey, in which he had carried a flourishing Court along with him, both for his own honour, and that he might attend the new Queen with all the greater magnificency.

The Admiral having received these directions, and the Archduke being gone, the Admiral went immediately to the Army. Not many months before 4000 Spaniards were come to *Flanders*, to supply the Foot which were wanting in the old brigades. One of which being formerly commanded by the Campmaster *Velasco*, who was now made General of the Artillery, was given to *Gaspero Zapena*. The Army was then composed of 7000 Spanish Foot, 3000 Italians, 2000 Burgonians, 1000 Irish, and 7000 Germans and Walloons; and to these were added 2500 Horse, all very gallant men. The Army past over the *Mause* near *Ruremond*, and continuing its march drew near *Orsoy*, which is situated three hours journey above *Reinberg*, upon the left side of the *Rhine*. The Admirals design was to possess himself of that pass, and to fortifie it; and raising a Fort upon the other side, to secure the passage over the *Rhine* in that place. The Town of *Orsoy* belonged to the State of *Cleves*; and therefore, it being a neutral Country he would not willingly have used any violence in entring into it: but it could not be effected otherwise, by reason of some opposition which was made; which soon ceased, and the Admiral entred, causing all fair usage to be observed. When he was Master of the Town of *Orsoy*, Count *Frederick di Berg*, who then supplyed the place of Camp-master General, past over to the other side of the River to raise the aforesaid Fort as soon as might be on that shore. He had such men given him as were requisite to secure the work; nor was he wanting in using all diligence to perfect it; yet he was forced to imploy above a months time about it; during which the Admiral kept still in *Orsoy*, and quartered his Army thereabouts. When this pass was secured, it was judged by the Council of War that that of *Reinberg* would have been much better, both in respect of the place it self, and for its nearness to *Skincks Sconce*. This Town was in the Enemies hands, and well guarded, as it was known; and by the Arch-dukes direction the Admiral was to shun Sieges; yet the Council thought that this of *Reinberg* might soon be ended; for that the united Provinces had no Army in the Field, nor could they muster Forces any ways able to oppose the Kings: wherefore about the beginning of *October*, the Admiral incamped before *Reinberg*.

This Town, as hath been said, stands on the left shore of the River; it is but of a small circuit, it hath a Castle which guards the River, and an Island made by the River in that very place. For the greater security of the Town, there stood a Fort in the Island, which Fort was likewise defended by the Town: on the left side of the River did the Admiral quarter, with the greatest strength of the Army; and on the right side Count *Frederick di Berg*, with those that were already with him. And because it was thought fit first to get the Fort within the Island, they began to play upon it cruelly from the side where Count *Frederick* was, till such time as the Camp-masters *Lewis d'Villiers* with his Spanish Brigado, and *Barlota* with his Walloons entred the Island on that side; and *Carlo Colonna* and *Estenley* entred it likewise on this side with their Spanish and Irish Brigadoes. Then, the Fort was played upon nearer hand with regular batteries; and the Kings men prepared already to fall on; when they found that those within, not willing to abide the assault, had abandoned the Fort: which being taken they hoped soon to take the Town; for the Army had already straitly besieged it on all sides, and having advanced their Trenches, prepared their Batteries, that accordingly they might come to the assault. But by a strange accident, they came by the Town sooner than they could have hoped. All the Gun-powder, whereof there was good store, was kept in a Chamber of one of the Towers of the Castle. It so fell out that a Cannon-Bullet, one of many which were continually shot from without, both against the Town and the Castle, entred by a window into the Chamber where the powder was kept, and gave suddenly fire thereunto: which caused so terrible an Earth-quake, not only in the Castle and circuit of the Town, but in all parts thereabouts, as the very river was much agitated, and many ships which were upon that shore were likely to be drowned: the houses in the Fields were shaken thereby: great stones and great store of Ashes caused by the fire fell down: but the force thereof was particularly such against the Castle, as it blew it almost wholly up into the air. The Governor of Town with his

his Wife and Children were thereby ſlain, and great was the number of others that periſh'd in the Caſtle and in the houſes near unto it. This made the Defendants quite loſe their courage; wherefore they treated that very night of ſurrendring, and afterwards marched out of the Town upon honorable conditions.

The Kings Forces being entred into *Reinberg*, all the adjacent Countries were put into great terror. A little below *Reinberg*, on the ſame ſide ſtood *Burich*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Cleves*: This Town immediately accepted four Foot colours, which were ſent thither by the Admiral. Over againſt *Burich*, on the other ſide lyes *Weſel*, one of the beſt inhabited, moſt merchandiſing, and beſt ſeated Towns of as many as ſtand upon the *Rhine*; which River runs by the beſt part thereof, and on another ſide the *Lippa*, a noble River falls into it. *Weſel* was likewiſe in former times under the Dukedom of *Cleves*: but being infected with Hereſie, and by that means having brought it ſelf into liberty, it hath ever ſince maintained it ſelf therein, particularly by imbracing the Sect of Calviniſm, as that which is moſt oppoſite to Monarchy. The Townſmen being ſore afraid when they ſaw ſo great an Army approach it, that if they ſhould receive in a Spaniſh Garriſon, the City might fall into the Kings hands, or elſe that he might reſtore it to the houſe of *Cleves*, they treated preſently of compounding by money for their not receiving in of Souldiers: And thinking that to promiſe free liberty for the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion hereafter in *Weſel*, would be of great help to them in their Treaty, they added this ſecond offer to the former. The Admiral accepted of them both, willingly; ſo to get, in ſo great a ſtrait ſuch a ſum of money, which was agreed to be 50000 Crowns, as alſo that ſo great an advantage might be got in ſuch a City for the Catholick Religion: the monies being paid, and divers Prieſts and Votaries being admitted into the City who might exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Rites, thoſe Citizens were freed from being burthened with a Garriſon. It was hoped that the Catholick Religion, and the exerciſe thereof would daily increaſe in *Weſel*, wherefore the Apoſtolick Nuncio for that coaſt of the *Rhine*, who uſually reſides in *Colen*, went thither, and was there received with great reſpect and honour: though the event ſhewed afterwards, that all this was done fraudulently, only to give way to the preſent neceſſity, as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place.

The Admiral paſſed with his Army from *Burich*, to the other ſide of the River; but very ſlowly; for they had not as yet made a Bridge of Boats, as they intended to doe. The Admiral would not therefore longer delay providing of winter-quarters for the Souldiery. The Town of *Res* lies ſix leagues from *Weſel*, upon the ſame ſide on the lower part of the River. It is one of the beſt Towns in thoſe parts; and the Inhabitants for the moſt part are Catholicks. The Admiral endeavoured by fair means to get ſome Souldiers into it: but the Townſmen refuſing to receive any, he was forced to uſe threats, and brought his Artillery before the Town; at the ſight whereof they granted the deſired Quarter. The City of *Emrich* did after the ſame manner receive likewiſe a Garriſon. This is the greateſt, and moſt Catholical Town in all the Dukedom of *Cleves*; and not above three leagues from *Res*. *Emrich* ſtands very near the River *Yſel*, upon which the United Provinces had many important places. The firſt which preſented it ſelf was *Desburg*, the taking whereof would have afforded the Kings Camp conveniency of entring into the *Velo*, an Enemies Country, which was very fruitful, and where they very fain would have been; and which was alſo one of the ſtraiteſt Orders that the Archduke had left at his departure. But the Enemy fearing this, had cauſed Count *Maurice* to come to thoſe parts with good Forces. Conſidering therefore what oppoſition they were to meet withal, and the difficulties of the Siege it ſelf, and eſpecially the Year being ſo far advanced, the Council of War did in no ſort think it fit to make that attempt. The Admiral turned therefore againſt *Dotechem*, a little weak Town not far from thence, but commodious for the better ſecuring the quarters in *Weſtphalia*. The Town was plaid upon for ſome few hours, and the Kings men prepared already for the aſſault: but the Defendants without any further oppoſition yielded of themſelves. The Caſtle near *Sculemburg* fell alſo into *Velaſco*'s hands, the General of the Artillery; and therefore very fitting to preſerve the acquiſition of *Dotechem*. And becauſe ſo great rains had fallen, as the Army could keep nō longer in the field, the Admiral reſolved to quarter his men in the beſt Towns of *Weſtphalia*, as he had done in the Dukedom of *Cleves*. And he ſoon had his deſire: For fair means not prevailing, ſuch force as was thought neceſſary without much difficulty was likewiſe uſed in that Country. Yet it coſt the Kings men ſome blood to get into ſome places: And particularly, as *Velaſco* would have ſtorm'd the Town of *Dorſt*, he himſelf was wounded by a Muſquet ſhot in the arm. The Admiral choſe *Res* for his own Winter quarters. He placed the Count *Bucquoy* for Governor of *Emrick*; which being ſo near *Schink*'s Sconce, and other places belonging to the Enemy, had ſo much the more need of a valiant Commander, as the Count was; though not long after being too forward upon a certain occaſion of Fight, he fell into the Enemies hands and was taken priſoner.

Whilſt theſe affairs were in hand, the year 1599 began. And in the interim it was noiſed every where, that the Kings Army was by force quartered in the Country of *Cleves*, and in *Weſtphalia*,

Weſtphalia, both which belong to *Germany*. In former times, thoſe parts, as alſo the Countries of *Juliers*, *Liege*, *Colen* and *Trevers*, and other adjacent parts, were ſuffered to ſtand Neuters both by the Spaniards and the United Provinces, both of them receiving friendly Quarter only by the way of paſſage. Wherefore ſeeing the Neutral right violated ſo openly, and in ſo many places; it is not to be ſaid how much all parties intereſſed were offended. A good part of *Weſtphalia* is ſubject to ſome Eccleſiaſtical Principalities, eſpecially to thoſe of *Munſter* and of *Paterborn*, which were at that time enjoyed by Duke *Erneſtus* of *Bavaria*, Archbiſhop and Elector of *Colen*, and alſo Biſhop of *Liege*. The Dukedom of *Cleves* was alſo under its own peculiar ſecular Prince; who being at the preſent ſomewhat ſhallow-witted, ſuffered himſelf to be governed by his Officers. Theſe two Princes were moſt ſcandalized at the Kings Army, as being thereby moſt injured. But the Elector of *Colen*, by reaſon of the good correſpondency which he had always held with the King of *Spain* in the affairs of *Flanders*, inclined not to reſcent himſelf by Arms, nor to joyn his Forces with thoſe of the other intereſſed Princes: Wherefore he could have deſired that remedy might have been had fairly by the way of Treaty. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Cleves* Officers, were it either of themſelves, or that they were won to do ſo by the other Princes, were of opinion that they muſt joyn their Forces and openly fight with them: and that making up a good body of an Army, they muſt at laſt drive the Kings men out of thoſe places of theirs which they had poſſeſt themſelves of; and by this preſent remedy ſecure themſelves from all future invaſions. This advice was chiefly given by the Elector Palatine of *Rhine*, whoſe Territories lying very near thoſe parts where the Kings men were lodged; and knowing how much his family had ever favoured the inſurrection and hereſie of the Low-Countries, was therefore more affrighted than uſually at this ſucceſs. The Landtgrave of *Heſſe* ſeemed to be agitated equally out of the ſame conſiderations of neighbourhood and hereſie, nor were ſome Hans Towns upon the *Rhine* leſs moved out of the ſame reaſons. It being then made a common cauſe, chiefly between the Duke of *Cleves*, the Elector Palatine, the Landtgrave of *Heſſe* and many other Counts and Lords of quality, who were comprehended under the circle of *Weſtphalia*, they all endeavoured to draw the other circles of the Empire into the ſame cauſe, or at leaſt the neareſt circles, which were conſequently moſt concern'd. Great was the commotion every where; but it being thought fitteſt firſt to uſe Treaty before Arms, recourſe was had unto the Emperor, who was eaſily perſwaded to uſe his Authority, in ſuch manner, as upon this occaſion he thought beſt. He therefore publiſhed a ſtrict Edict, wherein he commanded the Admiral and all the other heads of the Kings Army, that they ſhould forthwith reſtore thoſe Towns which they had taken, and march with all their men out of all ſuch places as did any ways belong unto the Empire. He mediated the ſame likewiſe very much with Cardinal *Andrea*; but the neceſſities of the Army not being otherwiſe to be provided for at that time, the Cardinal and Admiral alleadged many excuſes by way of juſtification; and ſtill endeavoured to enjoy that conveniency which they received by being ſo quartered. The aforeſaid Princes and Hans Towns had often before, according to the uſe of *Germany*, had meetings to treat of this common cauſe: but being deſirous to reſolve at laſt on ſomewhat, their laſt meeting was appointed at *Confluenza*, a Town belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, and ſeated where the *Moſel* falls into the *Rhine*. Here the Deputies who met, ſtriving who ſhould moſt complain againſt the Spaniſh Forces, they in deſpiteful terms exaggerated how worthily the German Empire was then dealt withal.

That in former times the very name thereof was reverenced in all parts. And when was it ever known that the neutrality profeſt in her Countries neighbouring upon Flanders, *touching the Forces of* Spain *and their Adverſaries, was openly violated? That now the Spaniſh Forces, breaking all Laws, both of particular neutrality and common juſtice, had not only poſſeſt themſelves of one or two of their Towns, but had haſtily invaded whole States. Say money was wanting to maintain them; muſt* Germany *therefore ſupply them? and by the eſtates of her miſerable people ſatisfie the vaſt immeaſurate deſires of others? That they had firſt recourſe to* Ceſar; *but reaped little good thereby. That this occaſion ſhewed, as it was ſeen in ſo many others, of what advantage it was to the houſe of* Auſtria *in* Spain, *to enjoy the ſucceſſion of the Empire as hereditary, from that other branch of the ſame houſe in* Germany: *and that therefore fair means having done no good in ſo weighty an occurrency, they muſt now reſolutely betake themſelves to arms. That if ſo ſmall a part of the Lower* Germany *had thrown off the Spaniſh yoke, how much more eaſily might it be denyed to be received by ſo great, ſo powerful, and ſo majeſtical a body as was the Upper* Germanies.

With theſe and the like bitter complaints, the Deputies raged againſt the aboveſaid Novelty of the Spaniſh Arms. Nor did they any longer contain themſelves. Monies and Men being promiſed according to the abilities of every one that was concerned, whereby to raiſe an Army, they reſolved to put it ſpeedily in execution: and even then they choſe the Count *di Lippa* to be the head thereof. He was one of the chief Lords of *Weſtphalia*; and was already Lieutenant-General of all the Forces of that Circle. This was the reſolution taken at this meeting. But when they were parted, their actions bore no correſpondency with their words. So as the Army was very ſlow in being brought into the Field, as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place.

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The Cardinal *Andrea* had this mean while with all fervency taken upon him the administration of the Government. According to the use of other Governors, he had taken up his usual residence at *Brussels*; whither in the beginning of the year some of the Elector of *Cullen*, and Duke of *Cleves* Deputies were come unto him from their Masters. Who added their own intercessions to those of the Emperor, to the end that the Cardinal might take the speedier course to remedy the novelties committed in their Ecclesiastical and Temporal States. They were honorably received by the Cardinal, and sent back with good hopes. And really he seemed to be very sensible of such a disorder; yet not being able to overcome the necessity which the Army was in, he must himself yield to the same Force. The Elector of *Cullen* for the aforesaid reasons was still for the way of Treaty; but the Duke of *Cleves*, or to say better, his Officers by whom he was governed, quickly falling from their desired hopes, had already resolved together with the rest that were concerned to take up Arms. The Spanish Garrisons which were in mutiny in the Castles of *Antwerp* and *Gaunt*, could not yet receive satisfaction. Therefore the Cardinal went in the beginning of *February* to *Antwerp*, that he himself might see those payments made, and to see whether he could borrow so much money as might in some sort satisfie the Armies necessity, and make them sooner go out of those States which appertained to the Empire. Both those Garrisons were paid. And because in that of *Gaunt* they were so modest as not to receive any Souldier from without, the same Garrison was therefore permitted to guard the Castle. On the contrary, that of *Antwerp* had used great insolencies, both by shamefully driving out the Governor *Augustine Messia*; and in receiving in many other Spaniards, to those of the usual guard, and in being extream in their demands of pay. Wherefore it not being thought fit to leave such an excess unpunished, the Cardinal changing the Garrison, caused Proclamation to be made, That upon pain of life all those that had been of the former Garrison, should within fifteen days be gon out of all the Provinces which were obedient to the King of *Spain*. Nor did their punishment cease here: for, for the odious name of Mutiners, and of the Kings Army, against which all the neighbours were then so incensed, and for that it was said they went away full of money, the most of them were seised upon by the way, pillaged, and slain.

When the Cardinal had put a new Garrison into the Citadel of *Antwerp*, and had the luck to raise some considerable sums of money, he went from thence to *Mastrick*; where he was met by the Admiral, and the other chief Officers of the Army. And long discourse was had touching what was to be done, when the Army should go into the Field. But there was no resolution then put on, because it was too early in the year. About the end of *March* the Cardinal parted from thence, with all the rest towards the Town of *Res*, where the Admiral had made a bridg of Boats over the *Rhine*. And having tarried some days there, he went to *Emrich*, and threw the bridg over thereabouts. The Souldiers by reason of their so good quarters were but little lessened in their number; so as they might still make a body of 18000 Foot, and 2300 Horse.

The time of drawing into the Field being then come, they first consulted to what sort of enterprise they should apply themselves. *Schinks* Sconce is some two leagues beneath *Emrick*, the situation whereof we have described in another place, when *Martin Schink* from whom it had its name propounded it to Count *Maurice*, and had afterwards the charge of seeing it built, and of keeping it. But we will here touch upon somwhat of new, and will likewise give you a particular notice of the Island called *Bomel*, which is not far from thence; because the Kings Army was then imployed in those parts. The *Upper-Germany* is for a long tract of ground watered first by the *Rhine*. Here as it comes nearer the *Low-Countries*, not being able to keep longer within its former Channel, by reason of so many other Rivers which fall every where into it, it divides it self into two branches, each of them almost of equal greatness with it self; These two branches frame the ancient Island of the *Batavians*, and at this hour it continues the corrupted name of *Bettow*. That of the right hand doth for a good space keep the name of *Rheine*, till assuming the name of *Ledh*, it goes with other waters, and with other names thorow *Holland*, till it loses it self in the Sea. The left branch as soon as it parts from the *Rheine*, takes upon it the name of *Wahal*, continuing which name for a long space, it at last joyns it self with the *Mause*. But these two Rivers are not well joyned, when they part again, and do not rejoyn till they have made an Island of some good circuit, which is called *Bomel*; taking its name from the chief Town therein. Having formed this Island, these two enter not long after joyntly into *Holland*; where together with other Rivers dispersing themselves into divers Gulfs, and carrying as it were new Seas into the Sea, they at last by many spacious mouths disgorge themselves and fall into the Ocean. Upon the very point of this great Island of *Bettow* stands *Sebinks* Sconce, and is raised there with so much advantage, both of Nature and Art, as greater is not peradventure seen any where else. Four leagues lower upon the Banks of *Wahal* is the City of *Nimingben* seated, with her great Fort on the right hand bank. Descending much lower from thence, where the *Mause* and *Wahal* meet first together, you find the Fort *Worden*, and presently the other point of the Island called *Bomel*, formed by the *Mause* and *Wahal*, in manner aforesaid. The

Town of *Bomel* ſtands upon the banks of *Wahal*, about the midſt of the Iſland; on that ſide the River it ſelf ſecures it ſufficiently. And it is provided with neceſſary defences on the other ſide: And this may ſuffice for the aboveſaid deſcription.

Cardinal *Andrea* not willing to keep longer out of the field, muſtered the whole Army, about the end of *April*, in the parts of *Rheine* towards *Emrich*: and to ſatisfie them in ſome degree, gave them one pay. And upon diſcourſe what was to be undertaken, the Council of War were of ſeveral opinions. They all agreed that in the firſt place *Wahal* was to be paſt over, and that they were to advance as far as they could into the Enemies Country. But divers were the opinions concerning what they ſhould fall upon. The Admiral of *Aragon* was very earneſt for the ſtraitning of *Schinks* Sconce.

And what greater acquiſition (ſaid he) *can we make? It is the moſt important ſeat of the* Rhine. *By this Key the paſſage of greateſt conſequence thereabouts is opened and ſhut; ſo as when we ſhall have fixt our foot there, we may endeavor other acquiſitions in thoſe parts, and hope to atchieve them with much ſafety. When we ſhall be entred firſt into the Iſland, we muſt draw a great Trench from one branch of the River to the other, ſo as the Fort ſhall not be able to be ſuccoured by Land. If the Enemy will ſend any relief by way of the Rivers, they muſt ſend it againſt the ſtream; ſo the effect thereof may eaſily be hindred by armed Barks on both ſides. Such a Siege conſidered with all its circumſtances, will doubtleſs prove difficult; but when it ſhall be effected, as it is to be hoped it will be; the more difficulties we meet with, the greater will our honor be.*

So many weighty Objections were made againſt this the Admirals opinion, both for bringing the Army into the Iſland, by reaſon of oppoſition which might be made by the Enemy; and for their not being able to keep out ſuccour by Water, wherein the Enemy did ſo far exceed them in power, as many of the Council thought it would prove a deſperate Siege. They inſtanced in the Duke of *Parma* for example, who when the Sconce was hardly tenable, would never endeavour to take it. Others adviſed to go at the ſame time againſt *Nimingben*, and againſt its Fort on the contrary ſhore. Thinking that ſo great an Army might undertake both theſe Sieges at once. But in this, the oppoſition which they ſhould find in paſſing the *Wahal*, to beſiege the Fort was conſidered. As alſo that the Duke of *Parma* was fain down before it, and forced to raiſe his Siege. And that the difficulties in beſieging *Nimingben* would afterwards prove much greater. A City of a large circuit, and which as it was well munited, would be well defended. Others finally propounded, that paſſing lower over the *Mauſe*, as they might eaſily do, the Army ſhould march into the Iſland of *Bomel*, and ſhould try to take the Town, ſituated, as hath been ſaid, upon the Banks of *Wahal*. Thinking that by the taking thereof they might command the whole Iſland, as alſo the Paſs of that River.

The City of *Balduke* which was then in the Kings hands, is very near the Iſland of *Bomel*, Wherefore it was conſidered that the making of this purchaſe would be very advantagious for that City: and that it might be the better kept when it ſhould be united to that Frontier. The Cardinal inclined to this reſolution: and keeping it very ſecret, it was reſolved that to couzen and divert the Enemy, they would ſeem to beſiege *Schincks* Sconce. Count *Frederick di Berg* parted thus from *Emrick* with 7000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, and came almoſt within Canon-ſhot of the Sconce on that ſide: and the Cardinal paſſing over to the other ſide of the River, with the reſt of the Army, made the Admiral advance in like manner towards the Fort. They then began to play upon it furiouſly from both ſides with many pieces of Artillery: not being able notwithſtanding to do any thing but batter and indamage it. Upon this motion of the Kings Camp, Count *Maurice* made his move alſo, and came to within ſight of the Fort. He doubted that the Kings men would effectually paſs over *Wahal*, and get into the Iſland to begirt the Fort by Land. Wherefore he immediately ſent away a great number of Pioniers, that they might raiſe a Trench towards the ſuſpected ſhore, whereby the paſſage of the Kings men might be the more impeded. He afterwards manned it ſufficiently for defence, and ſent 800 Engliſh into the Fort. And paſſing himſelf afterwards with a great part of his Army into the Iſland, he totally ſecured it. The Kings men continued notwithſtanding to play inceſſantly upon it; nor were thoſe of the Fort leſs ſlow in letting fly at them. And becauſe the ſeat thereof is low, Count *Maurice* cauſed a great Platform to be raiſed without, and placed ſome great Canon upon it, whereby he ſo much indamaged the Kings men on that ſide the Admiral was, as he ſlew above four hundred of them in a few days.

The Enemies Camp being by the Spaniards cunning thus imployed, the Cardinal had in the interim ſent the Campmaſters, *Zapena*, *Eſtenly*, and *Barlotta*, with their Spaniſh, Iriſh, and Walloon Brigadoes, and with ſome Horſe commanded by *Henry di Berg*, to try whether they could get into the Iſland or no, by paſſing over the *Wahal* on any ſide a little lower. Theſe made up the number of 4000 foot, and 600 horſe. The Cardinals Orders were, That they ſhould endeavour to paſs the River two leagues above a certain Town called *Tiel*, where for divers circumſtances it was thought more feiſable. The good event thereof conſiſted chiefly in ſecreſie. But *Maurice* having an eye every where, got notice of it: and ſending ſome armed Boats down from *Nimingben*, he ordered them to make fitting oppoſition by the River. Where-

fore

fore theſe men, when they found their deſign diſcovered, were very much in ſuſpence, and afterwards varied much amongſt themſelves touching what they were to take in hand. *Zapena* was of opinion, that howſoever they were to try the paſſage, and *Eſtenly* was of the ſame mind; on the contrary *Barlotta* thought it would be to no purpoſe, and that to endeavour it, would be the loſs of many men. They notwithſtanding put ſome of their Boats into the River, and from the Shore-ſide ſunk three of the Enemies Boats, with the Artillery which they brought with them. And endeavoured to get with their men which were imbarked, to the contrary Shore. But finding great obſtacles both by land and water, they ſaw they could not make the paſſage. From thence the Kings men went down the River, with their Boats and the reſt of their Souldiers and proviſions, on the left Shore. And the Enemy did the like on the other ſide, that they might be the readier to meet with them every where. The Cardinal had given order that if they could not paſs the *Wahal*, they ſhould at unawares aſſail the Fort *Worden*, and endeavour to take it: which if they could not do, that then the Campmaſters were to uſe all diligence to get into the Iſland of *Bomel*, and to ſecure themſelves there of the Paſs in the beſt manner they could. As for getting the Fort, they had no hopes to effect it, conſidering what the Enemy had done. Wherefore leaving *Wahal*, and carting their Boats again, they went forthwith towards the Iſland of *Bomel*; and coming to the *Mauſe* about the Village *Emple*, they paſt it with ſuch ſecrecy, as they ſcarce met with any impediment. At their entrance into the Iſland, they took the Caſtle *Hell*, which was neareſt the Shore; and did thereby ſo much the more ſecure themſelves of the Paſs. Then coming again out of the Iſland, according to the directions which the Cardinal had firſt given them, they went againſt the Fort *Crevecoeur*, which was not far from thence. This Fort was very prejudicial to *Balduke*, becauſe it ſhut up the mouth of a River, which runs through that City, and which not above a league from the Walls thereof, falls into the *Mauſe*. The Cardinal therefore intending to make himſelf Maſter thereof, willed the aforeſaid Campmaſters, that when they ſhould have ſecured the paſs whereby to enter into the Iſland, they ſhould encamp before that Fort. Which when they had done, and had given the Cardinal notice of it, and of all that they had done beſides; the Kings Camp roſe preſently from before *Schincks Sconce*, and went to before *Crevecoeur*; which was not in a condition of making any conſiderable reſiſtance; wherefore the Army was no ſooner quartered about it, and had threatned it with batteries and aſſaults, but that thoſe within, expecting no longer, and without making almoſt any reſiſtance, quitted the Fort. The Cardinal was this mean while gone to *Balduke*, to make divers proviſions there for the buſineſs of *Bomel*. And therefore the Admiral after the taking of *Crevecoeur*, turned towards the Iſland of *Bomel*, and entred thereinto with all his Army about the beginning of *May*. Great banks are made all along the ſides of thoſe Rivers, to defend the fields which are ſubject to inundation.

The Army parting thus from the *Mauſe*, marched upon the bank on the right hand, and bending towards the *Wahal*, ſtaid in the Village *Hervin*, which ſtands upon the ſame River, in which were many of the enemies men of War; For Count *Maurice* had diſcovered the Cardinals intention, and therefore had not omitted to prepare ſuch obſtacles as were fitting by water, that the Kings men might find more difficulty in paſſing it. They notwithſtanding endeavoured by their Artillery to drive away thoſe Veſſels, and did ſomewhat prejudice them; but they putting themſelves into ſome creeks that were in the River, the Kings men could never free themſelves from that oppoſition. They paſt from *Hervin*; and drawing nearer *Bomel*, they quartered their Army in ſundry parts: one part thereof was lodged upon the bank; and the reſt more inward, according to the opportunity of the ſituations. *Maurice* was this mean while come with all ſpeed, and with the moſt of his Army; and quartering on the other ſide of the River in the face of *Bomel*, he had ſent 1000 Foot thereinto for the better defence thereof. Here with all diligence he placed two bridges over the River; the one above the Town, the other beneath it: the one was of ſmall boats for the Foot to paſs over; and the other of greater flat-bottomed boats which ſerved for the Horſe, and commodity of Carriages: and this was ſo broad as two Carts might paſs one by another upon it. The Bridges being thrown over, he ſent 3000 Foot more, and 400 Horſe for the defence of *Bomel*: and the Town not being capable of ſo many men, he quartered them without the Town; and did ſo ſhelter them with Trenches, Flankers, Redouts, Ditches and *ſtrade coperte*, as *Bomel* of a little Town, ſeemed ſuddenly as if it were a large City. The Kings men were very much indamaged by the Enemies Artillery, before could ſufficiently fence themſelves on the Rivers ſide: For being at the ſame time thundred upon both by thoſe of *Bomel*, and by thoſe that were placed upon the contrary ſhore and in the ſhips that were in the River, they knew not well what to do, nor how to defend themſelves. But at laſt, ſuch Rampiers of Earth as were requiſite being made, and many Pieces of Artillery being placed upon the bank, they likewiſe began to play furiouſly upon the Town of *Bomel*, and upon all thoſe Works wherein the Enemies Forces were lodged without the Town; nor was the damage little which they did them, till they ſheltred themſelves better,

This mean while the Enemies whole Army was met together; which was ſo increaſed as it amounted to 18000 Foot, and above 3000 Horſe. And *Maurice* having quartered them in di-

vers Towns and Villages on the ſame ſhore that he was, ſeemed not any thing to value the Siege which the Royaliſts had undertaken; nay rather, his men, which were in ſuch numbers in *Bomel*, reſolving rather to play the parts of aſſailants than aſſailed, began to iſſue out againſt the Kings men, and to annoy them in ſundry ſorts both day and night. They notwithſtanding forbore not to advance with their Trenches, covering them as well as they could, and ſecuring them better than formerly by oblique Windings and Redouts. But the beſieged, willing to uſe all their force to the contrary, ſallied out on divers ſides, about the midſt of *May*, againſt the Royaliſts; and in ſuch numbers, as it might be thought rather an intended Battel than a Sally. The *Italians* and *Walloons* were quartered upon the Bank above *Bomel*; the *Spaniards* in certain Paſtures; and the *Germans*, *Burgonians*, and *Iriſh* were quartered on another ſide. The Enemy being recruited by new men which Count *Maurice* had ſent unto them from the other ſide the River, ſallied out about Noon at once, againſt all the aforeſaid quarters; and that they might the more endamage that which was quartered upon the Bank, they placed above 30 Barks loaded with Artillery in the River juſt over againſt it. The firſt aſſault was made on that ſide by 3000 Foot, and 400 Horſe; and 4000 Foot, with a proportionable number of Horſe, divided into two parts, gave on upon the other quarters. The Kings Camp was very vigilant; ſo as the Enemy came not ſo ſuddenly out, but they were ready to receive them. The fight was therefore very reſolute on both ſides; the Enemy ſtriving to get into the Kings works, and the others valiantly defending them. Nor was the buſineſs leſs hotly diſputed between the Horſe: nor did the Artillery of both parties forbear to play at the ſame inſtant violently. But the Enemy at laſt not being able to have the better of the Royaliſts, they reſolved after three hours fight to retreat. The number of the ſlain and of the wounded was much alike of both ſides; and the action well conſidered was cauſe of greater noiſe, than loſs of blood.

The Enemy returned the next night to aſſault the Kings men; thinking that they ſhould find them the leſs provided, for that they would not in likelihood expect ſo ſuddenly ſuch an aſſault. The charge was notwithſtanding only upon the *Italians* and *Walloons*: And truely it came ſo unexpected, as at the firſt falling on many of both thoſe Nations were ſlain and wounded; and *Avalos* the Italian Campmaſter was in particular ſorely hurt. The Enemy had the better of the Aſſault for a while: But the Kings men rallying together, and reaſſuming courage, did ſo well defend their Trenches, as the Enemy not being able to injure them, retired. They were notwithſtanding much inheartned by finding their numbers ſtill ſo increaſe, ſo as within three days after they returned to make a briſk aſſault upon the Kings men, and reſolved to make it by night, to the end that it might come ſo much the more unlooked for, and be the more dreadful. Monſieur *de la Nue*, was come from *France*, with many Hugonots, to ſerve the United Provinces. He was ſon to the late Monſieur *de la Nue*, a ſo cry'd up Commander, and of whoſe valour you have often heard in divers parts of this Hiſtory. This man in his military comportment proved himſelf worthy to be the ſon of ſuch a father. Count *Maurice* therefore gave him the chief charge of this new ſally; and would have it performed chiefly by the French Foot, together with a ſelect number of Engliſh, which in all might come to about 5000 Foot. The aſſault was chiefly to be made againſt the Works which the Kings men continued to make upon the bank, and in thoſe neighbouring parts. *La Nue* therefore ſallied out couragiouſly, and aſſiſted by a fog, gave ſo fiercely on upon the Royaliſts, as he put them in diſorder. The Walloons had the Van, with the Camp-maſter *Achicurt*, who had then the command thereof: He and his men failed not to make all poſſible reſiſtance; till being himſelf ſorely wounded, and the Enemies force ſtill increaſing, he was forced to retire, and to crave a new recruit of men. But the noiſe of the Aſſault had already cauſed thoſe of the Royaliſts who were neareſt hand to move, and had given the Alarm to thoſe that were further off, ſo as the whole Army was in a readineſs to fight. Some Companies of Spaniſh and Italian Foot were to come firſt in to the aſſiſtance of the Walloons. Theſe ſtopping the fury of the Enemy, did ſtoutly ſuſtain them; and freſh men coming in, they ſecured their Trenches. And the Enemy deſpairing of doing any further damage, when the day began to break, retreated in very good order; being purſued by the Kings men to beneath the Fortifications and Walls of *Bomel*, and the fight continuing ſtill fervent on both ſides. The Siege had by this time been laid twenty days, and no conſiderable progreſs had been made. And it was plainly ſeen, that the enterpriſe would prove totally vain; ſince they could not keep the beſieged Town from being relieved, and that Count *Maurice* was thereabouts with ſo great Forces. The chief end of the Kings men in endeavouring to get *Bomel*, was that they might have a ſtrong hold upon the *Wahal*, ſo as they might command the Paſs of that River, and might introduce themſelves into the heart of the Enemies country, and eſpecially into *Holland*.

Deſpairing then of the enterpriſe of *Bomel*, the Cardinal propounded, that a Fort Royal might be raiſed in ſome part of the ſame Iſland, whereby they might reap the ſame end. Where the *Mauſe* and *Wahal* met firſt together, and then immediately part again, they ſhape a certain point of ground, which dilating it ſelf a little, doth afterwards grow ſtraiter; from thence doth the Iſland afterwards enlarge, and extend it ſelf, till the two aforeſaid Rivers meet again

and

and incloſe it: it was therefore propounded unto the Cardinal that a great Fort ſhould be raiſed in that narroweſt neck of ground, by which they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of all that Avenue which lay between the one River and the other; which might prove a great curb to the Enemy, and which would keep them more in awe than that of *Schink* would have done, for that it was nearer their very bowels than the other was. The Cardinal was mightily herewithal pleaſed; and cauſing it to be well diſcuſſed in the Council of War, it was with a general applauſe agreed upon. Nor herewithal contented, he would go with ſome of the chief Commanders to the very place it ſelf, and there put on his laſt reſolve; which was, That by all means the Fort muſt be raiſed and with all ſpeed be begun. The Cardinal reſolving upon this, preſently raiſed the Camp from before *Bomel*, which was done about the beginning of *June*; and the charge of ſeeing that effected which was reſolved on, was chiefly given to *Velaſco* General of the Artillery. The Siege being abandoned, the Camp removed to the Village of *Hervin*, and came coaſting from thence to the place where the Fort was intended to be built. Count *Maurice*, having diſcovered the deſign, paſt over likewiſe a little higher upon the contrary ſhore, and ſtaid juſt over againſt the Kings Camp: He afterwards placed many pieces of Artillery upon that ſide, and with them began immediately to annoy the Kings men who were to begin the raiſing of the Fort on the other ſide of the ſame *Wahal*. The like was done by *Velaſco* on the other ſide againſt the Enemy. And becauſe the Artillery plaid furiouſly from both ſides, *Maurice* raiſed a great Trench on his ſide for his better defence; and added thereunto a great Platform, ſo large at the top, as 20 Pieces of Canon might be placed upon it. *Velaſco* put himſelf in the ſame poſture on his ſide, with a like great Trench and Platform. Inſomuch as the like Offences and Defences were made at the ſame time by both Parties. But before theſe were ſufficiently raiſed, the Artillery and Muskets did ſo inceſſantly play from both ſides, as more than 1200 men were ſlain or wounded in both Camps. *Velaſco* having at laſt ſufficiently fenced himſelf, great haſt was made in raiſing the Fort. It was planted (as we have ſaid) in the narroweſt part of that point of Land: Two royal Baſtions were raiſed towards the *Wahal*, two the like towards the *Mauſe*, and a fifth towards the Land. All theſe were well ſuited with Curtains, and the Rivers were to ſerve for Ditches on the ſides, the other parts being to be munited with other large and deep Ditches in the beſt befitting manner. Three thouſand Souldiers guarded the works; one thouſand of which with two thouſand Pioners, wrought inceſſantly upon them. The Fort *Worden*, which was in the Enemies hands, was very near the place where the Kings men raiſed their Fort. *Maurice* reſolved to go thither; wherefore paſſing with the moſt of his men over the *Wahal*, he tarried there, intending to annoy the Royaliſts works at a nearer diſtance: which that he might the better do, he threw over a Bridge, and ſent 3000 Foot unto the point of the Iſland of *Bomel*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a Village called *Herverden*. Here thoſe men did ſo fortifie themſelves, as the Kings men began to be much endamaged by them, who were not long in uſing all means to drive them from thence.

To this purpoſe Count *Frederick de Berg* went with a great Body of Foot almoſt all Spaniſh, who made a fierce aſſault; but they were ſo ſtoutly withſtood by the Enemy, partly through their works, and partly through their own valour, as they were forced to retreat, after having loſt above 300 of their men, amongſt which were divers Captains, and other perſonages of quality; yet did the working about the Fort never ceaſe: For all the Foot being quartered in thoſe parts, diligent Guards were kept, and were reinforced according as occaſion required. The Horſe could not be quartered within the Iſland by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs of the place, and for that there was no forrage there to be had: wherefore they were gon beyond the *Mauſe*, towards *Brabant*; and kept there about *Mega* in divers Villages which were neareſt the Camp, from whence they might receive neceſſary ſuccours, by a Bridg over the ſame River. But for their better ſecurity, they raiſed a Fort upon a certain part of the Bank, where they might have been eaſilieſt injured by the Enemy; yet they being thus parted from the reſt of their Company, Count *Maurice* hoped he might aſſault them upon advantagious terms, and that he might give them a notable blow. To this purpoſe he threw a Bridg over the *Mauſe* from the Fort *Worden* to the other ſide, and giving 6000 choice Foot to Colonel *Vere*, an Engliſh-man, and to Monſieur *de la Nue*, a Frenchman; and 1500 Horſe to Count *Erneſtus* of *Naſſaw*, he ordered them to be ready to fall upon the Enemies Horſe, when he ſhould think it fitting. The aforeſaid Fort was not as yet made ſufficiently defenſible, which was called *Durango*, for that *Diego Durango* a Serjeant Major of a Spaniſh Brigado had the charge thereof. The Horſe were commanded by *Ambroſio Landriano*, who was their Lieutenant General; who was not negligent in uſing all neceſſary diligence both in placing the Guards, and in being himſelf preſent where any occurrence called him. To boot with this Fort *Durango*, which was not yet finiſhed, *Landriano* had endeavored to ſecure all that Tract of the bank about which the Horſe were quartered, with divers good Redoubts. *Maurice* reſolved to effect his aforeſaid deſign before the Fort *Durango* ſhould be made fully defenſible. It was in the beginning of *June*, when one morning about the break of day, Count *Erneſtus*, *Vere* and *La Nue*, paſſing over the *Mauſe* with their Foot and Horſe, began to move. They were of neceſſity to poſſeſs themſelves firſt of the Fort *Durango*, that they might

might not have it as an obstacle both in their assault and retreat. *Vere* and *La Nue* went therefore with the most of their Foot to assault the Fort: Count *Ernestus* sheltering the foot with his horse, as well as the place would permit him to do. The assault was exceeding resolute and fierce: *Vere*'s English, and *La Nue*'s French, were seen to vie with one another in the fight; and not only Souldier with Souldier, but Captain with Captain. A good many Ladders being plyed unto the Walls, they all strove to get upon the Fort; nor could they now make any longer use of Musquets, or of Pikes, but flew to it with their Swords and Shields. In the Fort were 500 Spanish and Walloon foot; and they striving likewise which of them should best make good the defence, fought with wonderful undauntedness: and though the Works of the Fort were yet but weak, the imperfections thereof being supplyed by the valour of hands, the further the assailants advanced, the greater resistance did they meet withal. The business lasted thus a good while: at the noise of the assault, the Admiral was this mean while advanced, with the greatest part of his foot to come in unto the succour. This caused much terror in the enemy; wherefore first cooling in their fight, they began at last to give back, and in fine, resolved to retreat, above 300 of them being slain, and about 70 of the Kings men. The foot succeeding but ill in their assault. Count *Ernestus* would make no further attempt with his Horse. And *Landriano* was already prepared with his horse so, as the enemy could have done him but little hurt though they should have assaulted him.

This was the last action which hapned between the two Camps; for the Fort *Durango* being soon afterwards compleated, and the Horse-quarters being still better secured, Count *Maurice* betook himself to nothing more on that side, nor could he do any thing on the other side within the Island of *Bomel*, where the great Fort was in building: for the work was already so far advanced as it wanted but very little of being perfected. Cardinal *Andrea* desired very much to see it finished before he should quit the Government, and therefore he himself went often thither to sollicite the building thereof. Not long before, his brother, the Marquis of *Burgaut* was come to visit him; who had formerly served the King under the Duke of *Parma*. The Fort being then almost totally finished, the Cardinal came to give it his last visit, and brought his brother with him; each of them very well viewing all the Works, and giving such orders as were requisite in all places. In midst of the Parado, a Church was intended to be built; the first stone whereof the Cardinal's self did lay; and in relation to his own name, and for the particular devotion which he bore to that Saint, he called both the Church and the Fort St. *Andrea*. This Ceremony was performed with all military rejoycing, the Canon thundring on all sides out of the Castle, which were seconded by the Souldiers joyful acclamations, as if that Bulwark should be perpetually kept for the Kings advantage, and that *Holland* should be thereby chiefly curbed. And yet you shall quickly see, that the Fort was afterwards basely delivered up to the Enemy, or rather sold unto them to the great ignominy of the Garrison that was in it: and certainly in common opinion the Fort was impregnable, if it had been well provided for and defended: and it was thought it would have been a great terror to all the Enemies Country over against it; and particularly to *Holland*, neareſt the very heart whereof it stood: Nor was it long ere it was fully finished. It commanded the *Mause* on one side, and the *Wahal* on the other. Each of the five Bastions were of equal proportion, and stood very handsomly at equal distances from forth the Curtains. And where the ditches were made, the Water was above a Pikes length deep. Thus by their means was the one River joyned to the other; the *Mause* sometimes contributing Water to the *Wahal*, and sometimes the *Wahal* to the *Mause*, according to their several exuberances. The *Strade Coperte* ran to without about the Ditches; from which likewise many Redoubts were also thrust out to defend them the better: and the more to annoy the Enemy, twelve great Frigates were placed in the Ditches, that they might be continually the readier to put into those Rivers. This was the condition of the Fort St. *Andrea*.

The United Provinces knew very well how prejudicial it might prove unto them, and therefore Count *Maurice* caused another Fort to be built on the contrary shore; not a Royal one; but only sufficient to keep the Kings men from making that passage, if at any time they should attempt it, and that they might make the fewer incursions into those parts.

But it is now time that we should acquaint you with the success of those Forces which the Confederate Germans were to put together, for the aforesaid occasions. Persevering in the resolution which they had put on at *Confluence*, they did not let slip making necessary provision for the putting of it in execution: yet mony not coming in either so plentifully or so speedily as the condition of the business required; and all things else being carried on with the wonted slackness of the Nation, and with the usual difficulties of making several interessed parties joyn in the same opinion. The Count *di Lippa*, who was chosen Commander in chief, could not so soon assemble all the Forces together which were to come from so many several places. The United Provinces used all possible means to incite the Confederates, pressing the opportunity of the present conjuncture, whilst the Kings Army was busied in the taking of *Bomel*, and afterwards

afterwards in building the Fort St. *Andrea*. They adviſed particularly that the German Camp might joyn with theirs, alleadging that by this means, and by ſo many Forces, the *Spaniards* might not only be driven out of the Empire, but might be brought to great ſtraits in *Flanders*. To make theſe their endeavours the more efficacious, the ſame Provinces had ſent their deſires by Count *Hollach*; who meeting with Count *Lippa*, did no more part with him. Theſe demonſtrations of the United Provinces were very welcom to the Confederate *Germans*, and were willingly imbraced by them, to cauſe the more fears and jealouſies in the *Spaniards*. On the other ſide, Cardinal *Andrea* had uſed all diligence ſo to ſweeten affairs, as the Confederates might be kept from breaking forth into Arms. When the Kings Army marched into the Field, that part thereof which was quartered in *Weſtphalia* was taken totally from thence. The Cardinal had cauſed the City of *Emrich* to be again delivered up to the Duke of *Cleves*, and gave aſſured hopes that *Res* and the other Towns appertaining to the ſame Prince ſhould be ſuddenly likewiſe ſurrendred. Nor was the Elector of *Colen* wanting in continuing his former interceſſions with both parties.

Theſe Negotiations had this of operation, That not to irritate too much the Forces of the King of *Spain*, the Confederate *Germans* would not joyn their Army in a body with the United *Flemiſh*; thinking that it was ſufficient for them to re-ſecure their Neutralities which had been violated. They ſeemed to be very reſolute herein: And therefore not any whit relying upon the aforeſaid hopes, but fearing leſt the Kings men would not only not go out of the Neutral Towns where they yet were, but that they might think of wintering again in thoſe where they had not yet been, they reſolved no longer to delay the aſſembling of their Army. They appointed their Rendezvouz to be upon the banks of the *Rhine* towards *Reinberg*; where all their Forces met not before the beginning of *Auguſt*. Their numbers were much more conſiderable than their conditions: They conſiſted of 25000 Foot, as it was ſaid, and of 4000 Horſe; but moſt of them new and weak men, under a General of but ſmall experience, and under other Commanders who were but weak alſo, and of little eſteem. The firſt effect of their marching was, that thoſe of *Weſel* would no longer continue in the Catholick Religion. We ſhewed you before, that they fainedly received it; but now encouraged by the neighbouring German Forces, and for that the Kings forces were imployed in other parts, they reſolved again to inhibit all Catholick Rites in that City, and that Hereſie ſhould only reign there and the profeſſion thereof, as before. The Apoſtolick *Nuntio* of *Colen* was as yet in *Weſel*; who underſtanding what reſolution they had put on, went out of City, as did alſo all the Prieſts and Votaries; which the common people did not forbear to injure, eſpecially ſome Votaries, whom they ſeemed moſt to deteſt.

The affairs of *Weſel* being returned to their former condition, the German Camp marched, and quartered about *Reinberg*; it being pretended by the Confederates, that that was likewiſe a Neutral Town, and ſubject to the Empire; and that ſundry times, now the Kings men, now the contrary parties had unjuſtly poſſeſſed it. It was not long before fallen into the Kings mens hands, as you then heard; and there was in it a Garriſon of German Foot, and ſome few Walloons. Mutinies were at this time grown ſo domeſtick, as every day ſome of them were ſeen to ariſe in one place or other. One of them had hapned a little before in *Reinberg*, where the Garriſon took up Arms, and ſhamefully drove out the Governor of the Town, putting their Elect in his place, with other ſubordinate Officers. Before the Confederates incamped about it, the two Counts of *Lippa* and *Hollach* had made great offers to the Garriſon, to perſwade them to put it into their hands; ſhewing, that they had a community of blood, which did alſo render the intereſts of that Nation common between them. But the Garriſon though they had failed in their obedience, yet would they not be failing in their faith; wherefore they rejected all offers, and betook themſelves manfully to defend the Town. Nor did they come ſhort in their deeds: For the German Camp having tate down before the Town, and beſieged it many days, they found the defendants ſtill more ſtout and reſolute in making reſiſtance; wherefore they were at laſt forced to riſe from before it, little to their honor. Count *Lippa* did notwithſtanding raiſe a Fort on the oppoſite ſide of the River, and put many men into it, to incommodate that Town; and intending to beſiege it again, if it ſhould be needful.

From *Reinberg* the Camp paſt to *Res*, which was the only Town almoſt that remained to be reſtored to the Duke of *Cleves*, and the Kings party gave continual hopes that it ſhould be ſpeedily reſtored. But the *Germans*, either not believing them, or elſe deſirous to do ſomewhat with their Arms, reſolved to beſiege it. The United Provinces did ſtill preſs them very much; and ſhewing that they had a great deſire to be intereſſed in their cauſe, they ſent a certain number of Horſe and Foot to Count *Hollach*, to be imployed in their ſervice. Count *Lippa* incamped then before *Res* about the end of *Auguſt*, and beſieged it on all ſides. *Ramiro di Guſman*, a Spaniard, commanded in chief therein, and had with him little more than 800 Souldiers, ſome *Spaniards*, ſome *Germans*, and ſome *Walloons*. Juſt over againſt the Town, on the other ſide of the River, there ſtood a Fort to ſecure that Paſs the better; ſo as ſome Souldiers muſt alſo be imployed there. And becauſe the Garriſon was not ſufficient to defend both the Town and Fort, the

Governor

Governor ſent to the Admiral, deſiring him that he would with all ſpeed ſend him ſome more men. The Siege being begun, the *Germans* fell to fortifie their quarters where it was moſt behoveful: The Count *de Lippa* was quartered on the lower part of the River, and Count *Hollach* above. Theſe were the two chief Quarters; and both of them began to open their Trenches. Count *Hollach*, an old Souldier, and one well verſt in Sieges, would have had them have paſt ſome men over the *Rhine*, and ſo at the ſame time to have ſtraitned the Fort, which was poſſeſt by the Kings men on the other contrary ſhore; fearing leſt by that way (as it not long after hapned) the beſieged might receive ſuccour. But were it either through ignorance, or through the emulation of the other Commanders, his advice was not followed. The Trenches were quickly ſo far advanced, as they were not long in falling joyntly to their Batteries. A great Bank ran along the River, to defend the Town and the circumjacent grounds from being thereby overflown. Upon the higheſt part of this Bank, the two Counts cauſed divers pieces of Artillery to be planted; by which commanding the Town, they began to play upon it furiouſly afar off. Then placing many great Guns nearer hand, they came to a nearer oppugnation: wherein Count *Hollach* being better verſt, all things were better performed on his ſide. He plaid particularly upon the point of a walled Bulwark; and at the ſame time advancing with his Trenches, he was confident he ſhould ſoon be able to make a happy aſſault there. The Garriſon was not this mean while idle, but had endeavoured by frequent ſallies to incommodate the Enemy in divers ſorts. Yet were not the numbers of their Souldiers any ways anſwerable to their need of defence. Wherefore *Guſman* continually ſollicited the Admiral to ſend him ſome ſuccour: which was ere long done; for 700 choiſe Foot coming at the ſilenteſt time of night to the banks of *Rhine*, where the aforeſaid Fort ſtood, they paſt over the River, and got without any diſturbance into the Town. This increaſe of Forces did ſo increaſe their courage that were within in the Town, as they reſolved to ſally out ſuddenly with good numbers, and to aſſault the Count *de Lippa*'s quarter, where there was leſs oppoſition made. The one half of the Gariſon ſallying out in three equal Squadrons, they aſſailed the Enemy on that ſide with ſuch reſolution and valour, as they not being able to reſiſt them, began quickly to give back, and ſoon after to fall into manifeſt diſorder. The more theſe were diſheartened, the more were the others encouraged. So as the firſt blow being ſeconded by another, and the Gariſon continuing ſtill manfully to fall upon them, they made the Enemy forgo many of their Trenches; and coming to their Batteries, they unhorſt ſome of their Pieces, they nail'd up ſome others; and being of neceſſity afterwards to retreat, they carried a Demy-Cannon in triumph with them into the Town. In this action about 200 of the Enemy were ſlain, and but very few of the Gariſon. This bad ſucceſs did ſucceſs did much augment the diſcords between the German Commanders; one complained of another, but almoſt all of them blamed Count *Lippa*, and the weakneſs of his Government. And the confuſion, diſorder, and fear was ſo generally ſpread throughout the whole Army, as no obedience being given, nor Diſcipline obſerved, the Commanders were forced two days after to raiſe the Siege. More ſhameful Counſel could not have been given; nor could it have been more ſhamefully followed: For the Camp retreating without any manner of order, and the Souldiers ſtriving who ſhould get furtheſt from the Walls of *Res*, much Baggage was left in their Quarters, many Carriages left in the fields, and ſome Barks loaded with Victuals abandoned upon the River. Nor failed the Gariſon to come out upon ſuch an occaſion; but fell upon thoſe that went away laſt, ſlaying many of them, putting many of them to flight, and rendring the Retreat ſtill more baſe, and more confuſed.

The Army having raiſed this their Siege, came before the City of *Emrick*; but being here ſtill moleſted by the Souldiers of *Res*, and the diſcords amongſt the Commanders ſtill increaſing, and the complaints amongſt all the reſt, the people began to disband, and afterwards wholly to diſſolve. The United Provinces ſent Count *William* of *Naſſaw*, Governor of *Frieſland* to the German Camp; a very grave and valiant man, and who was full Couſin German to Count *Maurice*, that he might endeavour to compound the differences, and to reduce them to ſome better Diſcipline: but he could do but little good. So as *Autumn* being already advanced, and great ſtore of Rain being fallen, in ſuch ſort as the Army could no longer keep the Field about the end of *November*, it of it ſelf did wholly disband: and to compleat their diſorders, a good part thereof did at laſt mutiny for want of monies, as they retired to their own homes: in ſo much as it was requiſite to have an Imperial Proclamation, and likewiſe to uſe force, to extirp that malady which had ſo eaſily taken root every where. The effecting of the promiſed hope was not after omitted by the Kings Party; for the Town of *Res* was put again into the Duke of *Cleves* hands, and whatſoever elſe of his was holden in thoſe parts: and in the other neutral Countries, all things were returned to their former condition. Thus ended the movings of the German Camp; and the effects thereof proved, as it is uſually ſeen in other Leagues, greater in appearance than in realities: few joyning in the Government of Chieftains, as the Intereſts of Princes are ſeldom alike; and which uſe to laſt as long, as each that is intereſſed, may compaſs, not the ends of others; but their own intents.

Whilſt

Whilſt the aforeſaid affairs were in hand, the Archduke *Albertus* and the Infanta *Iſabella*, having conſummated their marriage in *Spain*, and tarried ſome months with the King, had at laſt taken their journey to come and enjoy the new Principality of *Flanders*. They Imbarqued at the beginning of *June* in *Barcelona*, in 24 Gallies, commanded by Prince *Doria*; and within a few days arrived ſafely at *Genua*. Coming from thence to *Milan*, they tarried in that City almoſt all *July*; where they were honoured with an Ambaſſy from the Pope, who to that purpoſe ſent the Cardinal *Piechtriſtain*, a Germain, to them. From thence paſſing the *Alpes* at *Piemont*, and going through *Burgony* and *Lorain*, they entred into the Province of *Luxemburg*; and about the beginning of *September* they came to *Bruſſels*, having firſt ſtaid two days at the Town of *Hall*, which is three hours journey from that City: where at the ſame time Cardinal *Andrea* was; who having given them an account of the affairs of *Flanders*, took his journey preſently towards *Germany*, as his brother, the Marquis of *Burgaut* had done but a little before.

Preparation was had this mean while in *Bruſſels* for the receiving of the new Princes with all ſolemnity; and upon this occaſion there was already an infinite number of Foreigners in the City. They made their entry on the ſixth of *September*, which was full of extraordinary pomp and magnificence; as well on the Cities behalf which erected many Triumphant Arches, all richly adorned; and which added thereunto all other demonſtrations of joy; as on the behalf of the new Princes, who came attended by a moſt flouriſhing Court, and who took pleaſure to make it appear ſo that day. Being come into *Bruſſels*, the Archduke began to take the adminiſtration of Government into his hands; the Infanta having thought it fit he ſhould do ſo, though the chiefeſt Prerogatives of the Principality were in her. The firſt buſineſs was to form the reciprocal Oaths, which were in the firſt place to be taken by the new Princes, and by the States of thoſe Provinces which were under them. Nor were the difficulties ſmall which aroſe therein, by reaſon of the wonted jealouſie of Priviledges wherein the Country would be maintained: But all impediments being removed, the new Princes went about the end of *November* to *Lovain*, which holds the firſt place of all the Cities of *Brabant*, as that Dukedome does amongſt the Provinces of *Flanders*: and here the ceremony of Swearing was performed in ſuch manner as gave beſt ſatisfaction to all ſides. The like was afterwards done in the neareſt Cities; and the City of *Antwerp* in particular, did receive the new Princes with more ſplendid and ſumptuous demonſtrations, than upon the like occaſion had been known. The like was done in many other Provinces, where the Archdukes (for ſo would the new Princes be ſtiled) thought it fitteſt to ſhew themſelves. And having given and received all poſſible ſatisfaction in all places, after having made a large progreſs, they at laſt returned to *Bruſſels*, which was to be the ordinary abode of their Court.

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

PART III. BOOK VI.

The new Princes being come to Flanders, *their affairs proceed but ilfavouredly: many of their Souldiers mutiny, and other diſorders happen in their Army. Count* Maurice *fails not to make uſe hereof. He ſurpriſeth* Vachtendonch, *a place of importance in* Ghelderland; *and then by open Siege takes the Forts of* Crevecoeur *and St.* Andrea. *Some Ambaſſadors from* Cæſar *come to* Bruſſels; *and paſſing afterwards into* Holland, *a Treaty of agreement is commenced by them between the Archdukes and the Confederate Provinces, but proves at laſt bootleſs. The like endeavours between the King of* Spain's *and the Archdukes Commiſſioners on the one part, and thoſe of the Queen of* England *on the other, proves vain likewiſe. Count* Maurice *marcheth this mean while into the Field with great Forces. He enters into the Province of* Flanders, *and incamps before* Newport. *The Archduke goes himſelf in perſon to obviate him. A Battel enſues between the two Camps, and* Maurice *gets the Victory. He returns to beſiege* Newport, *but cannot get it, Wherefore he returns to his Quarters: And the next Spring matcheth into the Field, beſiegeth* Reinberg, *and takes it. The Archduke reſolves to encamp before* Oſtend. *The ſituation and deſcription thereof. It is begun to be ſtraitned on ſundry ſides. What progreſs is made therein, and what vigorous oppoſition. In this interim Count* Maurice *goes to before* Balduke. *The Archduke relieves the City, and* Maurice *retires. The Siege of* Oſtend *continues, and the Town is bootleſly aſſaulted. A new Treaty of Peace is reaſſumed between the King of* Spain *and the Archdukes on the one ſide, and the Queen of* England *on the other. The Queen dies, nothing being concluded. She is ſucceeded by* James *King of* Scotland.

GReat were the demonſtrations of joy which were ſhewed by the Catholick Provinces upon the coming of the new Princes to *Flanders*. But the adverſe Provinces continuing more than ever in their formerly taken reſolutions, and more than ever confiding both in their own Forces and in thoſe of their Confederates, they omitted not to prepare diligently for War. The year 1600 was already begun, wherein the Archdukes new Principality had but unfortunate ſucceſſes. They were not well come to thoſe Provinces, when their Souldiery in the retiring from the Field began to break forth into divers mutinies. The firſt aroſe among the *Spaniards*; who coming in ſmall numbers at firſt into the Village of *Hamont* upon the State of *Liege*, and fortifying it, did ſoon make up a Body of 2000 Foot and 800 Horſe. The Gariſons of *Germans* and *Walloons*, who kept the two Forts of *Crevecoeur* and St. *Andrea*, followed this example; and generally the Army in all parts, for their want of Pay, and by being ſo long uſed to this abuſe, was ſo inclined to do the like, as had not the Commanders particularly minded the danger, it was to be feared the diſorder might have proceeded to a general Mutiny. It was endeavoured to appeaſe the *Spaniards*; and they had the Town of *Dieſt* in *Brabant* aſſigned over to them, with ſuch ſums of monies as might ſuffice for the preſent, till they might be wholly ſatisfied in point of Pay. So the exceſs proceeded no further on their behalf. But the *Spaniards* were not well gone from *Hamont*, when many *Italians* entred thereinto; who reſolving likewiſe to mutiny, choſe the ſame place: From whence they were afterwards removed to *Verte*, a Town likewiſe in *Brabant*, upon the ſame terms as was

firſt

firſt agreed upon with the *Spaniards*. The *Italians* might amount to 1600 Foot and 1000 Horſe; but many others of other Nations were mingled with them, as alſo with the *Spaniards*.

The Archdukes Forces being thus weakened, the adverſe Provinces failed not to take advantage thereby. The weather was then exceeding cold in *Flanders*, and ſo very ſharp, as not only all ſtanding waters, but even almoſt all running ſtreams were frozen over every where. By the opportunity of this Froſt Count *Maurice* reſolved to endeavour the ſurpriſal of *Vachtendonch*, one of the ſtrongeſt Towns of *Ghelderland*. This Towns greateſt advantage lies in its ſituation; for it is almoſt every where ſurrounded with Mariſh grounds, and therefore there is hardly any coming to the Walls thereof. *Maurice* having with all ſecreſie aſſembled together all thoſe of the neareſt Gariſons, gave order that unexpectedly by night the aboveſaid ſurpriſal ſhould be endeavoured. The Souldiers found no difficulty in paſſing over thoſe mariſh grounds, for they were then all frozen; And by the ſame convenience paſſing over the Ditch, they ſet their Ladders againſt the Wall. Thoſe within were all aſleep; inſomuch as the Aſſailants being entred before they were diſcovered, poſſeſt themſelves ſuddenly of the Town, and ſoon after with little reſiſtance took the Caſtle. From thence, the rigor of the Ice not being well over, Count *Maurice* marched openly againſt the Fort *Crevecoeur*; and ſtraightly beſieging it, he in a ſhort time brought the Mutiners, who had the defence thereof, to put it into his hands. From thence he went againſt the other great Fort of St. *Andrea*. The ſpeedieſt ſuccour which could there be expected was to come from *Balduke*. Wherefore *Maurice* not content to beſiege the Fort by his Forces, reſolved to drown all the Fields thereabouts with Water; and to ſecure the higher places ſo, as it ſhould be kept from being ſuccoured on all ſides. The banks of the *Mauſe* being therefore cut in ſundry parts, a great ſpace of ground towards *Balduke* was ſoon overflown; and the waters did increaſe ſo much likewiſe towards the Fort, as the Gariſon could not get out on any ſide. On the higheſt ſituations *Maurice* planted divers little Forts where it was moſt needful, and began briskly to infeſt the Town. The Gariſon had mutined, as we told you before, and it conſiſted of about 1500 Foot, part *Germans*, part *Walloons*, who were under their Head the *Elect*, and under other Captains which they had tumultuouſly choſen in their places whom, together with the Governour, they had driven out of the Fort when they began firſt to mutiny. They ſhewed at firſt as if they would make an honourable defence; the rather for that they knew that *Velaſco*, General of the Artillery, was preparing to come and relieve them with a great ſtrength of men. But *Velaſco* not being able to advance, for that he found the ways all ſtopt, the Gariſon began to cool. *Maurice* this mean while advanced further and further every day; And yet thinking that Intereſt would prevail more with ſuch men than Force of Arms, he offered to pay unto them all their Arrears, which came to 50000 Crowns, if they would ſurrender the Fort. Nor was he deceived in his opinion. The Mutiners were at firſt ſomwhat backward in entertaining the offer; but afterwards foregoing all ſhamefaſtneſs, and then growing infamous, they at laſt yielded to deliver up the Fort upon the aforeſaid price, or rather to ſell it; and to make the action the more unworthy, they condeſcended to fight under the Enemies Colours.

The Archdukes were very much moved at theſe loſſes, and particularly for that of St. *Andrea*, which had coſt ſo much the building, which bore with it ſo many advantages; and which may be ſaid was loſt, ere fully finiſhed. It was moreover known, that Count *Maurice* made great preparations to come into the Field with powerful Forces: And the Archdukes having but ſmall hopes ſo ſoon to ſatisfie the Mutiners, but rather fearing the increaſe of thoſe diſorders, they ſaw their new Principality reduced into ſtraits before they were well warm in it. By reaſon of their being newly come to *Flanders*, the States-general of the Obedient Provinces were then met at *Bruſſels*. Which was done, that ſuch an Aſſembly being together in one place, the mutual needs both of Princes and Country might be the better conſidered, and convenient remedies applied thereunto. The greateſt miſchief, and which required the moſt efficacious remedy, was the Mutinies which had happened, and which might happen. Wherefore the Archdukes did very much preſs the Provinces, that by ſome extraordinary quantity of monies they would ſupply the neceſſity of the Army. The Deputies ſeemed to know very well the urgency thereof, and to be willing that the Country ſhould by their endeavours contribute as much as they could thereunto. But they made it alſo plainly appear, that the Obedient Provinces would be much better pleaſed to come, if it were poſſible, to ſome good and reaſonable Agreement with thoſe which had thrown off their Obedience, than ſtill to ſuffer under the miſeries and calamities of Wars. Which whilſt they were diſcourſing of, a good occaſion preſented it ſelf of commencing a Treaty to that purpoſe. And this it was. There were then likewiſe ſome of *Caſars* Ambaſſadors at *Bruſſels*, the chief of which was *Salentino* Count of *Yſemberg*: The Emperor had ſent them chiefly upon the occaſion of that Novelty which had hapned the year before in the Neutral Countries, with ſtrict command to endeavour by all means poſſible that things ſhould be there reſtored unto, and maintained in their former condition. It was pretended that *Reimberg* did belong unto the Archbiſhoprick of *Colen*; and that the ground whereon *Schinks Sconce* was a lit-

tle before built by the United Provinces, did depend upon the State of *Cleves*; and that the same Provinces had also under various pretences possest themselves of the Town of *Emrich*, after the Spaniards were gone out of it. This was all the Ambassadors chiefest Commission. They were also in the Emperors name to congratulate the Archdukes for their new Principality, and to see whether they could introduce any Treaty of Agreement between them and the United Provinces.

The Ambassadors discharged their trust in all the aforesaid businesses. As concerning the Neutral Countries, The Archdukes excused the late excesses as much as they could, and assured the Ambassadors that it should be amended for the time to come; without binding themselves to any other thing concerning the particular of *Reinberg*. For their congratulating their new Principality, they answered them in terms full of respect and honor. And as for their mentioning a Treaty of Agreement between them and the United Provinces, they seemed to desire nothing more than the peace and tranquillity of those Countries; affirming that for their part they would never be wanting in contributing their best endeavours thereunto.

Having thus declared their Commissions first to the Archdukes, the Ambassadors went afterwards into *Holland*, and there did the like to the Deputies representing the States-General of the United Provinces. Touching the novelties hapned in the Neutral Countries, the Deputies answered with all obsequiousness towards the Emperor and Empire, and complained bitterly of the *Spaniards*. As for *Schinks* Sconce, they endeavoured to justifie the success thereof with divers reasons: And the Ambassadors giving assured hopes, that if the United Provinces would restore *Emrich*, they would make the Archdukes restore *Reinberg*, the Deputies promised that that Town should be restored, as it soon after was. In the point of the Treaty of Agreement, the Ambassadors found great reluctancy in the Deputies, who said, That the United Provinces would never confide in the *Spaniards*; that therefore they would not enter into any Treaty with them; and that the Archdukes, by the form of their new Principality, did wholly depend upon the King of *Spain*. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Ambassadors did so work it, as at last the United Provinces gave way that their Deputies should meet with those of the obedient Provinces, to make if it were possible some good agreement between both sides; and the Convention was agreed upon to be at *Berghen-ap-Zome*, a Town belonging to the United Provinces, and but a short days journey from *Antwerp*. Thus was this Conference occasioned by the means of these Ambassadors; though no good came thereof, it being broken almost as soon as begun, as shall be related in its proper place. About the same time almost, another Negotiation was put in hand to bring the affairs to some good correspondency between the King of *Spain* and the Archdukes on the one side, and the Queen of *England* on the other. Cardinal *Andrea* had laid some ground-works hereof whilst he had yet the Government of *Flanders*. Nor did the Queen shew her self averse thereunto. When the Archdukes were come to *Brussels*, they took occasion to continue the friendly offices begun by the Cardinal; and the Queen did the like with them. Wherefore these demonstrations proceeding from both sides, by Letters and particular personages, it was believed that the Treaty might hold on, and that they might come to so good agreement. Not long after, the Town of *Boloign* in *France*, which lies upon the English Channel, was chosen for this end. Where about the beginning of *May*, *Baltazar di Zuniga*, who was Ambassador for the Spanish King in the Court of *Flanders*, and *Fernando Carrigio*, came in behalf of the King of *Spain*; and with them the President *Richardotto*, and the Audiendiary *Verrecbin* on the Archdukes part: And on the behalf of the Queen of *England*, Sir *Henry Nevil*, who was her Ambassador at that time with the King of *France*, Sir *John Herbert*, and Sir *Thomas Edmunds*. But all these being met in *Boloign*, such difficulties arose in point of precedency between the Spanish and the English Agents, as it was not possible to reconcile them: wherefore they came not to any agreement at all; but departing almost as soon as they were met, the Negotiation was put off to a better conjuncture of time.

Count *Maurice* was by this time ready to march into the Field. It was thought he would go against the peculiar Province of *Flanders*; for he imbarqued his men in the Maritime Gulfs which were neerest that Province; and therefore it was judged that his principal designs tended thitherward. Nor was it ill imagined: For about the midst of *June* he landed all his Army about the Fort *Sasso*, which consisted (as it was commonly said) of 15000 Foot, and 2500 Horse. Divers Rivers run through *Gaunt*, which is the chiefest City of the Province of *Flanders*: one of them streams out in a large Channel, which falls into the neerest maritime Gulf to that City, and which afterwards joyns with the rest which do incompass the Islands of *Zealand*. Here stands the Fort called *Lasso* of *Gaunt*, as not being above five leagues from that City. This Fort was very carefully guarded by a Spanish Garrison, especially for the securing of some Sluces by which the water of the aforesaid Channel might either be raised or let down, and drown all the fields thereabouts. Near this Fort upon the brink of the same Gulf, two lesser Forts were placed. *Maurice* assaulted these, and easily taking them, it was thought he would have assaulted the great Fort of *Sasso*; but he fearing he should be entertained there longer

ger than he could be diſpenſed withal by his other greater deſigns, he went from thence and marched with all his Army towards *Bruges*, and paſt almoſt by the Gates thereof. It was thought, that having many in that City who ſided with him, he hoped that upon occaſion of his being ſo near the Town, they might occaſion ſome tumult which might happen for his advantage. But failing of his expectation, he purſued his march, with evident ſigns that he would lay Siege to *Newport*, a Town near the Sea, and not far from *Oſtend*. At the ſame time as he marched by Land, thoſe many Ships waited on him by Sea, which ſerved to land his Army in the Province of *Flanders*. When he was entred into *Oſtend*, he publickly declared his reſolution of beſieging *Newport*. The Archdukes had divers Forts to withſtand the excurſions which were made by the Souldiers of *Oſtend*; and in particular three, called St. *Albertus*, *Snaeſcherck*, and *Bredene*; and there was another between *Oſtend* and *Bruges*, upon the paſs of a river in a place called *Audemberg*. *Maurice* turn'd firſt upon theſe Forts, which were but weakly garriſoned and munited; and meeting but with little reſiſtance, poſſeſſed himſelf ſpeedily of them all. He thought that the Catholick Camp would not adventure to relieve *Newport*, unleſs they had firſt recovered thoſe Forts, and that if they ſhould not recover them all the ſooner, he might the mean while take the Town, which was neither very great, nor very ſtrong, nor ſufficiently provided of men, nor of other things requiſite to make defence. With this deſign and theſe hopes he drew near to *Newport*, and being ſtill followed by his Maritime Train, by means whereof his Army might continually be largely furniſhed with whatſoever he wanted, he began to ſtraiten the Town both by Sea and Land. *Newport* doth not ſtand fully upon the Sea-ſhore, but very near it: on the one part thereof there runs a little River; which though it be but of a mean Channel, yet where it falls into the Sea, makes a conſiderable Haven, and eſpecially at high Tides.

Upon the firſt news of Count *Maurice* his being moved, and of his Armies being landed in the Province of *Flanders*, the Archdukes went preſently from *Bruſſels* to *Gaunt*, the better by their preſence to ſecure both that City, and the other Towns of that Province. Where muſtering as many men, with all diligence, as they could aſſemble together, they made them all come into the ſame Province, that they might make uſe of them againſt the Enemy, and oppoſe all their deſigns. A good part of their men had mutinied, as you have heard, and therefore they could not make ſo great a Body, nor ſo vigorous Forces, as ſo weighty an occaſion did require. The Spaniſh Mutiniers, who as you have heard, were in *Dieſt* were contented to come unto the Army with 800 Foot, and 600 Horſe, provided they might ſerve under their own Commanders and Officers. It was impoſſible to bring the Italian mutineers at *Hamont* to this, becauſe they were not yet wholly agreed, nor gone to *Verte*, as you heard before they were to do. By reaſon of theſe mutinies, and for that the Archdukes Souldiers did ſtill diminiſh, they could not aſſemble on their ſides above 12000 Foot, and 1200 Horſe. Theſe came marching apace, and before the Archduke's was come to *Gaunt*, *Velaſco* General of the Artillery was already march'd forwards towards *Bruges* with 3000 Foot, and 300 Horſe: the reſt followed under the two other chief Commanders, The Admiral of *Aragon*, General of the Horſe, and Count *Frederick de Berg*, who ſupplyed the place of Camp-maſter General, in lieu of Count *Manſfield*, who by reaſon of his great age could no longer exerciſe that place in his own perſon. The Army was made of *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans*, and *Walloons*, together with ſome *Burgonians*, and *Iriſh*. The way by which they marched led them cloſe by the Walls of *Gaunt*, which the Archdukes were well pleaſed withal, that they themſelves might appear in Perſon, whereby the more to encourage the Souldiery upon this ſo great Emergency. They therefore went out into the field, and the Infanta getting on horſeback, and followed by all her Court on Horſeback likewiſe, ſhe preſented her ſelf before the Colours where in particular the Spaniſh mutineers were. She was endowed with a Princely aſpect and Maſculine valour, and being ſo long bred up amidſt the chiefeſt negotiations of the World, in the School of ſuch a Father, ſhe was very knowing therein, and capable thereof. Suffering her ſelf firſt to be fully ſeen, and the Army being much joyed with her preſence, ſhe by her weighty and ſprightly words, did yet more enhearten them againſt the Enemy. Saying,

There were never any Souldiers who fought in the defence of a more juſt cauſe. That many of them had been in Flanders, *from the very firſt beginning of the War; and therefore knew how oft by all convenient ways the King her Father had endeavoured to reduce the Rebels to their due obedience. That now they had peculiar Princes of their own, ſeperated from the Crown of* Spain, *according to their ancient deſire, and were notwithſtanding ſtill more obſtinate than ever in their Rebellion. That they Warred likewiſe againſt God more than againſt their Soveraigns, having oppoſed from the beginning, and ſtill continuing to oppoſe Hereſie to the Catholick Religion. That therefore neither ſhe nor the Archduke could any ways doubt, but that the Souldiers of that Army, who were all of them ſo Catholick, ſo valiant, and ſo Loyal, would ſhew themſelves to be the ſame men in the preſent occaſion, as they had always been formerly; That to boot, with the certain reward that their ſervice, which they ſhould do to God, bore with it, they might alſo aſſure themſelves to be rewarded by the Archduke, by her, and by the King her Brother, with whom their cauſe went joyntly hand in hand. That they ſhould not doubt of pay. For*

monies

monies were expected from Spain, *and some large sums were hoped for from the obedient Provinces of* Flanders. *But that if all other ways should be wanting, she would make use of her own Jewels to that purpose, and of the very Plate she used for her own service.*

These words were received by the Army with incredible applause; each Souldier striving who should shew himself the most ready to die for the Infanta with his Sword in his hand, and especially upon this occurrency. Nor was the Archduke wanting in adding what he thought fitting, to continue the Souldiers the more in their present good disposition; declaring at last that he would be there himself in person, and run the same fortune with them.

The Army being marched on, the Archduke went likewise from *Gaunt*, and about the end of *June* came to *Bruges*; where the whole Army was mustered. The first Counsel they took was to regain the Forts which were faln into the Enemies hands: in consequence whereunto, that of *Audemberg* was suddenly set upon with such resolution, as the defendants either for want of Forces, or want of courage, did immediately surrender it. From thence the Catholicks went, and with equal violence assaulted the other of *Snaeschereh*; and being withstood by those within, the Fort was soon stormed, and all the Garrison put to the Sword. By this example the Enemies did of themselves forgo the Fort of *Bredene*. From hence without any delay the Army marched towards the Forth St. *Alberto*, which was the greatest and best provided; and marched towards the Enemies Camp. Count *Maurice* did then send 2000 Foot, the most of which were *Scots*, with some Troops of Horse commanded by Count *Ernestus* of *Nassaw*, to possess themselves of a Pass, wherein he thought to entertain the Catholick Camp longer, thinking that it would not so soon advance towards his Army. These Souldiers of the Enemy gave at unawares upon the Catholicks, who finding themselves so much superior in numbers, and with such advantage of fresh success, soon routed the Adversary, and made a bloody slaughter amongst them. This hapned on the second of *July* in the morning, and they had yet a considerable way to march, before they could come up to the Enemies Camp, to assault it. Wherefore the Archduke desired to know what his Council of War thought fittest to be done. *Velasco*, the General of the Artillery was so far behind with above 3000 Foot, as he could not come time enough to the rest of the Army, when the Archduke would notwithstanding have marched speedily to the Enemy. Who were likewise lessened in their numbers, by reason of the late loss of the *Scots*, by reason of those that were either lost or left in the Forts, and for that *Maurice* at his coming to *Ostend* had added to the former Garrison thereof. When the Archdukes Council of War came to speak their opinions, it was variously disputed. Amongst the Spanish Commanders, Camp-master *Gasper Zapena*, was particularly well esteemed of for his valour, and for his long experience, which notwithstanding made him always rather imbrace cautious than hazardous resolutions. He was clean against falling violently upon the Enemy then. He considered,

That they were to make above an hour and a half's march before they could come to where they were; that the Catholicks would come thither after their journey, and their that mornings fight. And what military Maxim (said he) is it, that doth teach to fall with blind resolution upon an Enemies Camp, without having first well known what it is? and when so considerable a number being behind, the Catholicks would come short of them in numbers?

Then turning more freely towards the Archduke, he said,

Most Mighty Prince! Your Highness in my opinion hath a glorious Victory safe in your hands, if you will be careful in the carriage thereof. Doth not your Highness apprehend Count Maurice *his rashness? He is come, firmly believing that he should take* Newport *before it could be succour'd; and did confide more than became him to do in the Forts which he had taken, and which were afterwards so easily lost again. Now when he shall see himself faced by our Army, he must of necessity think of retreating; which must be done either by Land, or by Sea. He hath no place wither to have refuge by Land, but* Ostend; *and if he retreat by Sea, he must of necessity re-imbarque his men, together with all his Artillery, Munition and Baggage which were formerly landed. Let our Army then hault between the Towns of* Newport *and* Ostend; *so as* Maurice *shall not be able to get by Land to the latter. He will then be inforced to retreat by Sea: which if he do, how great will his disorder in imbarking be? and how great opportunity shall we then have to assault the Enemy with all advantage? to rout, and to disperse them?*

This opinion was grounded upon very sound reasons. But *Claudio Barlotta*, the ancient *Walloon* Camp-master, a lover of hazardous Enterprises, and who oft-times degenerated from audacity to rashness, did with such vehemency oppose it, as he drew most of the other Commanders to side with him. He said,

That it was too great an error to let slip so fair an occasion of assaulting the Enemy; that it was to be believed they had already received a great blow, both by the loss of the Forts which they before had got, and much by their loss of so many men that very morning. That they did not expect so furious a tempest: wherefore it was to be believed, that possest with fear and confusion, they would in all haste imbark themselves, and rather think of flying away, than of fighting. That he did therefore earnestly press, that the Army might be speedily led on to pursue their begun Victories: That of all others, the Mutiniers were impatient

impatient of delay; and of what advantage was it upon such an occasion to make use of the Souldiers forwardness? That some of the Catholicks were behind; but that it was very well known the Enemy was likewise very much lessened in their numbers; nor was it numbers, but valour that gave the Victory. That this victory might be built upon for certain, if they would march immediately towards the Enemy, and fall upon them. And what doubt was there to be made of it? since the Souldiers were to fight under the command, and in the eye-sight of their own Prince, who would likewise be their Captain-General? and to detain the Army in so fair a course, would it not be totally to discourage the Souldiery? would it not be to bereave them of certain hopes, and to feed them with more uncertain? For if time were allowed unto the Enemy, they would peradventure provide so for their retreat, as the success of victory might prove as doubtful, as it might now be thought certain.

The Souldiers ardency to fight was really very great, and chiefly the fervor of the Mutiniers; who stormed, saying, that they had not left their Companions to stand idly now before the Enemies; and they did very much press to fall immediately upon them. The Archduke notwithstanding did stand somewhat in suspence between these two Opinions; when a Chance made him resolved to march immediately against the Enemies Camp. Fortune hath always a great stroke in all humane affairs here below: But in the concernments of War she does almost what she pleaseth; and oft-times by unexpected accidents causeth losses to insue, where victory was expected. The Army marched upon the Sea-shore; and it so fell out, that just as the Archduke was to put on his resolution, a great many of the Enemies Ships were descried, which upon several occurrences came from *Newport* towards *Ostend*. The Catholick Camp did then very believe that the Enemy was resolved to retreat, and that this was already the beginning of it. Wherefore being now more incouraged than before, they pursued their march, each Soulpier with all fervor solliciting one another. There remained yet four hours of day when the Catholicks came within sight of the Enemies Camp; 600 Horse marched foremost in the Van, and then the Foot followed, divided into two great Battalions; each of which was confusedly mixed of all Nations; the rest of the horse took their place in each of them where it was fittest. And the Spanish Mutiners, both horse and foot, that they might signalize themselves the more upon this occasion, had obtained to march in the head of the Army.

Count *Maurice* was not this mean while idle. At the first news that the Enemy came to assault him, he called a Council of War, where it was resolved that they would manfully joyn Battle. They thought that to retreat by imbarking themselves, would not only appear base and unworthy, but that it might likewise prove dangerous. That the Catholicks would come weary, whereas their men were in good plight and vigor. That the Catholicks were fewer in number than they, and that their men were not to yield in goodness to the Catholicks. That the mean while they might make choise of the most advantagious place to fight in; and out of so many reasons have assured hopes of victory. This being resolved upon, *Maurice* rose with all his men from before *Newport*, and drew as far from thence as was needful, to keep unmolested by that Garrison, whilst he should fight the Catholicks; and that he might the more incourage his men, by leading them to encounter with those of the Archduke's. Then staying in an opportune place, he was very diligent in fitting his Army for the battel. And that he might necessitate them the more to fight, he gave order that all the Ships should stand off at Sea, that there might be no hope of safety that way. His Camp consisted likewise of divers Nations, furnished with gallant Commanders, and long accustomed to the Wars of *Flanders*, to boot, with the Flemish, which consisted chiefly of Frieslanders, and men of *Ghelderland*; there were in the Army of the United Provinces a great number of *French*, *English*, and *Scots*, and there were then also some Foot of *Switzers* amongst them. Colonel Sir *Francis Vere*, an old Souldier of known valour, and of whose Military actions you may have often heard in this our Story, Commanded all the English Foot. But Count *Maurice*, willing to encourage his Army to Battel, before he composed his Squadrons, advanced before them, and said thus,

I ingeniously confess, my fellow Souldiers, that I am deceived in the hopes I had when I first undertook this Siege; I hoped that the Passes and Forts which we had taken, would have so long entertained the Enemy, till the Town being, as we know, but ill provided, might have fallen into our hands. The Fortune of War alters the condition of affairs in a moment, and so she hath dealt with us upon this occasion. But we ought to thank her for it, because that suddenly altering the face of affairs, she hath proved more favourable to us, when it was to be feared she might have proved more averse, And truly, if the Archduke, weighing affairs better on his behalf, had made his Army stay betwixt Newport *and* Ostend, *in what straits should we now be? All hereabouts, unless it be* Ostend, *is the Enemies Country; we should not have been able to have got thither. And then being enforced to have retreated by Sea, with how much advantage might the Enemy have assaulted us? Clean contrary, the advantages will now lie wholly on our side. They come wearied with marching, short in numbers, blind with rage, and with the very fury of mutineers. Did they peradventure, after this mornings tumultuous action, think that we either buried in sleep, or born away by fear, would either not have taken up Arms at all, or have thrown them away without any ways disputing the business? Will this be the first time that our Forces*

shall

ſhall have beaten theirs? Nay I hope this ſhall prove the moſt noble victory that we ever got of them. Our men are as good as theirs: we exceed them in numbers; and we will take the moſt advantagious place to fight upon. But ſtill our greateſt advantage muſt lie in our Arms and courage. I for my part will be in all places, and from this time forward I declare my ſelf unworthy the prerogatives of a Commander, if upon this occaſion I be not equally forward in all danger with every common Souldier. And that there may be no eſcaping out of the Battel, I have given order that all the Ships ſtand off at Sea far from the ſhore. That I might make the Victory certain, I have choſen to add deſpair to hope. In fine, my Souldiers, we muſt this time either overcome, or die with our ſwords in our hands.

This diſcourſe was received by the Army with joyful acclamations, and all readineſs to fight was ſhewn. Then *Maurice* gave out his Orders. He aſſigned the Van to Colonel Sir *Francis Vere*, the Battel to Count *Solm*, and the Rear to Monſieur *de Temple*; mixing together the Souldiers of all the ſeveral Nations. He diſpoſed of the Horſe, (of which Count *Lodowick de Naſſaw* was General) ſome on the Front, and ſome on the Flanks; and kept no particular place for himſelf, reſolving to be at his liberty of transferring himſelf whereſoever the greateſt need ſhould require. He had with him his brother *Henry*, a Youth of 16 years of age, and the Duke of *Alſatia*, the Prince of *Henault*, and Count *Coligni*, Grandchild to the late Admiral of *France*; together with divers other young Gentlemen of great quality, who were come a little before from the Heretick Countries into *Flanders* to be trained up under him in the exerciſe of Arms, would keep near his perſon.

The Armies met upon the Sea-ſhore. From thence more towards the Land appear great hills of Sand; which ſeem to be on purpoſe placed by Nature, to keep the Land from being ſwallowed up in thoſe low ſituations by the Seas when they are moſt tempeſtuous. Thoſe little Mountains of Sand lie all along the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and are called Downs. The Sand is there moveable, and is eaſily raiſed by the Wind, which makes them the more troubleſome to be dealt with. The Tide began to flow when the Armies marched: wherefore they were forced ſtill to draw towards the Downs; and in fine the Main Battel muſt be given there. To boot with the Catholicks being wearied, and fewer in number, the Sun was then going towards the Weſt, on which ſide the Enemies Camp was; and therefore his beams gave upon the Catholicks faces, which were on the Eaſt ſide. It was in *July*, and the hotteſt hours had very much inflam'd the Sands; and there was then likewiſe a little wind ſtirring, which raiſing the Sand, did much more incommodate the Catholicks Camp, than it did their Enemies. Count *Maurice* placed ſome pieces of Artillery between the Downs and the Sea-ſhore, where the high Tide had left way, for his better advantage on that part. He poſſeſt himſelf of the higheſt parts of the Downs, where on one of the moſt advantagious ſides he likewiſe placed ſome pieces of Artillery. And having all theſe advantages, expected that the Enemy ſhould come and aſſault him. Nor were the Catholicks long in coming. The Archduke in few words endeavoured ſtill to encourage them to the conflict.

He put them in mind of their former victories; of the ſervice they did to God, to the Infanta, to himſelf, and to the King of Spain. *And that as he himſelf would be an eye-witneſs of their this days behaviour, they might with more ſecurity expect to be largely recompenced.*

The Mutiniers Horſe gave the firſt aſſault; who led by the Admiral through that paſſage which remained then betwixt the Downs and the Sea, met with a fierce encounter, and were quickly very much indamaged by the Enemies Artillery placed with the aforeſaid advantage. At the ſame time almoſt did the Foot fall on on both ſides, upon the Downs; betwixt whom hapned one of the fierceſt fights as that hath at any time been known. The Spaniſh Mutiniers were on foot in the Front of the firſt Catholick Battalion; who together with the reſt gave miraculous teſtimony of their valour: And the Enemies Van began already manifeſtly to give ground; for Sir *Francis Vere* who commanded them being wounded, and many of their firſt Ranks ſlain, the reſt obſerved orders no longer. But new Souldiers of the Battel coming in to re-inforce the Van, the latter was ſuſtained by the former, and the fight continued more hot than before. Their Muſquets and other Fire-weapons being diſcharged, they came to cloſer fight; to the puſh of Pike, and managing of their Swords. Various, but equally fierce were the inſtigations on each ſide. They fought out of Honor, and out of Hatred; as if what for hope, what for deſpair, they had been mad. Each ſide hoped to overcome; and as if they had deſpaired at the ſame time, they would rather die than be vanquiſhed. You might therefore ſee the Squadrons of each ſide to billow up and down like waves, ſometimes advancing, ſometimes giving back; the place whereon they fought being full of dead and wounded men, and the fighters full of ſweat, blood, and fierceneſs. And by this time all the Forces on both ſides were joyned in Battel. But the diſadvantage on the Catholicks behalf was too great: Tired men fought againſt thoſe that were freſh; and the exceſſive heat of the Sand made them more ſenſible of their wearineſs; they ſuffered likewiſe more by the duſt, and by the Sun. Yet did they valiantly make good their party: when the Catholick Horſe being oft-times diſordered, and oft-times rallied again, were at laſt wholly routed; and as they turned back, fell foul upon their own Foot, and diſordered

diſordered them alſo; which gave ſo great advantage to the Enemy, as it totally ſecured the victory to them. Amongſt the Enemies Horſe, there were ſome Troops of French Curaſſiers who gave particular proof of their valour that day: And queſtionleſs the Enemies Horſe were ſo much the more in number, as the Foot being ſundry times thereby invigored, which was likewiſe more numerous than that of the Catholicks, they alſo had the better of the Battel. The Archduke by being preſent every where, was not wanting in playing the part which upon ſuch an occaſion became a generous Prince and Commander; thruſting himſelf ſundry times into where the fight was hotteſt, he expoſed himſelf to apparent danger of death: Nor did he this without the loſs of blood; for wearing no helmet, to the end that he might be the better known, he was ſtruck with a Halbert on the head towards the right ear; but the blow was given ſo at random, as it did him but little harm. The Archduke being by reaſon of his wound retired, it was noiſed abroad amongſt his men, that he was not only wounded, but taken. The Enemy had already taken the Admiral priſoner; ſlain, taken or wounded almoſt all the Campmaſters, Captains, and other moſt conſiderable Souldiers of the Catholicks Army. Inſomuch as the reſt, diſcouraged through ſo many great loſſes, threw away their Arms confuſedly here and there, and ſeeking to ſave themſelves by flight, yielded the final victory to the Enemy.

The number of the ſlain in Battels is always uncertain; but at this time it was moſt uncertain: For many thought it was equal on both ſides; and many, that the Catholicks loſt many more men. It was certain that the beſt and valianteſt amongſt them were found miſſing. Beſides the Admiral, two of the Spaniſh Campmaſters, *Gaſper Zapena*, and *Luis di Vigliar*, were taken priſoners; the firſt whereof was ſo ſorely wounded, as he ſoon died. The Campmaſter *Baſtock*, an Iriſhman, was ſlain in the battel. *Roderigo Saſſo*, Captain of the Archdukes Horſe-guard, was wounded to death; ſo likewiſe was the Italian Campmaſter *Avolas*. Count *Bucquoy* and *Barlotta*, both of them Walloon Campmaſters, were more ſlightly wounded. And in fine, all the Catholick Officers, as well greater or leſſer, were either ſlain, wounded, or taken. They loſt above a hundred Colours, together with all their Artillery, Baggage and Ammunition; and the common report was, that above 3000 of each Army were ſlain in the battel. Amongſt divers Italian Nobles, *Alexander* and *Cornelius Bentivoglio* died in the firſt ranks, and when the Battel was at the hotteſt; the one of them was our Brother, the other our Nephew; both of them being young men about 20 years of age, who were come a little before into *Flanders*. There were ſlain of the Enemy, to boot with the ordinary Souldiers, about 30 Captains, and a good number of Under-Officers. They fought certainly upon great advantage; and Count *Maurice* knew very judiciouſly how to make uſe of it; and in all things elſe proved himſelf to be a good Souldier, and a gallant Commander; and by that days action he either cauſed, or continued the opinion, that if he were good at Sieges, he was no leſs good at Battels. This battel laſted the ſpace of three hours; and the Catholicks being fled, many counſelled Count *Maurice* to purſue them: but becauſe night came on, and much blood was ſpent, and for that his ſide likewiſe had laboured hard, he thought it ſufficient to have prevailed thus far, without attempting other advantages, which might have proved uncertain. The Archduke retiring that very night to *Bruges*, went ſoon after to *Gaunt*, where the *Infanta* was; who welcomed him with a manlike ſpirit, as ſhe had likewiſe done the various reports that he was either ſlain, wounded, or taken. He came accompanied by the Duke *d'Aumale*, who was likewiſe ſlightly wounded, and but by few other people of quality; for all the chief Lords of the Country were then at *Bruſſels*, by reaſon of the States-General which as yet continued, being deſired ſo to do by the Archdukes themſelves, that by their preſence and authority they might facilitate ſuch reſolutions as were to be taken.

This is the ſo famous Battel of *Newport*, or of the *Downs*, for it is equally called by thoſe two names: wherein according to the uſual ſports of Fortune, that Army was overcome, which thought it ſelf ſure of the victory. From *Gaunt* the Archduke returned ſuddenly again to *Bruges*; where having rallied the Souldiers that were diſperſed here and there after the battel, he gave order that they ſhould joyn with thoſe that were under *Velaſco* General of the Artillery, who had not been at the Conflict, and that they ſhould all of them draw down near *Newport*. To this purpoſe *Velaſco* marched to *Dixmuda*, a good Town within three hours march of *Newport*: This was done with ſuch diligence, as *Velaſco* was able to re-inforce *Newport* with men, and to furniſh it likewiſe ſo with all things elſe, as there might be no fear of loſing it. This mean while Count *Maurice*, after he had got the Victory, had reſolved to reaſſume the Siege, and began already to open the Trenches on one ſide; but underſtanding that *Velaſco* was thereabouts, and that the Town was well provided, he would not ingage himſelf any further therein; conſidering how much his Army was diminiſhed by the Fight, and the new difficulties which he might meet withal, in caſe he ſhould be inforced to retreat. He therefore raiſed his Camp from before *Newport*, and with all his Naval preparation paſt to *Oſtend*. We told you before, that to keep the Enemies of that Town from making excurſions, the Archdukes had divers Forts about it, to boot with thoſe which were a little before loſt, and again recover-

ed; and amongst the rest, one which was called *Sancta Catharina*, and which was well garrisoned and munited. *Maurice*, before he left *Ostend*, would try whether or no he could make himself Master of that Fort, and began to begirt it: But Campmaster *Barlotta* being sent by the Archduke to relieve it, and Count *Frederick de Berg* coming in afterwards to the same intent, the Fort was so secured, as *Maurice* was forced to quit the enterprise. Yet there hapned a loss which the Archduke was much displeased at; which was, that as *Barlotta* was advancing from a certain place against the Enemy, he was shot into the head by a Musquet, and presently knockt down dead. In him certainly the Catholick Army lost a Souldier exceeding forward in execution; though it may be said, that throwing himself too oft into dangers, he had delayed his death therein too long. Count *Maurice*, losing all hopes of making any further acquisition in the Province of *Flanders*, went quite away from thence, and returned with all his men from *Ostend* by Sea, into *Holland* and the adjacent parts; not reaping almost any advantage by so noble a Victory, save only the cry'd up glory of having so happily atchieved it.

In this interim, about the end of *July*, the Deputies of the Obedient Provinces were met with those of the United, to come to some Treaty of Agreement, as it was touched upon before. But as we then told you, the Assembly was hardly well met, when it was dissolved: For the Proposals of the several sides were so far differing, as it was thought impossible to find any way of adjusting them. The Deputies of the United Provinces persisted in their former opinions in matters of Religion, Liberty, and detestation of the Archdukes their new Principality; and were the more resolute therein, by reason of the advantages which the last Victory, and their other preceding successes had brought to their affairs. Whereupon the Catholick Deputies departed very ill satisfied from the Assembly; and the Obedient Provinces shewed themselves presently ready to assist their Princes with large Contributions; that since the others would not come to any Treaty of Peace, the War might be the more vigorously maintained on the Catholicks behalf. Nor did any thing else of considerable happen on either side, that Year.

The Year 1601, being begun, the Archduke, who together with the Infanta, was returned to *Brussels*, gave order for the raising of new men in *Germany*, and in the Walloons Country; and in *Spain* they resolved to send a Brigado of Spanish Foot, and three others of Italians. Neither did the United Princes use less diligence in their providing to come strong into the Field that new year; and they were speedier in their proceedings. For as soon as the season of drawing into the Field came, Count *Maurice* failed not to muster his Army. He made the Rendezvouz near to *Schinck*'s Sconce; and seeming to threaten *Baldnke*, he turned upon *Reinberg*, and about the beginning of *June* incamped before it. He began from the opposite side of the *Rhine* to batter a little Fort, seated in the Island, whereof you have formerly heard, and easily took it: Then begirting the Town round about, and having first well fortified himself on the outward side, to keep off succours, he began his Trenches. The Archduke was not yet in a condition of coming into the field; wherefore he was troubled at this news, and at the difficulties he should meet withal in relieving the Town. He notwithstanding commanded Count *Herman di Berge*, who was Governor of that part of *Ghelderland* which was yet under the Archdukes, that he should endeavour to convey some men into the Town, and to do what else was requisite. But diversion was judged the best remedy for securing of *Reinberg*; and that of *Ostend* was thought the most important. The Province of *Flanders* did greatly desire (as it hath been often said) that that place might be taken from the Enemy, by reason of the great prejudice it was to all the parts thereabouts; for they must either be subject to excursions, or else must pay great contributions to be free of them. The same Province, by contributing monies much more largely to the Archdukes than all the other Obedient ones, had renewed with all eagerness their former desires of getting *Ostend*, offering what further assistance they could therein. The Archduke applyed himself therefore to this diversion: And parting from *Brussels*, came to *Bruges*; and about the end of *July* he himself began to straiten *Ostend*. This mean while the people which were expected from *Spain* and *Italy* were come to *Flanders*. The Campmaster *John de Bracamonte* commanded the Spanish Brigado: And the Italian Brigadoes, were one of them *Lombards*, under Count *Theodore Trivulsio*; and the other two *Neopolitans*, under the Marquis *di Bella*, and *John Tomaso Spina*. The Archduke commanded *Bracamonte*, that he should come with his Brigado, and joyn with the Army which was incamped before *Ostend*; and that the rest of the new-come *Italians* should joyn as soon as they could with Count *Hermans* men, that if it were possible, they might speedily relieve *Reinberg*. But neither did this new succour do any good; nor did the diversion against *Ostend* keep *Reinberg* from being taken. For upon Count *Hermans* march, Count *Maurice* had so fortified himself without, as there was no hope left for the Town. *Luigi Bernardo d'Avila*, a Spaniard, was Governor thereof: He had in it a Garrison of 1200 Foot, and 100 Horse; and from the beginning endeavoured as much as in him lay, by many stout sallies to keep the Enemy from the Ditch. Which when they had got, those within did for a while valiantly defend the breach which was made. But the terror of Mines, whereof some one was every day made to play by those without, succeeding the Batteries, and especially

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there being no hope of ſuccour; upon the laſt of *July*, the Town was ſurrendred up to Count *Maurice* upon honorable terms.

We will now come to the Siege of *Oſtend*: which being one of the moſt memorable of this our Age, doth certainly challenge, that as much brevity and diligence as may be being joyned together, it be duly conſidered and repreſented with all clearneſs. It was above three years before it was brought to an end; and it was almoſt as uncertain at the laſt day as at the firſt, to which ſide the victory did incline. The beſieged never wanted freſh ſuccours by Sea, nor did the beſiegers at any time ceaſe advancing by Land. Infinite were the Batteries, the Aſſaults infinite; ſo many were the Mines, and ſo obſtinate the Countermines, as it may be almoſt affirmed as much work was done under ground, as above ground. New names were to be found for new Engines. There was a perpetual diſpute between the Sea and Land: The works on the latter could not operate ſo much, as the ruines made by the former did deſtroy. Great ſtore of blood ran every where, and men were readier to loſe it, than to preſerve it; till ſuch time as the beſieged wanting ground, and rather what to defend, than defence, they were at laſt forced to forgo that little ſpot of ground which was left them, and to yield. In as many other memorable ſieges as are contained in this Hiſtory, we have endeavoured always to give the continued deſcription thereof; that laying the daily ſucceſs thereof before your eyes, they might be the more fully and clearly conceived: But it is impoſſible to do ſo in this ſiege of *Oſtend*; for continuing ſo long as it did, we ſhall be forced often to divert the Narrative thereof to other important ſucceſſes which cannot wait the end of this.

Oſtend ſtands upon the Sea-ſhore, and in the midſt of a mariſh ground, and of divers Channels, which comes from the continent: but it is chiefly environed almoſt on all ſides by two of the greateſt of them, by which the Sea enters into the Land, and grows ſo high when it is full Sea, as you would rather think the Town were buried, than ſituated in the Sea. In former times it was an open place, and ſerved rather for a habitation for Shepheards, than for Souldiers. But the importancy of the ſeat being afterwards conſidered, the houſes were incloſed with a Platform, inſtead of a Wall, and from time to time the Line was ſo Flank round about it, as it proved to be one of the ſtrongeſt Towns of all the Province of *Flanders*. It is divided into two parts, which are called the old-Town and the new. The former which is the leſſer, ſtands towards the Sea; the latter and greater lies towards the Land. The old-Town is fenced from the fury of the Sea by great piles of wood driven into the ground, and joyned together for the defence of that part, and there the waves ſufficiently ſupply the part of a Ditch. The Channel may be ſaid to do the like on the ſides, and eſpecially at full-ſea, of Channels they become Havens, being then capable of any kind of veſſels, and by them at all times the middle ſize of Barks enter into the Ditches, and from the ditches in divers parts into the Town it ſelf; to boot, with the chief well flanked Line on the outſide of the ditch, towards the Land ſide is a *Strada Coperta* raiſed, which is ſo well furniſhed with new flanks, and with a new ditch, as this outward fortification doth hardly give way to any of the inward ones. The Town is but of a ſmall compaſs, and is innobled rather by its ſituation, and fortifications, than by any ſplendor either of Inhabitants or houſes. The United Provinces cauſed it to be very carefully kept at this time, wherefore it was largely provided of Men, Artillery, Ammunition, and of whatſoever elſe was neceſſary for the defence thereof. In this condition was the Town, when the Archduke reſolved to ſit down before it. When Count *Maurice* went from thence, he cauſed the Fort St. *Alberto* to be abandoned, wherefore the Archduke entred thereinto, and on that ſide was the chiefeſt quarter of the ſiege placed. This Fort ſtood on the Weſt ſide, amidſt the Downs, near the Sea; and on the Eaſt ſide, about the Downs likewiſe ſtood the Fort *Bredene*; into which the Archduke put Count *Frederick de Berg*, and made another quarter there. And from both theſe places they began preſently to advance with their Trenches, and to ſtraiten the Town. After the Fort St. *Alberto* divers other little Forts were raiſed more towards Land, called by the name of St. *Iſabella*, St. *Clara*, and St. *Michael*; which were all erected before the Archduke beſieged the Town, to hinder, as hath been ſaid, the continual excurſions of the Garriſon. In St. *Alberto*'s quarter lay moſt of the Spaniards, Italians, and Walloons, and the Camp-maſters *Jerolimo di Monroy*, a Spaniard, and *Nicholas di Catris*, a Walloon were already got to a little ſandy Hill, near enough the Town; where placing ſome pieces of Artillery, they did from thence much indamage the Enemy. The better to fortifie themſelves there, they drew a great Trench towards the field ſide, and there raiſed a Redoubt. And Count *Frederick* being likewiſe advanced from the Fort *Bredene*, he had alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of a high ſeat of one of the Downs, and from thence did much prejudice the Town. In this firſt beginning of the Siege, *Charles Vandernot* was Governor of the Town, nor did he omit any diligence which might make for the defence thereof. He thought the weakeſt part of Town was that which lay towards St. *Clara*; and therefore going further into the land, he began to entrench himſelf there. On the contrary, the two Camp-maſters, *Monroy*, and *Catris*, did likewiſe purſue their begun works: and having already finiſh'd their firſt redoubt, they would add another, when *Monroy* was kill'd with a Muſquet-ſhot. The Archduke gave his Brigado to *Simon Antunes*, a Portugueſe, a valiant, and an ancient Souldier,

who together with *Catris*, continuing the same design, made the second Redout, and joyned it to the other by a great Trench. The siege being thus begun, the United Provinces put Colonel Sir *Francis Vere* into *Ostend*, to the end that a Commander of known valour and authority might be there, he brought with him 3000 Foot, and new provisions of all things necessary for defence: nor was he long in making use of such a recruit, by sallying out almost immediately, and assaulting the Enemy; but being repulsed with some loss, he thought to fortifie himself better to landward, towards St. *Clara*, and there he raised three new Redouts, which were by a popular word of Souldiery called Pouldrons; in which placing such men and Artillery as were requisite, he was very diligent in making the fortifications which were already there, yet more secure on all parts of the chief Line, and on the *Strada Coperta* thereabouts; judging like a Souldier of great Experience, that the Archduke would turn the chief weight of the Siege upon that side: nor did his reason deceive him; for the Archduke being minded to straiten the Town more on that side than on any other, would have Count *Frederick* to forgo his quarters of *Bredene*, and to take them up in the Fort St. *Clara*, and hinder the Enemy from advancing further into the Field with other new redouts. To this purpose Count *Frederick* raised presently two Forts in opposition of the aforesaid *Pouldrons*, and called the one of them St. *Mary*, the other St. *Martin*. Yet the Enemy endeavoured to advance with another fortification; but Count *Frederick* assaulted them, killed divers of them, forced them to forgo the work, and possessing himself of that seat, planted a Fort there which he called St. *Anne*, because the place was won on St. *Annes* day. These were as yet the works of the Catholick Camp more within land towards the Fort St. *Clara*; and at the same time they were no less busie about their works begun in St. *Alberto*'s quarter, to boot, with those that were still continued towards the fields, they were resolved to draw a bank so far forward between the Downs and the Sea-shore towards the old Town of *Ostend*, that it might hinder Barks to enter into the Town by the Channel which runs on that side. They supplied the ground which was there all sandy, with other materials; they made Bavins of twenty foot long, and they incorporated Bricks, which they joyned well together, and placed one on the top of another, in so great abundance, as the bank was raised and drawn out in length by piece-meal, according as occasion required. They were called Saucidges, but they were almost still contested with by the Sea, which especially when it flowed gave against them with such violence, as it oft-times threw them down, and did often so disperse them, as they could no longer be of any service. The workmen were likewise greatly indamaged by the continual Hail of Musquet-shot which powred down upon them from the Town: Yet the Bank was brought to perfection, and a Fort was raised at the end thereof, on which many pieces of Artillery were placed, which did afterwards totally hinder the use of the aforesaid Channel. They within had also a Bank without, which beginning from the Downs towards the Fort St. *Alberto*, came to joyn with the great Bulwark of the old *Ostend*, called the Sea Bulwark. This Bank served to obviate the prejudice which the high-tide, which their outward fortifications might suffer thereby on that side; but because they saw that the Catholicks made use thereof, the better to advance with their works in that place; they resolved first well to secure their aforesaid Fortifications with other materials, and afterwards cut gaps in the Bank in divers places, and thereby made the Catholicks despair of advancing any further there. This mean while the works on *Bredene*'s side were not slacked: when Count *Frederick* was gone to the quarter of St. *Clara*, the Archduke had put Count *Bucquoy* into that of *Bredene*; he forthwith advanced a little redout, to which he added another greater, and called it St. *Charles*; whereupon placing some pieces of Artillery, he began to prejudice the Enemies Barks, which entred on that side into *Ostend*. The Channel there divided it self into two parts; the one whereof entred into the chief ditch of the Town, and the other into the narrower ditch, which shut up the *Strada Coperta* on the outside. The Enemies Barks were therefore so plaid upon by the Artillery from the new Redout, as they were forced to get into the Town by the chief Channel. But this was no considerable damage, by reason of the more commodious ingress which the Barks had; and because the Artillery of the Redout shot from so far off, as they did but little harm. Wherefore the Archduke resolved that a great Bank should be led towards the master Channel from the Redout, which was afterwards called a Fort; which should be brought so near the shore side, as that a Fort being there raised, and well furnished with Artillery, the Enemies might be as well hindred from making use of their Barks on that side of *Bredene*, as they were on the other of St. *Alberto*.

These were the works about *Ostend*. But at the same time Count *Maurice* suffered not his Army to be idle. Having taken *Reinberg*, he went to before *Balduke*; hoping either to get a place of that concernment, or to make the Archduke remove from before *Ostend*. Incamping therefore before that Town, he began to begirt it; but with some leisure, by reason of the great compass thereof. Monsieur *de Grolendunk*, a valiant Souldier, and one the best esteemed of all *Flanders*, was Governor thereof. That City would always defend it self by its own Citizens, who had always proved themselves very faithful to the Church and King; yet were not they of themselves able to defend themselves against so great and manifest a danger: where-

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fore the Governor advertiſed the Archduke of what condition he was in, and preſt very much to be relieved. The Archduke found himſelf in a great ſtrait: fearing leſt his Forces were not ſufficient at the ſame time to maintain the Siege before *Oſtend*, and to relieve *Balduke*. Yet taking heart, and leaving only ſo many men as might keep the Siege from riſing, he ſent Count *Frederick de Berg* towards *Balduke* with 7000 Foot and 1500 Horſe, giving him order, by all means to relieve the Town. He likewiſe got the Italian Mutiners at *Verte* to joyn many of their Souldiers to thoſe of the Count. And therefore having got together a reaſonable good Body of an Army, he ſeemed as if he would fortify a certain Town called *Helmont*, within four leagues of *Balduke*: But diſpatching away privately by night Count *Jovanni Giacomo Belgioſo*, Commiſſary-General of the Horſe, by a certain way not well obſerved by the Enemy, with 1000 Horſe and 800 Foot, he gave him order to convey thoſe Foot into *Balduke*, and to back them, if need ſhould be, with the ſaid Horſe. No order could be better given, nor better purſued: For the 800 Foot having with much reſolution forced a Paſs, wherein they met with ſome oppoſition, entred all into *Balduke*; and did ſo ſecure that City, as *November* being now near at an end and the ſeaſon being colder than uſual, *Maurice* reſolved to give over the Siege and to retreat.

Balduke being thus luckily relieved, the Archduke turned to begirt *Oſtend* with all his Forces. And it ſo fell out, as at this time it was thought that the Town would for certain have been ſurrendred. For about the end of *December* a terrible ſtorm at Sea did ſo ſhatter the Town in divers parts, and eſpecially the old Town, as the Inhabitants deſpairing to reſiſt an aſſault which upon this occaſion they did expect, began to parley, and Hoſtages were delivered on both ſides for obſervance of what ſhould be agreed upon. But ſoon after this unfortunate chance, there fell out another ſo favourable, by the acceſs of new men to the beſieged, together with all manner of proviſions, as they would treat no longer of ſurrendring, ſaving they could no longer do it with their honour. The Archduke being thus deluded of his ſo firm hopes of having the Town, gave order that a great Battery ſhould be raiſed againſt the Old Town, which had been moſt prejudiced by the Tempeſt. That part was therefore furiouſly plaid upon; and there was ſuch a breach made, eſpecially in the Sea-bulwark, as they hoped to make a happy aſſault: Which was thus ordered. The Campmaſter *Durango* was to go againſt the Sea-Bulwark, with the Spaniſh Foot; and the Campmaſter *Gambaloitta*, a Milaneſe, and Knight of the Order of St. *John*, againſt another neighbouring Flank on the left hand, with the Italian Foot. Theſe two Campmaſters were accompanied by divers of the beſt Captains of the Army; and the Foot of divers other Nations were mingled with the Spaniſh and Italian Foot. The Aſſault was to begin about the coming on of night, when the Tide was at the loweſt. And Count *Bucquoy* was likewiſe ordered to paſs over the Channel on the ſide of *Bredene*, and to fall with his men upon the Wall that was there beaten down. To divert the Enemy on more ſides, it was commanded that Alarms ſhould be given every where againſt the Town: and the Archduke choſe *Auguſtine Meſſia*, Governor of *Antwerp* Citadel, who had for many yeats before been a Campmaſter amongſt the *Spaniards*, and ever held in good eſteem, to ſee theſe Orders well obſerved. When they came to the Aſſault, the Aſſailants behaved themſelves gallantly, and uſed all means to get upon the Wall; and though many of them fell down dead and wounded, and that the horror of night which already came on made their dangers the more terrible, yet did it ſerve rather to ſet the Catholicks on fire, than to make them cool in their fight. But there appeared no leſs reſolutenes of reſiſtance in thoſe within: For oppoſing themſelves valiantly on all ſides, and being very well able to do it, as having ſo many men, and ſuch ſtore of all other proviſions, they ſtoutly did defend themſelves on all ſides. Upon the coming on of night they had ſet up many Lights in divers parts of the Town, whereby they the better maintained the places aſſigned unto them, did with more ſecurity hit thoſe that aſſailed them, and came the better to where their help was required. They alſo ſoon diſcerned that they were all falſe Alarms that were given without; and that the true Aſſault was made only in one place. To this was added, that Count *Bucquoy* not finding the water of the aforeſaid Channel ſo low as he believed, he could by no means paſs over them. Yet the Catholicks did for a long time continue their aſſault; but the Defendants advantages ſtill increaſing, the Aſſailants were at laſt forced to give over with great loſs; for there were above 600 ſlain and wounded, part of them being *Gambaloitta*'s men, who was ſlain himſelf, and part belonging to *Durango*, who was ſorely wounded. Nor did thoſe within let ſlip the occaſion of prejudicing yet more the Catholicks, as they retreated: For plucking up ſome of their Sluces, by which they both received the Sea-water into their ditches, and let it out again, they turned the water with ſuch violence into the Channel, which the Catholicks had paſſed over before they came to the aſſault, and which they were to paſs over again in their retreat, as many of them were unfortunately drowned. *John Bentivoglio*, Knight of St. *John*'s Order, our Brother, who was but a little before come from *Italy*, after having ſerved the Emperor ſome years in *Hungary*, was in this action; and therein gave ſuch trial of himſelf, as the Archdukes not long after honoured him with a Company of Lances.

The year 1602. was already begun; and with ſo bitter cold weather, as many adviſed the Archduke to give over the Siege of *Oſtend*, as a buſineſs which might be deſpaired of. But he would

would not be perſwaded thereunto; thinking the Kings honour and his own too much engaged not to continue that ſiege ſtill, and bring it to a good end. Wherefore he reſolved to raiſe a great Platform in St. *Alberto*'s quarter which might command the Town as much as might be poſſible on that ſide; and gave new Orders that *Bucquoy* ſhould from St. *Charls* his Fort advance with all poſſible ſpeed that great Bank which was deſigned to command the Channel of *Bredene*, as we touched upon before. Having given out theſe directions, and leaving the Spaniſh Campmaſter *John di Rivas*, a valiant and well experienced Soldier, to have the chief government of the Siege, the Archduke retired to *Gaunt*, to make ſuch proviſions againſt the Enemy as were requiſite; who on their ſide made very great preparations, that they might be early in the field with great Forces.

The Treaty of Agreement which had been formerly on foot, and almoſt at the ſame time broken (as we told you then) between the King of *Spain* and the Archduke on the one part, and the Queen of *England* on the other, was this interim continued by many means. Great deſire of coming to ſome good correſpondency appeared on both ſides: And the Queen being now very full of years, did particularly ſhew her ſelf every day more and more inclined thereunto. When in *March* ſhe fell very ſick, of which ſickneſs ſhe dyed, after ſhe had lived 70 years, and reigned 45.

Thus dyed *Elizabeth* Queen of *England* and *Ireland*; who ſo much afflicted the Church, and who ſo long and by ſo many ways fomented the War which we deſcribe. She was Daughter to King *Henry* the Eighth, by Queen *Ann* of *Boloign*. After the death of her Father, being bred up in Hereſie, ſhe was much made of by her Brother King *Edward* the Sixth, who was likewiſe a Follower of the new Sects, which were formerly introduced by his Father. But Queen *Mary* who ſoon reſtored the antient Religion, ſucceeding him, *Elizabeth* ran hazard of her life, and was either impriſoned or confined all her Siſters Reign: who dying without iſſue, the Crown came to *Elizabeth*. The marriage of her Father with *Ann* of *Boloign* was always deteſted by the Catholick Church; wherefore ſhe openly maintained Hereſie, and perſecuted the Catholicks. And to ſecure her ſelf the better in her Kingdom, ſhe was not content to favour Hereſie in her own Dominions, but ſtill joyned with the Heretical Factions of *Scotland*, *France*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*; endeavouring thus to keep her neighbouring Countries ſtill in turmoils, that ſhe might be the more quiet at home.

For what remains, is not to be denyed that (by common opinion) ſuch gifts both of body and mind concur'd in her, as would have been worthy of the higheſt praiſe, had ſhe ſo much illuſtrated them by the true Religion, as ſhe did eclipſe them by falſe worſhip; a comlineſs of Aſpect, graceful behaviour, weight in her words, or a winning ſpeech, and a pleaſing greatneſs both in her private and publick actions. She was endowed with a rare underſtanding and wit, which made her be a great friend to Learning; to the choiceſt, and moſt delightful whereof ſhe applied her ſelf: ſhe was particularly ſo ready in the Latine tongue as ſhe was often pleaſed publickly to make uſe thereof, and therein to receive the applauſe of the moſt learned in both the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridg*. It may be no marriage was ever more coveted than hers: Many Princes in ſeveral parts of *Europe* did for a long time ſtrive to be her husband; hoping that the refuſal of the one, might facilitate the pretences of another; and ſhe very cunningly ſtill nouriſhed hopes in them, and endeavoured divers ways to honeſt her excuſes, thinking her ſelf ſo much more worthy, by how much the more ſhe was pretended unto. Coming at laſt to her declining years, thoſe ſeeming appearances ended; and then it was clearly ſeen, that ſhe being full of haughty thoughts, not caring for iſſue, would never receive a Companion in her Bed, becauſe ſhe could not admit of a Companion in her Throne. She exerciſed her greateſt enmities with the Pope of *Rome*, and King of *Spain*, as may have been ſeen in this our Hiſtory: ſhe kept good correſpondency with all the other Potentates of *Europe*, and was by the moſt of them continually much honoured. She was a woman of a manlike ſpirit; infinitely intent upon Government, and deſirous of retaining the chief hand in managing thereof, as ſhe had the prime authority. Great were her expences both within and without her Kingdom. It is not to be credited how much ſhe ſpent at home, eſpecially in keeping *England* well munited with Naval Forces; being ofttimes uſed to ſay, That her well arm'd ſhips in that Iſland were her Armies and her Citadels. She enjoyed good health; and that ſo long, as none of her Predeceſſors lived ſo long as ſhe, and but few reigned ſo long. And although ſhe deteſted the Queen of *Scots*, whom at laſt ſhe put to death, yet ſhe was pleaſed that her Son King *James*, who was likewiſe fallen into Hereſie, ſhould ſucceed her, and unite the Iſland of *England* and *Scotland* into one Body; which whilſt divided, had formerly for ſo many Ages been cauſe of ſo many Diſcords, Wars and calamities on both ſides.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

PART III. BOOK VII.

An Agreement is made between the King of Spain *and the Arch-dukes on the one part; and the new King of Great* Britain *on the other. The Siege of* Oſtend *continues; and with what ſucceſs.* Frederick Spinola *comes into* Flanders *with a Squadron of Gallies. And his Brother Marqueſs* Ambroſio Spinola, *comes thither likewiſe with* 8000 *Foot raiſed in* Italy. *Both their intentions to advance themſelves by the military profeſſion. But* Frederick *is ſlain not long after in a Sea-fight. Count* Maurice *prepares great Forces: beſiegeth* Graves, *and takes it. A new mutiny in the Catholick Camp. The Arch-duke reſolves to turn his Forces againſt the mutiners.* Maurice *comes in to their aid, and ſecures them from all danger. With their Forces and his own he beſiegeth* Balduke: *The Arch-duke goes in perſon to relieve it: whereupon* Maurice *retreats from thence. Slow proceedings about* Oſtend: *The Siege thereof is put into the hands of Marquis* Spinola. *Who with great fervency embraceth the managing thereof.* Maurice *the mean while encamps before* Sluce. Spinola *marcheth to relieve it; but not ſucceeding therein, the Town is loſt.* Spinola *returns to the Siege of* Oſtend; *and at laſt ends that enterpriſe. He goes afterwards into* Spain, *and returns from thence made Campmaſter General of the Catholick Army in* Flanders. *He oppoſeth divers of Count* Maurice *his proceedings: then ſuddenly paſſeth the* Rhine, *goes towards* Frieſland, *and there takes* Oldenſel *and* Linghen. *And ſoon after Count* Bucquoy *takes* Vactendonch. Spinola *goes again into* Spain, *and is ſent back by the King into* Flanders *with addition of Honours. He paſſeth again with his Army towards* Frieſland; *takes* Groll *and* Reinberg; *and forceth* Maurice *afterwards to raiſe his Siege from before the ſame Town of* Groll.

IAmes King of *Scots* ſucceeding Queen *Elizabeth*, came forthwith to *London*, which is the Metropolitan City of *England:* where his arrival was celebrated with great demonſtrations of joy; the *Scots* and *Engliſh* contending by uſual and natural emulation who ſhould glory moſt, the one for having given a new King to the *Engliſh*, or the others for having got him from them. But amidſt theſe mirths, the Catholicks were much afflicted; who ſoon loſt all hopes of being better treated in matter of Religion, as the new King, in the lattertime of the Queen to make them well diſpoſed towards him, had made them believe they ſhould be. For even from his very firſt coming to *London*, they found they ſhould ſuffer no leſs bitter perſecution under him, than for ſo long a time they had done under her.

That he might unite the two Nations together as much as it was poſſible, the new King would be ſtiled King of *Great Britain*, comprehending thus both the Kingdoms under one Title; and endeavouring by all other means, according to the Form of that Heretical Government, to eſtabliſh himſelf at home in all ſecurity. He then applied himſelf to Foreign Correſpondencies knowing how much the well-grounding of theſe, would contribute to his own domeſtical affairs. He renewed the Confederacies which the late Queen had with the King of *France*, and the United Provinces of *Flanders:* And with the like inclination which ſhe had ſhewed a little before her death of coming to ſome agreement with the King of *Spain* and the Archdukes, he heartily gave himſelf to continue the Negotiation: wherein the King of *Spain* and Archdukes did not refuſe to correſpond on their behalfs. So as the buſineſs growing every day nearer an end it was

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not long till they came to mutual ſplendid Embaſſies, by which ſuch correſpondency was at laſt eſtabliſhed, as the ſo contrary Intereſt between them in point of Religion, and matter of State could admit of. Which we have thought fit to touch upon only here, not to digreſs too far from the particular affairs of *Flanders*.

Then, that we may return to the Narration thereof, the chief buſineſs which did then depend in thoſe Provinces, was the Siege of *Oſtend*. The greater the difficulties appeared of bringing it to an end, the more reſolute was the Archduke to endeavour it by all poſſible ways; being particularly inſtigated thereunto by the Province of *Flanders*, which ſhewed it ſelf very ready to continue all the largeſt Contributions which to that purpoſe could be thereby ſubminiſtred. The Archduke, when he came from that Siege, had left the care thereof as we told you to the Campmaſter *Rivas*, who failed not to uſe all diligence in daily advancing the Works. The moſt important whereof were two: The one, the great Platform in St. *Alberto*'s quarter, which was raiſed as faſt as might be, to annoy inceſſantly the Old Town of *Oſtend* from thence, by many Pieces of Artillery: And the other the great Dike already begun in *Bredene* quarter, with intention of leading it on ſo far, as it might command the great Channel, and ſo hinder the continual and large ſuccors which by means thereof were received into the town from the Sea. To make this Dike, a great quantity of thoſe Sauceges which we ſpake of before, were made uſe of, and were much greater than the former. To the firſt and largeſt foundation, which was well incorporated with wet ſand and other condenſe matter, others of the like ſort were added, till the Dike was grown to the height it ought to be; and the breadth thereof was very extraordinary great. To boot with the ordinary Plain thereof, upon which two great Canons might ſtand abreſt, there was a great Parapet raiſed in it againſt the Town to ſhelter the Souldier; and which being in divers places furniſhed with Artillery, did greatly endammage the Enemy likewiſe on that ſide. This work was made in a ſandy and low ſituation, and whither the Sea at full Tide came; ſo as it cannot be ſaid with how much expence, labour, and loſs of blood this work was advanced.

Whilſt ſuch diligent work was had by Land touching the Siege of *Oſtend*, *Frederick Spinola* did continually ſcour that Sea-coaſt with a Squadron of Gallies, which he had a little before brought from *Spain*. *Frederick* was come to be trained up in Arms in *Flanders*, in the Duke of *Parma*'s time: And though he had not then any particular Imployment, yet was there generally great hopes had of him in thoſe occurrences, wherein his wit, induſtry, and capacity did plainly appear. He had learnt by experienced men, that by maintaining a good Squadron of Spaniſh Gallies upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* might be very much prejudiced in their uſual Navigations in thoſe Seas and Gulfs. It was conſidered, that thoſe Veſſels which frequented thoſe parts, were either Fiſher-men, or Merchants, that the Gallies by their nimbleneſs might continually infeſt that paſſage; that to boot with the great prejudice which the Enemy might receive thereby by Sea, they might peradventure receive more damage by Land; for the Gallies might at all times run into the neareſt Sea-gulfs, land men, pillage their Villages, and upon good ſucceſs attempt ſome important ſurpriſe, whereby they might get footing in *Zealand*. Which if it ſhould ſo fall out, how much would the affairs of the King and Archdukes be thereby advantaged? It not being to be doubted, but that as the Enemy had done moſt miſchief by Sea, ſo moſt miſchief was to be done to them thereby. And for what concerned the place wherein the Gallies were to keep, the Haven or Channel of *Sluce* was thought the fitteſt; it being neareſt *Zealand*, capable of all manner of Veſſels, munited with good Forts in the mouth thereof, and having ſo important a Town on the back thereof as *Sluce*, whither the Gallies might at all times eaſily come, and keep with all ſafety. *Frederick* having then fully informed himſelf of the Maritime affairs of *Flanders*, and eſpecially concerning the aforeſaid Squadron of Gallies, he reſolved to go himſelf to the Court of *Spain*, to propound the buſineſs to the King, and to get the imployment for himſelf. Marquis *Spinola*, *Fredericks* eldeſt Brother, joyned in opinion with him; deſirous to raiſe his Houſe as much as he could in his Country of *Genua*, and to aggrandiſe it by the way of War, eſpecially with the Crown of *Spain*. And though the Marquis being thirty years old, had not till then taken upon him the militaty profeſſion, yet he had always had a great inclination thereunto, and had parts to make himſelf famous therein, when he ſhould be invited thereunto by any honourable imployment.

Frederick being come to *Madrid*, he ſo negotiated the buſineſs, as the Propoſition of the Gallies was fully approved of both by the King and his Council, and the Command thereof with all fitting authority was aſſigned to him. Six were thought ſufficient for that time, and they were taken from out the Spaniſh Squadron; with intention to increaſe them, if the effects thereof ſhould anſwer their hopes. *Frederick* having brought theſe Gallies to *Flanders*, it is not to be believed how much the Navigation of the Hollanders and Zealanders in thoſe parts was thereby incommodated. For putting forth for the moſt part unexpectedly from the Channel of *Sluce*, particularly in Calms, when Veſſels of ſail uſe not to move; he flew boldly ſometimes upon one, ſometimes upon another; taking ſome, ſinking others, and much indamaging others. It was notwithſtanding found by experience, that the ſix Gallies were not ſufficient to carry

carry men enough to endamage the Enemy by Land alſo and to endeavour ſome important ſurpriſe. He therefore went again into *Spain*, were being well received, he uſed ſuch prevalent reaſons as prevailed with the King to ſend eight other Gallies to the former ſix; and to give way that for the ſervice of the whole Squadron, he and the Marquis his brother might raiſe 8000 Foot in the State of *Milan*, and might carry them to *Flanders*. *Frederick* went with theſe Orders to *Genua*, and from thence with his Brother to *Milan*, where Count *Fuentes* was Governour; from whom having received requiſite authority for the raiſing of 8000 men, the Marquis took the ſole care thereof; and with the like diligence *Frederick* returned to effect the aforeſaid buſineſs in *Spain*. They did both of them act their parts very well: To which their own monies did contribute very much; for thereby they were a great help unto the King in the monies he was to diſburſe, and they did likewiſe procure many of their kindred and friends in *Genua* to do the like. So as what was to be done by each of them, was with all ſpeed effected. When the Marquis had raiſed his men, which were all very gallant men, he departed in the beginning of *May*, in that year 1602. towards *Flanders*. The Levy was divided, as we told you, into two Brigades. The Marquis himſelf was Campmaſter of the one, and had for his Serjeant-Major *Pompey Juſtinian*, an old Flemiſh Souldier. And *Lucio Dentici* was Campmaſter of the other, and *Auguſtine Arconato* was his Serjeant-Major; both of them having ſerved many years formerly in the ſame War. The Marquis went by the way of *Savoy*; and being well come to the Province of *Luxenburg*, he preſently went to *Gaunt*, where the Archduke then was, that he might receive ſuch Orders from him, as he upon ſuch an occaſion ſhould think fitting. But *Frederick* had not the like good ſucceſs in the conducting of his Gallies: For tarrying longer in *Spain* than he needed to have done, as he went from *Porto Santta Maria*, two of his Gallies were taken from him in ſight by ſome of the Hollanders ſhips; and three more in the ſame manner as he paſt afterwards through the Engliſh Channel, ſo as he could bring but three to *Sluce*; yet moſt of the Men were ſaved, which were all of them Spaniards, under the Campmaſter *John di Meneſſes* a Portugueſe, who came likewiſe ſafe to the ſame place.

But to return to the Marquis. He came with his men, juſt at the time when the Archduke ſtood moſt in need of ſuch a recruit. Count *Maurice* was already marched into the fields, and with ſuch Forces as the United Provinces till then had never had greater. He had made his Rendezvouz at *Nimeghen*, and his Army conſiſted of 24000 Foot and 6000 Horſe, with all other abundance of Artillery, Ammunition, and Victuals. Twas thought that his deſign was to croſs through *Brabant*, and ſo advance forwards to the relief of *Oſtend*, and then to beſiege *Newport* again. All which he might eaſily have done: For had it not been for the Aid which at that time came from *Italy*, the Archdukes could have made no oppoſition in the field to ſo many adverſe Forces, with theirs of *Flanders* alone. The Orders which the Marquis received from the Archduke was, That he ſhould preſently go with all his men to find out the Admiral of *Aragon*, who with other 6000 Foot and 4000 Horſe was marching towards the Enemy, to diſcover all their deſign, and then to diſturb them therein as much as he could. The Marquis being joyned with the Admiral, the Army was brought to *Tilemone*, a good Town, almoſt in the heart of *Brabant*: where making their Rendezvouz, it was reſolved that the Army ſhould lie without the Town towards that part where it was thought the Enemy would appear. Nor was it long ere *Maurice* came to St. *Truden*, a Town in the Country of *Liege*, and within three leagues of *Tilemone*. From thence Count *Maurice* came to within one league of the Catholick Camp; but finding the oppoſition greater than he thought he ſhould have done, he reſolved to retreat backward: And after ſeveral falſe appearances of Sieges, that he might the better conceal the true one, he at laſt ſat down before *Graves*; which as it hath been formerly ſaid, lies upon the left ſide of the *Mauſe*. It is a Town which belongs to *Brabant*; ſtrong both by ſituation and Art; and which commands a Paſs of great conſequence upon that River. On the oppoſite ſide there ſtood a little Redout, which ſerved for the better guarding of that Paſs. *Maurice* divided his Quarters on both ſides; and endeavoured particularly to ſecure them on the outward ſide, which might be eaſilieſt aſſaulted. *Antonio Gonſales*, a Spaniard, was Governour of *Graves*, and he had with him about 1500 Foot of ſeveral Nations; good men, but not ſo well provided as they ought to have been with neceſſaries for defence. Yet the Governour and Garriſon did with equal courage prepare to defend the Town; hoping that the Town might in good time be relieved from the Catholick Camp. *Maurice* turn'd firſt of all upon the aforeſaid little Redout, and playing furiouſly upon it took it within a few days. He then began with great fervency to begirt the Town on all ſides; and advancing with his Trenches on three ſides, he accompanied them with three Batteries: nor was it long ere he came to the ditch. But thoſe within ſhewed themſelves no leſs valiant, both in making uſe of Counter-batteries, in defending the ditch, and in endammaging the Enemy by their Sallies. It was argued this mean while by the Captains of the Catholick Camp, whether it were better directly to relieve the Town or by aſſieging ſome other place, make *Maurice* raiſe his Siege. It was thought a hard matter immediately to relieve the Town; for the Catholick Camp ſtood in need of many things to accoſt the Enemy; and they could not ſo ſoon make proviſion thereof. But it was yet thought harder

to be able to besiege any of the Enemies Towns, for they must then pass the *Mause*, and provide great store of Victuals and Ammunition for their Army, whereof, as also of all other things they knew the Enemy had great abundance. They at last resolved to relieve *Graves*; to which purpose the Admiral went presently to *Ruremonde*, which is a City standing upon the *Mause*, not far from *Graves*; and which was therefore better able to furnish such things as they needed; but yet they could not make such hast thereof, but that many days were spent therein. From *Ruremonde*, the Admiral went for *Venelo*, a good Town, standing likewise upon the *Mause*, that he might enjoy the opportunity of the River, by means whereof Victuals might be the more easily brought to the Army. From thence he marched strait upon the Enemy; but as he drew near their Fortifications, he found them such, and so far advanced as he was clean out of hope of doing good upon any of them: yet he knew that one of their quarters was neither so well fortified, nor so well guarded as were the rest; wherefore he resolved to try whether he could relieve the Town by that way or no. He therefore ordered *John Tomaso Spina*, formerly a Neapolitan Camp-master, that advancing unexpected by night towards that quarter with a thousand Italian Foot, he should endeavour to force the Enemies Trenches, and to get with that relief into the Town. And that *Spina* might have a safe retreat, in case he should not succeed therein; the Admiral commanded Camp-master *Simon Autunes*, to follow *Spina* at a proportionable distance with one other thousand Spanish Foot. To divert the Enemy as much as it was possible from the defence of that quarter, he likewise ordered that Marquess *Spinola*, should move with two thousand Foot at the same time against the opposite quarter, and should give a counterfeit hot Alarm, to the end that the Enemy might the likelyer give over the defence of the other aforesaid quarter. All these orders were fully observed, but without any fruit; for *Spina* found the aforesaid quarter so well defended, as he was forced presently to retreat; nor did the Marquis his fained assault on the other side any thing avail; for though the Enemy flocked thither in great numbers, yet the other defence against which *Spina* had made the true assault was not a whit weakened. After this ill success the Admiral despaired of any more succoring the Town, wherefore he resolved to retreat. Yet did not the besieged forbear defending themselves for many days, making the business much more bloody to the besiegers. But having no hopes of relief, they at last resolved to yield, and upon the best conditions they could get, delivered the City up to Count *Maurice*. A little before the surrender of *Graves*, upon the retreat of the Catholick Camp, there began a mutiny in it amongst the Italians, which every day increasing, quickly became one of the greatest, and most dangerous that had yet happened in *Flanders*. The mutiners endeavoured first to possess themselves of *Diest*: and not being able to get in there, went hastily towards *Hostrat*, a small Town in *Brabant*, but provided of a Castle, and so near *Breda*, as they might receive succour from that Town of the Enemy, if the Arch-duke should use violence against them, which the Archduke was resolved to do, that he might once more try, whether he could by severe means remedy that mischief, which grew still worse by being fairly proceeded with: and truly they gave too much occasion of it at this time; for growing every day more perverse than other, and being in a short time gotten to be two thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, there could be no mischief done by excursions, which they did not, nor any other sort of hostility which they did not threaten. Being therefore declared Traitors and Rebels, the Arch-duke resolved to proceed by force against them: which when they discovered, they began to fortifie themselves so in the Town and Castle of *Hostrat*; and did still receive such advantages from the Enemies parts thereabouts, as all the endeavours to suppress their audacity by force, proved vain, as shall be afterwards shewed; nor did there any thing else of military action succeed that year.

The next year, being 1603, they resolved in the Court of *Spain* to reinforce the Army in *Flanders*, as much as they could possibly. It was by this time clearly seen that the marriage between the Arch-duke and Infanta would prove steril. Wherefore it being considered in *Spain*, that the Provinces of *Flanders* would again revert to that Crown; they therefore treated of providing for the necessities of those Provinces with the Kings Name, Authority, and monies, as in case of a Country that were intirely his. Count *Frederick* was returned to *Flanders* with three Gallies only, as we told you. He had in this his second voyage to *Spain*, so negotiated in that Court, as the King being willing vigorously to assist the affairs of *Flanders*, was resolved, that the two brothers *Frederick*, and *Ambrosius Spinola*, should levy twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, that these should be attended by a proportionable number of Artillery. And in fine, that there should be an entire Army raised apart, which should be commanded by them alone, and which might be imployed where the most advantagious occasion should require. When *Frederick* was come to *Sluce*, his brother the Marquess came to him: nor was it long ere Orders came from *Spain* for them to raise the aforesaid men; and because they were to be composed of Germans, Italians, and other new Flemish, the Marquess went about the end of *March* into *Germany*, being to go afterwards for *Italy*, and the mean while *Frederick* stayed to infest the Enemy upon the coast of *Flanders* with his Gallies. But a new unfortunate fight soon bereft him of his life, and overthrew his whole design: whereby he did notwithstanding the more heighten

those,

thoſe, where his brother ſtill continued; and brought him afterwards to the greateſt exaltation, that might be atchieved in the military profeſſion. *Frederick* putting forth with eight Gallies well manned, met with two of the Enemies Gallies, and three other men of War. The ſeaſon was then ſoftned into a calm, and therefore the ſail veſſels ſtood immoveable. *Frederick* taking this advantage aſſaulted the Enemies veſſels on divers ſides; which did not fail to defend themſelves; the Gallies and round veſſels giving each other ſuch interchangeable aſſiſtance, as the one ſort of them could give to the other; and for a while the conflict was very fierce. Many fell of each ſide; yet the Catholicks were ſtill more advantaged by the calm. When on a ſudden the Wind roſe, which made ſo much for the contrary veſſel of ſail, as winding about in ſeveral ſorts, and pouring down Canon-ſhot upon *Frederick*'s Gallies, he himſelf received a ſhot from one of them in his ſide, whereof he ſuddenly died. This hapned about the end of *May*; at which time the Marqueſs, having given requiſite orders in *Germany* for the raiſing of two Regiments of Foot, went from thence to *Italy*, to take two other Brigadoes of Foot there alſo into pay, and to return afterwards with all theſe men to *Flanders*: But his brothers death did ſo diſorder the firſt deſigns, as for divers difficulties the men could not be raiſed; though the King continued the ſame commands of his brother upon the Marqueſs, who quickly returned to *Flanders*, with all demonſtration of honor and eſteem to his Perſon. Yet the Gallies were then almoſt of no longer uſe; for the Marqueſs was ſoon after imployed (as you ſhall hear) in the enterpriſe of *Oſtend*; but before it was taken, *Sluce* was loſt, which drew after it the loſs of the Gallies. The Marqueſs in the interim indeavoured to preſerve the men which he brought with him the year before from *Italy*; but becauſe they were much diminiſhed, as was likewiſe the whole Army; the Archduke gave out orders for the raiſing of new Horſe and Foot; reſolving to turn the greateſt ſtrength thereof that he could againſt the Mutineers. The Duke *d'Aumale* raiſed One thouſand Horſe, the greateſt part *Lorrainers*. Three thouſand *Dutch* were raiſed in *Germany*. The Walloon Brigadoes were fill'd up: and two other Brigadoes came to *Flanders* from *Italy*, the one of *Spaniards*, under *Inico di Borgia*, and the other *Neapolitans* under *Lelio Brancaccio*, Knight of St. *John*, the people that could be ſooneſt raiſed being aſſembled together, and the ſeaſon being already fit for the Field, the Archduke ſent Count *Frederick di Berg* againſt the Mutineers with 7000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe.

The Mutiniers were got into *Hoſtrat*, where what by means of their own Fortifications, and what by the aid which they received from the Enemies neighbouring parts, they ſeemed little to value any force that could be brought againſt them. They were above 2000 Foot, and were grown to have 1500 Horſe; all good men, of ſeveral Nations, though the moſt were *Italians*. Yet Count *Frederick* began to ſet ſo cloſe to them, as beginning now not to truſt any longer in their own forces alone, they ſought to be openly backt by thoſe which Count *Maurice* had oft-times offered them. It hath been known in other Mutinies many times, how much more prejudicial his own Souldiers have been unto the King, than thoſe of his Enemies: But in this of *Hoſtrat*, the exceſs of diſobedience did degenerate into ſuch a degree of Infamy, as the example thereof ought ever to be abhorred. The Mutiniers were not aſhamed, in their Treaty between Count *Maurice* and them, to bargain in this manner with them.

That they ſhould be taken by Count Maurice *into the protection of the United Provinces. That to this purpoſe they ſhould be by him defended againſt the violence of the* Spaniards. *That on the other ſide, they the Mutiniers ſhould fight under him as long as the Army ſhould lie in the Field that year. That in caſe they ſhould agree with the Archduke, they ſhould not for four months ſpace bear Arms againſt the United Provinces. That if the Town and Caſtle of* Hoſtrat *ſhould not be thought to be ſufficient, ſome good Town ſhould be aſſigned unto them by the United Provinces, and that their ſafety ſhould by all other means be provided for.*

The Agreement being thus made, Count *Maurice* went preſently into *Hoſtrat* with many Forces, to ſecure the Mutiniers. And their affairs grew quickly to ſuch an advantage, as Count *Frederick* being forced firſt to ſtand rather upon his defence than otherwiſe, was at laſt neceſſitated to remove from thereabouts, and to retreat. Nor did *Maurice* loſe this occaſion. *Hoſtrat* is very neat *Balduke*; againſt which it was clearly ſeen, that Count *Maurice* had ſundry times plotted his greateſt deſigns. Marching therefore ſpeedily againſt *Balduke*, he incamped about it; and diſpoſing of his quarters in ſundry parts, he gave one of them to the Mutiniers apart. The Archduke was mightily troubled at the news hereof. He feared (as I told you upon another occaſion) that he had not ſufficient Forces both to continue the Siege of *Oſtend*, and ſufficiently to ſuccour *Balduke*: But that which moſt moved him, was; That upon other occaſions, that City not deſirous to admit of any external Garriſon, was reſolute to defend it ſelf with its own peculiar Forces; which were not thought ſufficient for the ſecurity of ſuch a place, of too great a circuit, and which had need of men trained up in Arms, and not in City-affairs. Juſt at this time were come the two Brigadoes of *Borgia* and *Brancaccio*, which were expected from *Italy*. Joyning therefore theſe men to thoſe which were formerly with Count *Frederick*, the Archduke ordered that *Frederick* ſhould with all diligence follow *Maurice*, and ſhould by all means endeavour to hinder him in his intended Siege. *Maurice* could not in ſo ſhort a time

poſſeſs himſelf of all ſuch places about it, as the Siege did require. So as it was not hard for *Frederick* to make himſelf maſter of one of them, by which he drew as near as was needful to *Balduke*, and ſecured ſuch intercourſe as was neceſſary with the City. He immediately endeavoured to put in a ſtrong Garriſon into the City: but the Citizens ſeemed unwilling, as before, to admit of them. *Maurice* knew this; and hoped that ſome diſſention would ariſe thereupon; and from diſſention, ſome tumult in the Town; and that this tumult might produce ſome other diſorder which might make for his advantage. He therefore continued to fortifie himſelf, both without towards the Fields, and on the inſide towards the City; raiſing good Forts and Redouts every where, and accompanying them on all ſides as was fitting with Trenches, Ditches, and all other moſt advantagious Fortifications. Count *Frederick* did the like on his part; yet thinking the City to be but in a very weak condition, he advertiſed the Archduke thereof. The preſervation or loſs of ſuch a place was indeed of too great conſequence; nor was there any way to convince the pertinacy of the Inhabitants, than for the Archduke to come himſelf in perſon to *Balduke*. He therefore went preſently from *Bruſſels*; and taking ſome other Forces with him, came to the ſame place where *Frederick* was, and where he had fortified himſelf. From hence the Archduke, the better to acquaint himſelf with the Citizens, went oftentimes into the City, and out again. At laſt feigning an occaſion, that upon neceſſity a great ſtrength of Walloon Foot were only to paſs through the Town, to oppoſe the Enemy in a certain place; after that he and the Souldiers were come in, he ſent for the chief Magiſtrate, and ſpake thus unto him.

That foraſmuch as that City had upon all occaſions ever ſhewed it ſelf faithful to the ancient Church and to her natural Princes, ſo much the more ought it to be endeavoured to be preſerved under the obedience of them both. That the Rebels did daily attempt either by private ſurpriſals, or open hoſtility to make themſelves maſters of it. And this out of no other end, but to ſuppreſs their Liberty and Religion, and in lieu thereof to introduce Tyranny and Hereſie, and to puniſh ſuch people which had alwayes ſo much deteſted their perfidiouſneſs. That it was clearly ſeen the Forces of the City were not able of themſelves alone to obviate ſo important a danger. That Cities were oppugned and defended by people that were inured to hardneſs amongſt Arms in the field, and not by ſuch as were bred up in eaſe and Idleneſs at their own homes. That therefore it was neceſſary that the City ſhould be perſwaded to receive ſuch a Garriſon as might be able to defend them. That he himſelf did very heartily beg thus much of them, which he chiefly did for the good of the Town, Yet becauſe the preſervation of ſuch a place did ſo much import both Him, the Infanta, *and the King of* Spain; *he did declare, that as they ſhould ſhare of the ſervice, ſo would they at all times anſwerably acknowledg their obligation to the City for it.*

The Magiſtrate was much moved at theſe words; and they were alſo accompanied with Arms: wherefore the City, either not willing, or not able to gainſay the Archdukes deſires, ſeemed willing to condeſcend fully to his deſires. So he left 3000 foot therein, part *Walloons*, part *Germans*, and ſecured it by ſuch men as were requiſite; and furniſhed it likewiſe with victuals, ammunition, and with whatſoever was fitting upon that occurrency, he returned again to *Bruſſels*, leaving *Frederick* to oppoſe *Maurice*. Divers actions had this mean while paſt between the one party and the other; in one of which, which proved very bloody, the Neopolitan Campmaſter, the Marquis *di Bella*, whilſt he fought valiantly, was ſlain; and upon another occaſion, a certain Canon-ſhot made from the Catholick Camp, killed Monſieur *de Temple* the Enemies Campmaſter-General, and one highly eſteemed of amongſt them. The Archduke being gone, *Maurice* was not long in retreating; for he knew he could do no good upon *Balduke*, after it was ſo well ſecured. And becauſe it was now about the end of *October*, and the weather began to grow cold, he therefore brought back his Souldiers to their Winter-quarters, giving *Graves* to the Mutiniers inſtead of *Hoſtrat*; and the Catholick Army was likewiſe quartered in ſeveral places.

Now to return to the buſineſs of *Oſtend*. The Town continued to be ſuccour'd more than ever; ſo as in reſpect thereof, as for many other advantages which it enjoyed, the Works proceeded on ſo ſlowly without, as the hopes of bringing the Siege to a happy end did daily rather decreaſe than increaſe. Yet *Rivas* was very diligent in diſcharging his duty. The beſieged had three little Forts, without the Counterſcarp towards the Land, by the name of *Pouldrons*, as you heard before. *Rivas*, watching his occaſion, unexpectedly aſſaulted them; and was ſo fortunate therein, as they were all taken at the ſame time that they were aſſaulted. Then furniſhing them all with Artillery, he turned them upon the Fortifications which ſheltered the Town on that ſide. The Pouldrons leaned towards St. *Albertus* quarters, in which the aforeſaid Platform was daily raiſed higher. The Plain thereabouts was all ſandy; ſo as there was no conveniency of raiſing Trenches of Earth. *Rivas* therefore made one of *Gabions* lined with Earth, and drew it along from the Pouldrouns to where the Platform was made, thruſting out a Flank towards the Town for the better defence thereof. Nor was it long ere the Platform was fully finiſhed, and many great Canons were placed upon the top of it by *Rivas*, who likewiſe munited it below againſt the Town, as made moſt for the ſecurity thereof. Some progreſs was

likewiſe

likewiſe daily made on *Bredene*'s ſide, in the advancing the great Dike. *Bucquoy* had the chief charge thereof, and it was called by his name. And he uſed all poſſible diligence to infeſt the Town, and the entrance of the Channel on that ſide. But there appeared no leſs vigilancy in the beſieged; their courage abounded, according as the Town did abound with all ſorts of proviſions. There was hardly any one day in which they did not ſally out; nor did the beſiegers do any thing which coſt not much labour and blood. The Platform was made chiefly of Bavins, and other wood; and the great Dike was compoſed of the like materials. Two furious Batteries were therefore level'd from the Town, with Artificial Fire-balls againſt theſe two Works, to ſet them on fire, and indamage them by that means. Nor did they fail in their deſign: For by long Battery they at laſt took fire, and were thereby ſo torn and ſpoiled, as it coſt much time and the death of many men to remake them. In theſe and other actions which then inſued, *Durango* and *Zavaglios*, two Spaniſh Campmaſters were ſlain, together with divers Captains and Officers, of that and of other Nations. Nor was the Enemies loſs leſs either in number or quality.

Pompeio Torgone, a famous Enginier, was at this time come from *Italy* to *Flanders*, drawn thither by the fame of this Siege. He had a very ready wit, which made him apt for Inventions in his Calling: but having never till then paſt from the Theory to the Practical part in Military affairs, it was ſoon ſeen, that many of his Imaginations did not upon trial prove ſuch, as in appearance they promiſed to be. He began to build a Caſtle of wood upon Boats faſtned together. The Caſtle was round, high, and large proportionably: On the top thereof it was capable of ſix great pieces of Artillery on one ſide; and on the other ſide there was place enough for thoſe Souldiers who were to attend them. *Torgone* intended to bring this Machin into the mouth of the Channel, and to firm it there, where ſuccour was brought into *Oſtend*, hoping hereby to keep the Town from relief. But this could not ſo ſoon be done, but that it was preceded by the other Work of drawing the great Dike to the ſame Channel, whereupon to raiſe afterwards a Fort, by which that paſſage might be ſo much the more impeded. To accelerate this work likewiſe, *Torgone* bethought himſelf of other Engines, by which that ſo great quantity of materials whereof the Dike was made might the more eaſily be brought to imployment. The ſaid materials being put together in manner as they ought to be, he put a certain number of little Barrels under the hollow of the middle thereof, and on the ſides, by which at full Sea the Engines floated, and were afterwards brought by Cranes to joyn with the Dike in that part where the Work was continued on. Theſe Engines were called Flotes. But ſuch was the tempeſt of the Enemies Canon-ſhot which inceſſantly fell upon them when they reſted upon the ſand, and then again they were ſo prejudiced by the Sea-ſtorms, as oft-times the Work of many days was deſtroyed in a few hours. And really it was a pitiful caſe to ſee how much blood was there ſhed, and how little the meaner ſort of people who were imployed therein, did our of a deſire of gain value it.

This was the condition of *Oſtend*, when the Archduke bethought himſelf to give the care of that Siege to Marquis *Spinola*. Great certainly was the honor of ſuch an Imployment; and *Spinola* in his coming ſo ſoon thereunto, may almoſt be ſaid to be become a General before he was a Souldier. Yet the Archduke hoped his fervency in the ſervice would ſupply his want of experience: And he had already ſhewed great abilities in thoſe few military affairs which had paſſed through his hands. The Archduke likewiſe hoped that *Spinola* by his credit in matter of monies might much help thoſe expences which ſo difficult a Siege required; when it ſhould be managed by himſelf, and from which, if it ſhould have good ſucceſs, ſuch way ſhould be made for him to greater Honors. When the Archduke made him the offer, the Marquis, before he would accept of it, would firſt conſider what the event thereof might prove. He therefore went to the place it ſelf, and was very diligent in making the buſineſs be well weighed by old Souldiers, upon whoſe opinions he thought he might ſafely build. But they differed very much in their opinions: Some thought the buſineſs ſo difficult as there was no hopes of compaſſing it.

That it was one of the moſt generally received Maxims in the Military profeſſion, not to venture upon a Siege, unleſs there were firſt firm belief of keeping out all ſuccour. And how was it poſſible to be hoped that this might be done to Oſtend? *That the great Channel by which relief was brought was totally open and free. That on the contrary the great Dike which was intended to hinder the ingreſs thereof, was but ſlowly proceeded in; and that by reaſon of the ruins ſometimes made by the Enemy, ſometimes by the Sea, it was as faſt torn in pieces as built. But ſay it ſhould be brought to a good end, and that by the raiſing of a Fort there, as was intended, the mouth of the Channel ſhould be commanded, would the Enemies veſſels notwithſtanding forbear frequenting that paſſage? For certainly ſo many would never be ſunk by Canon-ſhot but that a great many more would ſucceſsfully paſs by. And as for the Caſtle which* Targone *propoſed, what foundation could there be for ſuch a Machine? Which being expoſed ſometimes to be plaid upon from the Town; ſometimes to the aſſaults of the Enemies Ships; and ſometimes to the fury and tempeſts of the Sea, the expectations of ſuch as were unexperienced would certainly be ſoon ſeen to vaniſh. Then ſince ſuccour was not to be kept out, the Siege was only to be purſued by main force.*

And

And that this would either never be done, becauſe of the continual retreats which the Enemy would make within their Line; or if it ſhould be effected, it would coſt ſo much monies, labour, and blood as the purchaſe of Oſtend *would be too dearly bought.*

But to this it was anſwered.

That to keep out ſuccour was not ſo hard a matter as to be deſpaired of. That the Dike went ſtill forward; nor yet ſo ſlowly but that it might at laſt ſatisfie expectation. That when it ſhould be brought to the Channel, and a great Fort be built there, it was not to be doubted, but that that paſſage would be thereby much impeded. That truly for the Caſtle propounded by Targone, *the ſucceſs thereof was to be thought uncertain; but that if it ſhould ſucceed, how much more would the Channel be thereby hindred? And ſay that Machin ſhould periſh, the Fort would yet remain, by which though ſuccour ſhould not be totally taken away, it would be at leaſt ſo weakned, as certainly the Siege would be thereby much advantaged. That in fine, their greateſt hopes were to be therein placed. That the Line of* Oſtend *was not ſo large, but that by winning now one Fortification, now another, it might be kept from making retreats in perpetuity. That ſo happy progreſs was to be expected, from Batteries, Mines, and other continual works of the Spade and Mathook, as the beſieged ſhould not at laſt know whither to retreat. And in this caſe, how glorious would the victory be? And how great the profit which would be thereby got? Since the Province of* Flanders, *would be once free of ſo great a yoke, nor would the expence of monies, time or blood in ſuch a Siege be ſo conſiderable, but that in all other conſiderations the atchievement of ſuch a Town, would be of far greater conſequence.*

The Marqueſs ſtrugling between theſe two contrarieties of opinions, thought at laſt that there was more hopes than fear in the offer which was made him; and therefore reſolved cheerfully to accept it, and thought this a fair field for him to march in, and to advance his fortune ſtill further in, in the Wars.

Going then in the beginning of *October* to the Siege, he began to take upon him the command thereof, and gave his Brigado to *Pompeo Juſtiniano*, who was Serjeant Major thereof, leaving the other in *Lucio Dentici*, as before. The firſt thing the Marqueſs did was to make great ſtore of proviſion of all ſuch materials as were neceſſary, as well for the Work of the great Dike on *Bredene*'s ſide, as for the other Works which were to be made on the ſide of St. *Alberto*, on which ſide the Town was chiefly intended to be ſtraitned and forced; the ground over againſt it was all ſandy, and full of ſeveral Channels and little rivolets, beſides thoſe two greater Channels which fell into the Sea, as you have often heard. The ſame ſea likewiſe at the flood did ſo whirl about every place thereabouts, as ground was not any where to be found to make Trenches, which were therefore to be ſupplyed with the aboveſaid materials. Theſe were chiefly brought by the Flotes invented by *Targone*, and though the great Dike did daily advance, yet it was known that ſuch a Work would prove too long, and too uncertain. The hope of keeping out ſuccour growing then every day leſs and leſs, *Spinola* bent all his endeavors to take the Town by force. We told you before that all veſſels were hindred from coming into the leſſer Channel, on St. *Alberto*'s ſide, which falls there into the Sea, by a Fort. Yet the Channel it ſelf was of great advantage to the Enemy on that ſide, for it ſerved for a great Ditch to their Counterſcarp, which was ſtrong of it ſelf, and yet made ſtronger by many Flanks by which it was defended. Before the Catholicks could come to aſſault the Counterſcarp, they muſt firſt paſs over the Channel; which was ſo hard to do with ſafety or ſhelter in any place thereof, as it was evidently ſeen that many of them muſt periſh, being expoſed to be injured by the Enemy. The oppugnation was led on, on four ſides from St. *Alberto*'s quarter. The *Germans* wrought nearer the Sea; then followed the *Spaniards*; after them the *Italians*; and on the outmoſt ſide, more towards Land, the *Walloons* and *Burgonians*. Great was the fervency of all theſe Nations; and ſuch a contention there was amongſt them in ſtriving which of them ſhould moſt advance the Works, as the Souldiers emulation ſeemed rather a conteſt between Enemies, than between Rivals. The Channel was narrower, and more ſhallow where the *Burgonians* and *Walloons* wrought. They were therefore the firſt that paſt over it, and afterwards the other Nations did the like. To paſs over it, a great quantity of the aforeſaid materials were thrown into every part thereof where the aforeſaid Nations wrought. Thoſe materials were reduced to Dikes or Banks, upon which the Souldiers advanced towards the Town. But very many of them were ſlain and wounded: For the Defendants, with their hail of Muſquet-ſhot, and tempeſt of greater Artillery, charged with little Bullets and Murdering ſhot in great quantity, and oft-time with artificial fire, made the Catholicks Work on all thoſe ſides very bloody. The Souldiers, that they might go the beſt ſheltred that they could, invented many Fences: Some conſiſted of Gabions fill'd with earth, well joyn'd and faſtned together, others of long Bavins, which ſtood upright, and ſtood ſo thick as they were Muſquet-proof; and others in ſeveral forms made of the aforeſaid materials. *Targone* invented likewiſe a great Cart, from which a Bridg made of Cloth and Cords might unexpectedly be thrown over the Channel, and ſo the Enemies Defences might the eaſilier be aſſaulted. The Cart ſtood upon four very high Wheels; and upon the forepart thereof roſe up as it were the Maſt of a Ship, which ſerved chiefly to let down, and to take up the Bridg. But the whole bulk proved to be of ſo cumberſom a greatneſs, and ſo hard to be managed, that before it was undertaken, it was known it could work no effect. The aforeſaid

Fences

Fences were wrought where the Artillery of the Town could not reach; and at the flowing of the Sea, they were brought upon the Flotes to the places where they were made uſe of. Great was the mortallity likewiſe of thoſe that wrought here; the Enemy making uſually ſuch havock of them with their Muskets, Artillery, and Sallies, as ofttimes hardly one of them could be ſaved. But money ſtill got new men; and ofttimes the Souldiers themſelves wrought. Nor was *Spinola* wanting in being in all places at all times, and in expoſing himſelf as well as any of the reſt to all labour and danger; encouraging ſome, rewarding others, and behaving himſelf ſo, as his Imitating without any manner of reſpect unto himſelf the moſt hazardous works of others, made the reſt the more ready to imitate his.

When each Nation had paſt the Channel, each of them began with like emulation to force the Ravelins and Half-moons which ſheltered the Counterſcarp: And the *Wallons* and *Burgonians*, by reaſon of their quarter, were the firſt that did it: But with much effuſion of blood, even of the Nobleſt amongſt them; for amongſt the reſt, *Catris*, a Walloon Campmaſter, was loſt, a valiant and greatly experienced Souldier, and whom *Spinola* highly eſteemed both for his deeds and counſel. With the like progreſs, and no leſs loſs of blood did the other Nations advance. So as the enemies at laſt loſt all the Fortifications which they had without their principal Line; about which a great Ditch ran, but not ſo hard to paſs as was the Channel which fenced the Counterſcarp. The eaſier doing of it, made the Catholicks hope better in the effecting thereof. Wherefore full of freſh courage, they prepared to continue their labours more heartily than ever, that they might the ſooner end the ſiege. But the Winter being already come on, did much hinder their Works; and the Sea did then more deſtroy them by her Tempeſts. The Enemy did likewiſe make very fierce oppoſition; they ſet up Batteries within, againſt the Batteries without; Mines oppoſed Countermines; they repaired themſelves on all ſides, and as faſt as one Rampire was loſt they ſet up another. So as the Catholicks were to advance by inchmeal; and yet they did ſo advance, as by the Spring they were got well forward into the Ditch.

Theſe already progreſſions of Marqueſs *Spinola*, together with his ſtill daily proceedings made the United Provinces ſhrewdly afraid that they ſhould at the laſt loſe *Oſtend*. It was therefore conſulted amongſt their chief Commanders, how the Town might be beſt preſerved. Which might be done by two ways; either by ſome important diverſion, or by raiſing the Siege by main force. The ſecond affair brought with it ſuch difficulties, as the firſt was imbraced. Wherefore they reſolved to beſiege *Sluce*. A Town which likewiſe ſtood upon the Sea, and of ſo great conſequence, as did rather exceed than come ſhort of thoſe of *Oſtend*. Having then made a very plentiful proviſion of Veſſels to carry their Souldiers from *Fluſhing*, to the nieghbouring Country where *Sluce* was ſeated, Count *Maurice* about the end of *April* in the new year 1604, moved with Fifteen thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand five hundred Horſe to compaſs the ſaid deſign. We acquainted you with the deſcription of the ſituation of this place, and of the Territories thereof when it was beſieged, and taken by the Duke of *Parma*; ſo as we ſhall need to touch but briefly upon it here. *Sluce* lies more within land than does *Oſtend*; but ſo near the Sea, as it enjoys the conveniences thereof no leſs than doth the other; all the Countrey thereabouts is ſo full of Channels, Shores, and ſtanding Waters, as it is hardly commerceable at any time of the year, unleſs it be by banks or Barks. From the leſſer Channels a greater doth proceed, upon the ſhore whereof the Town ſtands, and which falling into the Sea, makes a very fit Harbor for all ſorts of Shipping. Upon divers ſides of the ſame Channel ſtood ſundry Forts, the better to command it, and one in particular called St. *Anne*, ſtood nearer the Town than the reſt did. *Maurice* being entred into the Channel with his men, he tryed to land them and to take this Fort, by which his landing might be much withſtood: but it was ſo well defended by Campmaſter *Juſtinian*, who was ſent by *Spinola* into thoſe parts, to obſerve the proceedings of the Enemy, leſt they might tend to the prejudice of the Siege of *Oſtend*, as *Maurice* could not make himſelf maſter thereof; wherefore he thought to land his men in another part. *Matheo Serano* was Governor of *Sluce*; a Spaniard, and a Souldier of much eſteem; but who had but a ſmall Garriſon to guard the Town and Forts; wherefore he acquainted the Archduke with the need he ſtood in, both of Victuals, Men, and Amunition. The Archduke encouraged him; and ſoon after ſent him three hundred Foot, promiſing that he would ere long provide for the neceſſities of the Town and Forts. A little before this the Admiral of *Aragon* was returned to *Spain*, and *Velaſco* was made General of the Horſe in lieu of him; *Velaſco* being formerly General of the Artillery, in which place he was ſucceeded by *Bucquoy*, who quitted his Brigado of Walloons. The Archduke then ordered *Velaſco* to go to *Dama*; a very ſtrong place between *Sluce* and *Bruges*; and that he ſhould there hinder the Enemy as he ſhould ſee occaſion. *Maurice* this mean while had landed his men in another place, and taking now one ſituation, now another, prepared to beſiege the Town. But all the Country thereabouts was a like a great Labyrinth of Channels and Banks. One branch ſprung from another, and theſe framed a great number of little Iſlands, which were joyned together by Bridges, and there was ſtill every where more mariſh, than dry ground. Theſe ſituations were in one

reſpect

reſpect a great advantage to Count *Maurice*, by affording him opportunity to Fortifie himſelf; but very diſadvantagious to him in another behalf, by reaſon of the vaſt circuit he was forced to take, ere he could find ground fitting to place his quarters in. Amongſt other Channels, there was one which ran from *Sluce* to *Dama*, which was of great concern to impede *Maurice*. Here particularly did *Velaſco* oppoſe him, and making a Bridg over it, began to build a Fort, he had not then men enough with him for his purpoſe. Wherefore being ſet upon by the Enemy, he was forced after a ſharp fight to yield the Paſs; and was ill routed; above 400 of his men were ſlain and wounded, and above three hundred taken priſoners, the reſt got back to *Dama*, whither *Velaſco* alſo came. The Enemies loſs was but very little; they were very much incouraged by this happy ſucceſs: Wherefore they continued to poſſeſs themſelves by degrees of the reſt of the Paſſes which were of greateſt concernment; and *Maurice* was incredibly vigilant in joyning one of them to another, and in ſecuring them with Trenches, Redoubts, and Forts. The Governor of *Sluce* had this mean while often renewed his requeſt to be recruited with men, & with ſome good ſtore of amunition and victuals. One thouſand five hundred men were therefore at ſeveral time conveyed unto him, and he was put in good hope, that all his other needs ſhould be ſoon provided for. But before this could be done, Count *Maurice* was ſo far advanced in his Siege, as the Town began to be in manifeſt danger. He had taken either by aſſault, or compoſition almoſt all thoſe Forts by which the great Channel was commanded; and becauſe he knew that the Town was ill provided, eſpecially of Victuals, his deſign was to take it without aſſault, only by keeping out relief. But that they might come by ſome the beſt they could, the Archduke was come to *Bruges*, which lies almoſt in the midſt between *Sluce* and *Oſtend*, but he had not men enough to continue the one Siege, and obſtruct the other. Yet he did all he could to gather together as many as he was able: and to that purpoſe went about to accord the Mutineers, that he might make uſe of them upon this occaſion. He was therefore content to aſſign over unto them the City of *Ruremonde* till ſuch time as they were fully paid, and in the interim made them a monthly aſſignment of certain monies: and that they might be the more ſure of what he promiſed them, he delivered up unto them as Hoſtages, the Duke of *Oſſuna*, a Grandee of *Spain*, who was come the year before into *Flanders* to militate in the Catholicks Camp; Count *Fontanoye*, one of the chiefeſt Flemiſh Lords, and *Avalos*, who had formerly quitted his Italian Brigado. Whilſt theſe preparations were a making, *Juſtinian* endeavoured to convey ſome victuals and ammunition into *Sluce*; but met with ſuch an obſtacle as he could not effect it. And by this and other attempts it was known, that *Maurice* his Fortifications were on all ſides ſuch, as there was but little hopes of forcing them.

Marquis *Spinola* had this mean while made ſuch conſiderable progreſs about *Oſtend*, as the Archduke having ſtill a better opinion of him, reſolv'd that he ſhould try to relieve *Sluce*. *Spinola* ſaw that the Catholick Forces were then too weak to effect this; and thought that tho they had been ſtronger, *Maurice* had already fortified himſelf too advantagiouſly on all ſides. He doubted likewiſe leaſt by bootleſsly endeavouring to relieve *Sluce*, the Siege of *Oſtend* might be endangered, by too much weakning the Forces which wrought upon it: Out of theſe reaſons he denied this employment as much as he could; but being compelled by the Archduke, he obtained that ſome of the chief Commanders of the Army might go along with him, that he might be the better ruled by their advice, and that he might in this manner the better juſtifie the event touching the ſuccour which he already foreſaw would not be favourable. Leaving then ſo many men only before *Oſtend* as might ſerve to continue the Siege, he took away the reſt, and with ſome other men, to which the Mutiniers did in a great part joyn: he made up an Army of Six thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand Horſe, with ten pieces of Canon, and a large proviſion of victuals, which was that which *Sluce* wanted moſt. The want thereof was already ſo great, as if all the ſpeedier care were not taken, the Town could hold no longer out, and this the Governor had openly made known. *Spinola* therefore after he had aſſembled his men together about *Bruges* on the beginning of *Auguſt*, haſtned his march as much as he could, and went towards *Dama*. By the notice he had of the condition of the Enemies Fortifications, he hoped to bring in the ſuccour by a little Village called *Terverde*. *Juſtinian* had likewiſe tryed to convey ſome victuals into the Town by that way; but he not being able to overcome the reſiſtance made by the Enemy; they had afterward fortified that place better: So as *Spinola* endeavouring the ſame again, he could by no means force the Paſs: taking a farther compaſs about, he attempted afterwards to get into the Iſland of *Caſſante*; on which ſide he imagined that the Enemies Trenches were neither ſo well fortified, nor ſo well guarded as in other parts. He met with ſome obſtacle in paſſing over ſome Channels; but he got over them, and giving the beſt fitting orders to march by night, and come unexpectedly upon the Enemy, it was impoſſible for him by reaſon of divers difficulties he met with, to get thither before it was day. The Catholicks did notwithſtanding valiantly aſſault the Enemy; by whom being as ſtoutly withſtood, the fight continued a great while; but Count *Maurice* coming in himſelf in perſon, and re-inforcing the defence anſwerable to the danger, the Catholicks were at laſt forced to retreat.

There

There were ſome 400 of them ſlain, and as many hurt; amongſt which the Campmaſter *Borgia* was ſorely wounded in both his Arms. In this action the Marquis of *Renty* was particularly ſlain, who was in the prime of his youth; of great expectation, and one of the chiefeſt of the Nobility of that Country. The enemy loſt likewiſe much blood, and that of the beſt, in this fight. The aſſault proving ineffectual, the Town was ſoon after delivered up upon honorable conditions. Little leſs than 4000 Souldiers marched out of it, and went to *Dama*, making a moſt compaſſionate ſpectacle; for they were all ſo macerated with hunger, having ſuffered the utmoſt extremities thereof, as they rather ſeemed Skeletons than Men. And in two ſhort hours march (for it is no more between *Sluce* and *Dama*) threeſcore of them dropped down dead for very weakneſs. *Sluce* being loſt, *Spinola* returned likewiſe to *Dama*; and went from thence to the Siege of *Oſtend* again. *Sluce* was ſurrendred about the midſt of *October*, when Count *Maurice* entred therein: glorying that in three months time, and with the loſs of ſo little blood, he had made a greater acquiſition than that of *Oſtend*, which would coſt above three years expence of time, and an infinity of Spaniſh Gold and Blood, if it could not at leaſt hold out longer. Great ſtore of Artillery of all ſorts was found in the Town, and in the Forts; and all the Gallies which were well furniſhed with all things which were requiſite to the deſign for which they were intended, fell likewiſe into *Maurice* his hands.

The Archduke appeared much diſpleaſed hereat. And it being to be doubted that the Enemy, favoured by ſo important an acquiſition, and having all their Forces almoſt ſtill intire, would preſently come with diſplayed Banners to the relief of *Oſtend*; the Archduke therefore gave forth immediately all neceſſary Orders to keep them from ſo doing. Thoſe places towards which it was thought that *Maurice* might lead his Army from *Sluce* to *Oſtend*, were therefore ſpeedily provided for, and well fortified. And the Archduke gave the chief care thereof to *Spinola*; as to him who bore the whole burthen of the Siege. Amongſt other places, he endeavoured to ſecure the Town of *Dama*, and the Fort *Blanchembuerg*; the former being ſeated more inward into the Country, and the other upon the Sea, almoſt in equal diſtance between *Sluce* and *Oſtend*. *Maurice* muſt needs paſs either by the one or the other of theſe, to bring his men to the relief. And becauſe it was feared that he would rather do it by *Blanchembuerg* ſide, *Spinola* drew thither as great a force as was neceſſary to withſtand *Maurice*, if he ſhould have the aforeſaid intent. Theſe Orders being given, he returned to the Siege, reſolving to carry it ſo as it might the ſpeedilyer be ended. And he already thought himſelf almoſt ſure of it: For the loſs of *Sluce*, had not only not diſheartned the Catholicks in the Siege of *Oſtend*, but had rather inflamed them the more, out of a deſire that the loſs of that place might be counterpoiſed by the winning of this.

At the ſame time then that the enemies were hotteſt againſt *Sluce*, the Catholicks were no leſs fervent againſt *Oſtend*. Each of the aforeſaid Nations had proceeded on in their ſeveral quarters, purſuing to lead on their works in manner aforeſaid; but not without continual loſs of blood; and amongſt the reſt, Camp-maſter *Melzi* was ill hurt in his leg; and Campmaſter *Juſtinian* received ſuch a wound in his Arm, as he was forced to have it cut quite off. Yet the Catholicks at laſt made themſelves maſters of the Ditch; nor were they long afterwards in winning the firſt Line; though the enemy made as many retreats as they could in every Bulwark; making of one Flank many, and very much retarding the oppugnors proceedings. When they had won the firſt Line, they diſcovered a new Fortification which thoſe within had raiſed with Ditches, Flanks, and other defences. *Sluce* was juſt then loſt; and it was feared that Count *Maurice* would come to the relief of *Oſtend*. The Catholicks being therefore ſo much the more moved, and *Spinola* being again returned, it is not to be expreſt with what fervor they fell to their works on all ſides. The greateſt progreſs was made towards the old Town of *Oſtend*. And becauſe when they ſhould have won that, they might eaſily hinder the entrance into the Channel, by the mouth whereof ſuccour was brought from the Sea; and for that the new Town was much commanded by the old, therefore *Spinola* did more re-inforce his Batteries, Aſſaults, Mines, and all his other moſt efficacious Works on that ſide than on any other. Nor was it long ere the Catholicks had almoſt wholly taken it.

They likewiſe advanced after the ſame manner againſt the new Fortification, ſo as now the beſieged had no where whither to retreat: Wherefore wanting ground to defend, when they moſt abounded in all things for defence, they were at laſt forced to ſurrender the Town: Which was done about the midſt of *September*, upon all the moſt honorable conditions that they could deſire. Count *Maurice* was often minded to attempt the ſuccour by main force; but conſidering that he was to enter into an Enemies Country, amongſt ſtrong and well guarded Towns, and that he ſhould meet with men that were very ready to fight; he thought it not fit after his proſperous ſucceſs at *Sluce*, to hazard falling into ſome misfortune, as upon ſuch an occaſion he might peradventure do; and therefore he forbore to do it. It was a remarkable thing to ſee ſo many Souldiers march out of a Town: For there were above 4000 of them, all ſtrong and healthful, they having enjoyed great plenty of all things in *Oſtend*, by reaſon of their continual ſuccours. So as beſides great ſtore of Artillery, there was found in the Town ſuch abun-

dance of Victuals, Ammunition, and of whatsoever else may be imagined for the defence of a royal Town, as the like was never known to be in any other place.

Thus ended the Siege of *Ostend*: very memorable doubtless in it self; but much more in consideration of the so great expence of monies and time, which the winning and losing of it cost. The Siege continued above three years; in which time the constant opinion was, that there dyed, what by the sword, what by sickness, above a hundred thousand men, between the one and the other side. Whereby it may be conceived what proportionable monies, and other things were therein spent. The Town being yielded up, the Archduke and Infanta had the curiosity to go see it, and went from *Gaunt* thither; where they found nothing but a mishapen Chaos of Earth, which hardly retained any shew of the first *Ostend*. Ditches fill'd up, Curtains beaten down, Bulwarks torn in pieces, Half-moons, Flanks and Redouts so confused one with another, as one could not be distinguished from another; nor could it be known on which side the oppugnation, or on which side the defence was. Yet they would know all, and receive the whole relation from *Spinola*'s own mouth. He represented at full the last posture of the Siege; he shewed the Spaniards quarters, and that of the Italians, as also those of each other Nation. He related how stoutly they contended who should outvie one another in pains taking; on which part the greatest resistance was made within; where the dispute was most difficult without; where they wanted ground to retreat unto; where the Enemy used their utmost power; and where at last the Town was surrendred. The Archdukes saw the great Platform, the great Dike, and whatsoever else of curious might be suggested by the unusual face of that Siege; but not without the Infanta's great compassion, and even almost tears, by looking upon the horror of those parts where the Sword, Fire, Sea and Earth may be said to have conspired together in making so long and so miserable a destruction of Christians. They both of them did very much commend *Spinola*, and did also thank the rest of the Commanders who had deserved well in that enterprise. Nor did they less gratulate the inferior Officers and Souldiers, who had exposed themselves most to those dangers. They left the Seignor *de Grison*, the Walloon Camp-master, Governor of *Ostend*; and giving such other Orders as were fitting for the keeping of that place, they returned to *Gaunt*, and soon after to their usual abode of *Brussels*. *Autumn* this mean while ran on; and that Summers extraordinary toyl and labour had very much tired the Armies of both sides: wherefore it was needful for them to repose. They were therefore drawn out of the Field, and put into Garison. Soon after that year ended, and the other of 1605 began.

Marquis *Spinola* had not as yet been at the Court of *Spain*, and therefore he would no longer delay going thither. He hoped that his taking of *Ostend* would make him be the better received in that Court, and cause him return the better satisfied to *Flanders*. The Archdukes were not willing to let him go; but afterwards sent all such praises with him, as might best further his going, and return. He went away about the latter end of the year, and was very honourably received both by the King, and the whole Court; wherein he treated long of the affairs of *Flanders*, shewing in particular, that they must use all means to carry the War into the Enemies Country, by passing the *Rhine*, and by displaying the Kings Banners in those parts; so as the Rebels might receive their greater punishment nearer home. He lively represented the unruly mutinies, and that there was no way to prevent them, but by paying the Souldier well; and he was so well listened unto in all other things, as the King thought it fitting to return him with all possible speed back to *Flanders*. At his departure, he made him, and declared him to be Camp-master-General, and Governor of all his Forces in those Provinces; giving him very great authority, not only in the distributing of monies, but also in the exercise of his Command. He was honoured with the Golden Fleece, and so fully satisfied with all other manner of demonstrations, as he returned very well pleased to *Flanders*. Arriving at *Brussels* with very good Bills of Exchange, he forthwith caused the mutiners to be satisfied; and strict orders were given for the raising of new men in *Germany*, and some others in the neighbouring Countries: besides, a Brigado of Neapolitans was expected from *Italy*, and one of *Lombards*, and another which came by Sea from *Spain*.

This great preparation of Arms made by the Catholicks, being discovered, the Enemy were no less vigilant to come with good Forces likewise assoon as possibly they could into the Field. They were the first that marched; and with such a design, as none more bold, nor of greater concernment could be imagined, if they had been therein answered by Fortune. Count *Maurice* having assembled together in the beginning of *May* 15000 Foot, and 2500 Horse, and imbarking the greatest part of them, Cout *Ernestus* of *Nassaw* entred into the *Sebeld* with them, and Count *Maurice* met him with the rest by Land, near the great Fort of *Lillo*, two Leagues beneath *Antwerp*. The United Provinces possest that Fort on the right hand shore, and another just over against it on the contrary shore. The design was to cut those Dikes on both the sides by which the Sea is chiefly kept out at high Tide: So as the lower situations being thereby overflown, the Enemy might the better fortifie the higher parts, and by this means begirt *Antwerp*, and so come by so important a City. They could not move so unexpectedly, but that the

the Archduke and *Spinola* had got notice of it long before. Neceſſary Orders were therefore taken for the preſervation of thoſe Dikes, by certain Forts which ſtood on divers ſides where there was moſt need. To this purpoſe *Spinola* diſpatched away the Spaniſh Camp-maſter *Iuico di Borgia*, and *Alonſo di Luna*, with their Brigadoes, and *Signor Balanſon* with his Brigado of *Burgonians*, immediately thither. The greateſt danger lay on the left ſide ſo the River, and here likewiſe was the greateſt defence made. *Maurice* knew very well what difficulties his deſign would meet withal by this oppoſition: yet he would put it to the tryal. Wherefore aſſaulting the Dike which was neareſt *Callo*, his men endeavoured by all means to poſſeſs themſelves of it: But *Borgia*, who had the defence it, did ſo repulſe the Enemy, as many of them were ſlain, many wounded, and many drowned in the River.

Count *Maurice* falling off this enterpriſe, reſolved to retreat, and came again to *Lillo* with all his Naval Preparation, and from thence went to *Zealand*, intending to advance into thoſe parts which were neareſt the Province of *Flanders*, and to endeavour ſome new acquiſition neat *Sluce*. The Archduke ſuſpected this very much, and feared leſt *Maurice* would fall upon the Town of *Hulſt*, or upon the Fort *Saſſe*: wherefore *Spinola* went preſently to thoſe parts; throwing a Bridg of Boats over the *Scheld*, that he might the ſooner get over, he paſt with many Foot and Horſe into the Country of *Waſſe*, in the midſt whereof *Hulſt* ſtands, and here prepared to oppoſe the Enemy as he ſhould ſee occaſion. Count *Maurice* being entred into the Gulf which is neareſt the Fort *Saſſe*, and landing his men, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the Seats thereabouts, and began to fortifie himſelf in a certain part: ſhewing clearly that he intended to begirt that Fort. But it was ſo well provided to make defence, by *Spinola*, as there was no fear of loſing it; Nor was he long in appearing thereabouts himſelf. *Spinola* had with him thirteen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, with great proviſion of all other things. He fortified himſelf alſo; and the Armies were ſo near one another, as daily skirmiſhes paſt between them. At this time came the three Brigadoes which were expected from *Italy*: But the other which came by Sea from *Spain*, had not the like Fortune. *Pietro di Sermiente* who was Camp-maſter thereof, conducted it in eight ſhips; and meeting with many great ſhips of *Holland* in the Engliſh Channel, which lay waiting for him, he was aſſaulted by them; and after a fierce fight, moſt of the Spaniſh Ships, with the men that were in them were taken by the Enemy. The Campmaſter ſaved himſelf with the reſt of the Ships and Souldiers, and got to *Dunkirk*. At the ſame time the Germans, and thoſe of the neighbouring Nations were likewiſe raiſed. Wherefore the Arch-duke reſolved *Spinola* ſhould no longer delay to put the deſign in Execution, which was agreed upon in *Spain*; which was to paſs the *Rhine*, to advance into *Frieſland*, and to make ſome great diverſion againſt the Enemy on thoſe parts.

Count *Frederick de Berg* ſtayed therefore only with ſuch Forces, as might ſuffice to oppoſe *Maurice*, and *Spinola* went from the Province of *Flanders*, and coming to *Briſſels*, paſt with all ſpeed to make his rendezvouz at *Maſtrick*. Prince *Avelino* conducted over the Neapolitans, and returned preſently for *Italy*. *Franciſco Colonna*, Prince of *Paleſtrina* was then in *Flanders*, being a little before come thither from *Rome*; and there was likewiſe *Andrea Matteo Aquaviva*, Prince of *Caſerta*, who came thither likewiſe about the ſame time. One of the two Neapolitan Brigadoes was given to *Colonna*; and *Aleſſandro di Monti* was Camp-maſter of the other. Count *Guido* St. *Georgio* commanded the Lombard Brigado; and *Chriſtophero de Conti d' Emden* was the principal of the German Colonels. Before *Spinola* came to *Maſtrick*, he had diſpatched away Count *Bucquoy*, General of the Artillery, to begin a Fort upon the right ſide of the *Rhine*, which was the moſt ſuſpected. The place he choſe was neer *Caſeſuert*, a little Town belonging to the Arch-biſhoprick of *Cullen*. Here *Bucquoy* began to build the Fort; whither it was not long ere *Spinola* came, who haſtning the work, cauſed it ſoon to be erected, with a Line of five Flanks; and raiſed another leſſer one on the other ſide towards *Cullen*. The Arch-duke and *Spinola* kept their intentions of paſſing with their Armies over the *Rhine* very ſecret; and therefore the Arch-duke ſeeming to his own Captains, as if he had ſome other deſign, had oftimes had it argued in Council, whether it were better to endeavour the recovery of *Sluce* or *Graves*, or to beſiege *Bergen ap Zome*, or rather *Breda*, never touching upon the true deſign. Upon the variety of theſe Propoſals, there was variety of opinions; and the Arch-duke had induſtriouſly wrought it ſo, as that the Enemy might be advertiſed of theſe conſultations, to make them the leſs ſuſpitious that they intended any thing beyond the *Rhine*: nor did his thoughts abuſe him, for the Enemy being thus deluded, and out of other reſpects, not believing that the Catholicks would put on ſo bold a reſolution, they were not time enough to relieve the Towns which *Spinola* begirt, and took in thoſe parts, (as ſhall be related) this ſo ſpeedy march of *Spinola*'s towards the *Rhine*, made the Enemy believe he would beſiege *Rainberg*, and the ſame opinion was conceived in the Catholick Camp, which did not yet know the true deſign. Of all others Count *Maurice* believed the like; who therefore had made Count *Ernſtus* march away with good Forces; to the end that the fortifications of that place might be by him ſo ſtrengthned both without and within, as there might be no fear of loſing it.

This mean while the two aforesaid Forts were finished by *Spinola*, by which that passage of the *Rhine* was secured. He then no longer deferred the making known whither the Catholick Camp was bent: but calling a Council of War, he said:

That the King and Arch-duke had resolved to carry the War to the Rebels own homes, and more inward if they could: That so strong an Army was prepared to this purpose. That to this purpose monies were prepared to maintain the Army; And that to the same end he had already secured the passage over the Rhine. *That the determination was to enter the Enemies Country towards* Friesland; *and particularly to make use of all their power to take the Town of* Linghen *in those parts. That his Highness pleasure was, that this design should by all means be kept secret, that so it might be the easilier effected; and that there was almost no doubt to be made of it. That they knew the Town was at this time but ill provided; the Enemy never having dreamed, that it could at such a distance, and so at unawares be assaulted by the Catholick Forces. That it was a great way off; and that they were to pass through a great part of the Neutrals Countries, where it might be feared they might suffer for want of Victuals. But that there was already great provision made thereof; and that they were to march through that Country with such discipline, as the Souldiers being no ways troublesome and having sufficient monies for plenty of Victuals, they need fear no want. That for what remained, the taking of such a Town would be of very great importance. That Count* Maurice *had still fortified it better; that it lay in the Havens of* Friesland, *almost upon the Confines of* Germany: *and that if once they should get footing there, wherefore might they not hope, that this happy success might be insued by many more happy?*

The Council of War did much approve of this advice; and it was likewise very chearfully received by all the Souldiery. The Army was compounded of the usual Nations; and consisted of 16000 Foot, and 3000 Horse. They were particularly to pass over a great part of the neutral Country of *Cleves*, and *Westphalia*. And to the end that all things might be the fairlier carried on, both in them, and in all other places of the like nature; *Spinola* had with him the Count *di Lora*, one of the chiefest and best esteemed Lords of all *Flanders*, who was to negotiate with the Magistrates of each Town, and to give them all due satisfaction. To secure the passage of the *Rhine*, and the Army also on their back; Count *Bucquoy* had the charge of the new Forts, having 6000 Foot and 500 Horse with him. From whence *Spinola* marched away with the rest, and began to enter into the Country of *Cleves*, and after into *Westphalia*. He marched still orderly, and with so exquisite and severe Discipline, as Victuals were brought unto the Camp in great abundance from all patts. Coming out of those Countries, he entred into the Province of *Overisel*, belonging to the United States, and very near *Friesland*. The first considerable Town he met with there, in that passage was *Oldensel*; not above one short days journey from *Linghen*. The Council were of opinion that the taking of this Town would facilitate the taking of the other. *Oldensel* was weak of it self, and the Enemy not expecting to have it assaulted, had neglected to fortifie it. *Spinola* incamping before the Town, opened Trenches on three sides; and in each of them prepared a Battery; and all this was done with such speed, as the Defendants failing in their courage, or rather in their Forces, the Batteries were not well begun, when they treated of surrender, and went out of the Town. *Spinola* had in this interim sent away Count *Theodore Trivulsio*, with almost all the Horse, who was Lieutenant General of them, that he might possess himself of all the chiefest situations about *Linghen*. And coming himself after with the rest of the Army, incamped before the Town, and according to his custome, gave out quarters to each Nation. *Linghen* lies almost at an equal distance between the Western *Friesland* belonging to *Flanders*, and the Eastern one appertaining to *Germany*: It hath a good Country about it. And (as we have already told you) the United States had formerly given that Town, with the Territories thereof to Count *Maurice*, in acknowledgment of the service he had done them. He had therefore fortified the Town very Royally, adding a great Platform to the Line thereof, and muniting it with six Bulwarks; each of which had a large and deep Ditch about it. But the Town being set upon so unexpectedly, it wanted many other things appertaining to the defence thereof. When the Catholicks therefore encamped before it, they met with almost no resistance in their beginning their Trenches, and in their leading of them on. There were hardly 600 Foot in Garison there, and they had hardly ten pieces of Canon. In so much as making but few Sallies, and doing but little harm with their Canon, at three days end the Catholicks came to the Ditch; and placed their Artillery to play upon the Town on sundry sides. The greatest difficulty lay in getting over the Ditch. It was broadest, and deepest where the Spaniards wrought: wherefore they thought to drain the water from it, and to lay it dry. But there was no lower parts about it. The place easiest to pass over fell to the Italians and Walloons; and these two Nations striving which of them should be foremost, strove likewise who should expose themselves to greatest danger; insomuch as many of each Nation were slain and wounded, yet they did so advance with Earth, Bavins, and other materials, as they both of them passed over the Ditch almost at the same time. They then fell to mining that they might the sooner come to assaults. But they within were not in a condition to expect them. Wherefore hanging out signs of surrender, they were suffered to march out honourably, and *Spinola* entred the Town, not having spent above eight days in the taking of it. He

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preſently applyed himſelf to fortifie it better than it yet was; adding a half-Moon betwixt one Bulwark and another, and by raiſing a *Strada Coperta* well flank'd without the Ditch.

This mean while Count *Maurice* was likewiſe upon his march; and parting from the Province of *Flanders*, had alſo paſſed the *Rhine* to oppoſe *Spinola*: and ſtaying in *Deventer*, the chief Town of *Overiſtel*, he bethought how he might preſerve *Lingben*. But being prevented by the ſpeedy Siege, and then by the ſurrender, he had not time to make ſuch preparations as were fitting for that purpoſe. He therefore turned with 7000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe towards *Coworden*, to ſecure a great Fort which was there, in caſe that *Spinola* ſhould aſſault it. But the new Fortifications about *Lingben* being finiſhed, and leaving that Town well provided for, as alſo the other of *Ouldenſel*, *Spinola* would tarry no longer in thoſe parts. Great complaints were made in *Germany* againſt the Forts of *Caſeſuert*, a place ſituated in the Territories of *Cullen*, which is a City belonging to the Empire. Wherefore the Archduke not willing that the neighbouring Countries ſhould be again irritated, as they had been a few years before; ordered *Spinola* that he ſhould ſlight thoſe firſt Forts, and ſhould erect two others, upon the *Rhine* at *Rorort*, a Town in the County of *Mures*, which County did belong to *Flanders*. *Spinola* went therefore from *Lingben* thitherward, and with all diligence began to raiſe the new Forts upon the banks of *Rhine*. And the ſeaſon being yet very good for lying in the Field, he reſolved that Count *Bucquoy* ſhould go take *Vachendonch*. This Town ſtands very low, and is held for one of the ſtrongeſt both for Nature and induſtry, that is in the Province of *Ghelderland*, as you may have heard before.

Bucquoy began his works upon a little riſe, and fortified certain paſſes, where ſuccour was moſt to be ſuſpected: though it were credibly believed, that *Maurice* would not attempt it, to ſhun putting himſelf betwixt the men which *Spinola* kept with him at *Rorort*, and thoſe that *Bucquoy* carried along with him to beſiege *Vachendonch*. Theſe conſiſted almoſt wholly of the Brigadoes belonging to *Juſtinian*, *Brancaccio*, and St. *George*. Theſe Italian Camp-maſters, and their Souldiers vying who ſhould be forwardeſt therein, more than if they had been to contend with other Nations, they quickly advanced their Trenches. One Camp-maſter ſucceeded the other, after every days work, which continued alſo the enſuing night, that they might advance the ſpeedier, and with the more ſafety. There were 1300 Foot in the Town, nor wanted they ſufficient Artillery by which at a further diſtance, and by their ſallies nearer hand, they endeavoured to hinder the aſſailants Works. On the ſide where theſe wrought, there ran a little Rivolet, which did almoſt joyn with the Town-Ditch on that ſide. When the Catholicks came to this Rivolet, they were withſtood in paſſing over it; but repulſing the Enemy, they came to the Ditch; where meeting with freſh obſtacles, they again overcame them. Being entred into the Ditch, they were very diligent to win it; filling it with Earth, and other materials, and mainly endeavouring to get to the Line. It was now about the end of *October*, and it was apprehended leſt the Autumnal rains might hinder the works more, then the low and miery ſituation of the Town it ſelf did retard them. Wherefore they continued their works with ſuch eagerneſs, as at laſt the Ditch was totally won at the price of death and wounds. They then fell to Mines, and from Mines to Aſſaults inſomuch as the Catholicks lodged in the Platform of the Wall, being brought to this bad condition, the defendants did no longer delay to treat of ſurrender, which being agreed upon, they quitted the Town upon good conditions.

Whilſt *Bucquoy* beſieged *Vachendonch*, there hapened a very conſiderable party between *Spinola*'s Camp, and that of Count *Maurice*. *Spinola* kept about *Rorort* by reaſon of the new Forts which he cauſed to be erected upon the *Rhine*, and *Maurice* was not far off, upon the ſame ſide of the River; each Camp obſerved the others proceedings, either to get advantage, or not to be endammaged thereby: *Maurice* knew that the Catholicks Cavalry was quartered far enough from the reſt of the Camp, and that they were ſufficiently at odds within themſelves. Wherefore he hoped that by aſſaulting them ſuddenly, he might greatly diſorder them, and peradventure totally defeat them. They were quartered in the Village *Mulem*, and in the Caſtle *Bruck*; the one of which was ſeated upon the left hand, and the other upon the right, of the little River *Roer*: The ſaid quarter was kept by *Trivulſio*, Lieutenant General of the Horſe, who had given very accurate orders every where, where it was behoofeful, that he might not be ſet upon at unawares. But theſe Orders were very ill obſerved, and *Maurice* being advertiſed of the Souldiers careleſsneſs, he went with three thouſand Foot, two thouſand Horſe, and ſome pieces of Artillery; and marching by night, came upon break of day to the quarter. He forthwith made his Brother *Henry* advance, who was General of the Horſe, a young man about ſome twenty years of age, but ſprightly and bold beyond his age; and who after Count *Maurice* his death, ſucceeded him both in the ſame command in War, in the like reputation of name, and did afterwards prove ſo gallant a Commander. *Henry*'s unexpected aſſault put the firſt Guards to flight, and likewiſe diſorder'd *Franciſco Arirazaval*, a Spaniard, who was quartered with a Troop of Horſe in certain houſes near the Caſtle *Bruck*. There *Henry* would have paſſed over the River, and have aſſaulted the chief quarter of *Mulem*. But in this interim *Trivulſio* and many

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of his men were got on Horſe-back, and encountring *Henry*, did ſo ſtoutly oppoſe him, as he could not paſs over the River.

Velaſco General of the Catholicks Horſe, was then with *Spinola*, to ſolicite likewiſe the raiſing of the Forts, and caſually both of them came to viſit the Horſe-quarter, who by the way they met a meſſenger whom *Trivulſio* had ſent to pray aid. *Spinola* returned preſently to the Forts to bring on ſuccour, and *Velaſco* advanced in all haſte towards the Quarter; and meeting with *Fabritio Santomango* a Neapolitan Captain Horſe, who was going with three other Horſe Companies to *Rorort* to guard the Forts, he made him turn back with him to *Mulem*. *Velaſco* came in juſt when *Trivulſio* over-powred by the Enemy, could no longer withſtand them. But this aid did ſo enhearten the Catholicks, as a fierce fight enſued thereupon; wherein *Velaſco* in particular, wan great praiſe; commanding, executing, and in all things elſe making his courage and his long military experience appear. *Spinola* came in this mean while with ſix hundred Spaniſh Foot, which ſuddenly followed him, and two thouſand more were to come after. He made uſe of a Stratagem often practiſed by Commanders, which was to ſend forward ſome Drums on Horſe-back, which might beat a march, to make the Enemy believe that new and greater ſuccour was with like haſte coming to the Catholicks; nor did the invention prove vain: for *Maurice* judging (as it was likely) that *Spinola* was either coming with new men from the Catholick Camp of *Rorort*, which was not far diſtant, or that he ſent ſome freſh aid; would no longer forbear retreating. And yet *Spinola* came time enough to prejudice the Enemy in their retreat; for after his coming many of them were ſlain as they departed: But this was not done without a great loſs to the Catholick party. *Trivulſio* being ſlain with a Canon-ſhot, whilſt he, having fought even to the laſt, and ſtill with the ſame courage ſaw the Enemy almoſt wholly retired. On the Catholicks ſide *Santomango* was likewiſe ſlain, and *Micola Doria* another Captain of Horſe, was ill hurt, and taking Priſoner. Above three hundred other Catholicks were ſlain or hurt, and above five hundred in like manner of the contrary party. The fight being over, and the quarter being well ſecured, *Spinola* and *Velaſco* returned to *Rorort*. In the Territory of *Moeurs*, which joyns upon the other Bank of the *Rhine*, there was a Garriſon of the Enemies in the Caſtle of *Cracowe*, which did much annoy the Country thereabouts. *Vachendonch*, lately taken by *Bucquoy* was not far from thence: *Spinola* therefore thought, that by all means that Gariſon muſt be driven from thence: and ſending *Bucquoy* with the ſame men, to ſee it done, the Caſtle was ſoon invironed on all ſides. Thoſe within expected a formal battery; and the weakneſs of the place being ſuch, as it would be in vain to make any reſiſtance, *Bucquoy* would have the Gariſon yield upon diſcretion; yet ſuffered them afterward to come forth with their lives ſaved: It was now about the end of *November*, and by reaſon of the rain there was no longer keeping in the field, wherefore *Spinola* having made the Forts ſufficiently defenceable, and leaving men enough to guard them, reſolved to put his Army in Gariſon; and *Maurice* did the like.

Spinola being come to *Bruſſels*, he diſcourſed a long time with the Arch-duke, touching what they ſhould undertake in the field the next year. The reſolution was, That by an Army apart, they ſhould continue what they had already begun beyond the *Rhine*, and uſe all means to paſs over the *Yſel*, and prejudice the Rebels as much as they could on that ſide. And that at the ſame time they ſhould endeavour to paſs over the *Wahal* with another Army, and to get footing in ſome conſiderable place in the Iſland of *Betway*, that the Catholicks Armies might advance ſo much the further into that part of *Holland*. This was a high deſign, and the difficulties that were therein to be met withal were foreſeen: for it was not to be doubted but that the United Provinces would endeavour with like Forces to hinder thoſe paſſages, and would uſe all other needful oppoſition. *Spinola* thought it therefore fit to go himſelf again to the Court of *Spain*, to the end, that by his more efficacious ſhewing of how great a concern the aforeſaid undertakings were, the King with the Authority of his Council might approve thereof; and ſo deal with his Forces, as that they might prove fully effected. The Arch-duke was of the ſame opinion, and *Spinola* departed in the very latter end of that year.

Now came in the next year of 1606. memorable for that it was the laſt for that time, in which after ſo long and bitter War, the *Flanders* Forces went into the field. For in the enſuing year the Treaty of Truce began, which was afterwards concluded for Twelve years, as we ſhall by and by tell you. *Spinola* being arrived at *Madrid*, it was not hard for him to perſuade the King to the ſame things which the Archduke had formerly approved of: the greateſt difficulty lay in finding out ſufficient Monies for ſuch enterpriſes; for, to boot, with the uſual contributions of the obedient Provinces of *Flanders*, it was caſt up Three hundred thouſand Crowns a month would be requiſite to come from *Spain*. An exceſſive expence in it ſelf, and much more in reſpect of the ſo many other great expences, which the vaſtneſs of the Spaniſh Empire did neceſſarily require in ſo many other parts: yet ſuch diligence was uſed, as there was courſe taken for it; and ſome part thereof was diſburſt in *Flanders* before hand, to raiſe new men, and in providing divers other things which were neceſſary for going into the Field. Theſe negotiations kept *Spinola* longer in *Spain* than the affairs of *Flanders* would allow of. At his departure, the

King to witneſs his confidence in him, and eſteem of him, made him one of his chief Counci of State. He at laſt began his journey backward by the way of *Italy*, and parting from *Genua*, was ſtayed in his journey by a Feaver, which kept him from coming to *Bruſſels* till the firſt of *June*. Nothing of conſiderable had this mean while been done in *Flanders*: only Monſieur *de Teraglia*, a Frenchman had put himſelf into the Kings ſervice, he being very well verſed in matter of Artillery and Petars, which are made uſe of in ſurpriſals. Whereof he made uſe of divers on both ſides the *Rhine*; but ſince none of them wrought any conſiderable effect, we will forbear to mention them.

Spinola being arrived, and the Army being increaſed by new Germans and Walloons, and by 2000 Spaniards, who were come from *Italy* under the Camp-maſter *Jovanni Bravoi*; the Archduke would no longer forbear putting the aforeſaid deſigns in execution. And thus it was carried. *Spinola* made his Rendezvouz about the Forts upon the *Rhine*, and having muſtered there 12000 Foot and 2000 Horſe, he reſolved to advance into that other part where *Oldenſel* and *Linghen* were taken the year before. The reſolution was, as we told you, to paſs over the River *Yſel*, and to get into *Vela*, which is an open Country, and near *Utrecht*, a City of great circuit, but badly fortified; in ſo much as they might hope to take ſo principal a Town, and having well fortified it, to trouble *Holland*, near which that City ſtands on that ſide. Count *Bucquoy* prepared at the ſame time to paſs over *Wahal*, intending to bring the Catholick Forces into the Iſland of *Betua*, and there to get footing, and take ſome place of importance. *Nimeghen* would have been the moſt conſiderable of all others; a great City, ſituated upon the left ſide of the ſame River, and which bore great conſequences with it. We have ſo often, upon ſo many other occurrences, ſpoken of this City, and of the ſame Rivers of *Wahal* and *Yſel*, as it will be ſuperfluous to make the ſame relations again here.

Bucquoy had with him 10000 Foot, and 1200 Horſe, with plenty of all neceſſary proviſions; and in *Spinola*'s Camp there were above 3000 Carriages with great ſtore of Victuals and Ammution; with Mills, Ovens, and all other accommodations neceſſary. This extraordinary great preparation on the Catholicks behalf, made the United Provinces firſt very ſuſpitious, and then very fearful. They had not then Forces enough to oppoſe the Catholicks in the open Field; they therefore reſolved to ſupply that want, by fortifying thoſe River-banks, where moſt fear was to be had that the Catholicks would endeavour to paſs over; by better fortifying thoſe Towns which they thought they would aſſail. And truly they made wonderful Fortifications upon this occaſion. They made a great many Redouts upon the banks of all that ſhore of the *Wahal*, which runs along the Iſland of *Betua*, where it might be feared the Catholicks might attempt to poſſeſs it on that ſide. A *Corps de Gard* was aſſigned, with Sentinels to every Redout; and according to occaſion one Redout was to aſſiſt another. At the ſame time divers men of War, and other Boats were to ſcour up and down upon the River, to be another ſort of impediment; and ſtrict Orders were given to all the Towns thereabouts, that with great vigilancy they ſhould be prepared to ſend forth men, to make the like oppoſition. The other yet greater tract of ground which ran along the ſhore of *Yſel*, was likewiſe equally defended. So as having made theſe proviſions, the Enemy ſeemed little to dread what the Catholicks could do. And yet Count *Maurice* aſſembled ſo great a body of an Army together, as being added to thoſe ſo advantagious Fortifications where moſt need required, might cauſe the greater hopes of rendring all contrary deſigns vain.

Spinola parted from the Rendezvouz about the beginning of *July*, and marched towards *Yſel*. The ſeaſon was very rainy before he could paſs the *Rhine*. The Climate of *Flanders* doth naturally abound in moiſture and rain. And the Spring, and Summer, and Autumn, are uſually there ſo confounded together, as one ſeaſon can hardly be diſcerned from another; but extraordinary ſtore of rain fell particularly that Summer, and all the while the Enemy kept in the Field during that year. *Spinola* marched through low grounds, where the water which was alſeady fallen, and which ſtill continuing to fall, had made the ways through which he marched, extraordinarily durty, and ſlippery. It is not to be ſaid how much the Souldiers ſuffered thereby; how much the Artillery was incommodated; and particularly how great the diſorder was in conducting ſuch an unuſual number of Carriages. *Spinola*, and the reſt of the Commanders, and the whole Army, were greatly afflicted in ſeeing the ſeaſon prove ſo perverſe; and they were more grieved when they heard that the Rivers were ſo ſwoln, as they were not to be forded over in any part. *Spinola* knew likewiſe what great Fortifications the Enemy had made on the contrary ſhore, and whatſoever elſe they had done to impede the paſſage. Yet he ſtill drew towards *Yſel*; and afterwards marched towards thoſe parts where *Zutfen* and *Deventer* ſtand. Between theſe two Towns, on the other ſide the River did Count *Maurice* keep with his Army, that he might turn where occaſion ſhould moſt require. *Spinola* did ſtudiouſly endeavour to make him ſtill keep there, till ſuch time as Count *de Sora* might come to a certain place a good way from thence, which was a little below the Town *Swole*, where he intended that *Sora* ſhould by all means attempt to paſs over the River: and in the mean while *Spinola* thought it might be advantagious for him to take *Lochem*, a little Town, not very

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ſtrong, but opportune for the condition of the ſituations where he at that time kept. He therefore ſent the Camp-maſter *Borgia*, who was a little before choſen Governor of *Antwerp* Citadel, to begirt it with 3000 Foot, and 500 Horſe. He met with but ſhort reſiſtance: For the Catholicks being come in two days to the Ditch, and having began a Battery on the third day, thoſe within ſurrendred the Town. *Spinola* hoped ſtill that the River of *Yſel* would fall, and that Count *Sora* might get over it, at the aforeſaid place. But he being come thither, and having made ſome tryal, found both the Water ſo high, and the oppoſition made by the Enemy ſo great, as he failed in his deſign.

Whilſt Marquis *Spinola* laboured thus on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, *Bucquoy* had alſo gathered his Army together on this ſide, in *Brabant*; and paſſing the *Mauſe* over againſt *Moch*, kept there. *Moch* is an open Village not above four leagues from the *Wahal*. *Bucquoy*'s intention was to attempt a paſſage in a certain place which lay juſt in the midſt between *Schinck*'s Sconce and *Nimeghen*; he had cauſed a great many of Barks proportionable to the deſign, to be carryed upon Carts, to put them into the River; and to put thereinto men ſufficient to make way through the contrary ſhore. Amongſt other Commanders, Camp-maſter *Juſtinian* was with *Bucquoy*, who imployed him in attempting the ſaid Paſs. *Juſtinian* going therefore with 4000 Foot, two pieces of Artillery, and neceſſary Barks for the tranſporting of them, prepared to put the deſign in execution, But he found the Enemy no leſs ready to oppoſe him on that ſide the *Wahal*, than they had been on the other ſide of *Yſel*. The River was much greater, and much more rapid than uſual. Wherefore the Mariners could not govern their Barks as they would have done; nor were their Artillery of any advantage to them; for the contrary ſhore was better furniſhed therewithal: and therefore all attempts proving vain, *Juſtinian* retyred to joyn with the reſt that were with *Bucquoy*. *Spinola* having notice hereof, knew there was no more hopes of paſſing over either in the one, or in the other place; he reſolved then not to part from thoſe places where he was, without making himſelf Maſter of ſome place of importance.

The chiefeſt Towns the Enemy had thereabouts were *Zutfen* and *Deventer*, both of them ſeated upon the *Yſel*, but ſo munited both by the River on one ſide, and by their Fortifications on the other ſide, as they required longer time, and greater Forces than *Spinola* then had to offer at the winning them. Beſides, *Maurice* kept his Army almoſt in the midſt between them. Nor was it to be doubted but that he might be at liberty to ſuccour which of the Towns he would. The Town of *Groll* is not far from thereabouts; and though it were not to be compared with the other two, it was notwithſtanding to be eſteemed a place of great conſequence, both in it ſelf, and becauſe by the ſituation thereof the other two Towns of *Oldenſel*, and *Lingben*, which were won the preceding year, might be the better ſheltered. *Spinola* therefore reſolved to apply himſelf to this Siege. And the deſign being approved of in the Council of War, he marched towards it on the beginning of *Auguſt*. *Groll* lies in a plain; and on one ſide thereof runs *Berchel*, a little River, but ſufficient to ſerve for a good defence to the Town on that ſide; on the other ſide the Line was well Flanked, and beyond the chiefeſt Ditch ſtood other Flanks, with Ditches likewiſe. *Spinola* diſtributed his quarters out on three ſides, with his uſual diviſion of Nations; to boot with the *Iriſh*, who in Queen *Elizabeths* time were naturally inclined to fight under the Catholicks Colours in *Flanders*, many Engliſh and Scots did the like now. Which was permitted by the new King who ſucceeded her, to witneſs the good intelligence which he held with the King of *Spain* and the Archdukes. The Siege being begun, and the Catholicks ſtriving to end it as ſoon as they could, they came with their Trenches in three days to the Ditch which invironed the Half-Moons without. Then the ſeveral Nations ſtrove a main who ſhould firſt paſs over it: in which ſome Bridges of Cloath extended, upon rafters and little casks did great good; a device invented by the Engineer *Targone*. The firſt Ditch being paſt over, ſome conteſt was had, and not without the loſs of much blood, before they could get the Half-moons: but the Aſſailants making themſelves maſters of them alſo, betook themſelves to ſtorm the chief Line; nor were their Batteries this mean while idle; aſſiſted by which, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the greateſt Ditch, and came to the aforeſaid Line. Thoſe within laboured as much as they could to make good their defences: but all of them being at laſt beaten down by the batteries from without, they knew it would be but in vain to make any further reſiſtance, and therefore reſolved to deliver up the Town, and thus in nine days ſpace *Spinola* took it.

Having gotten this place much ſooner than he expected, and thinking that he had yet time enough, to attempt ſome other Town of better conſequence, he bethought himſelf of *Reinberg*; which had been ſeveral times taken and re-taken by the King of *Spain* and the Archdukes, and by the United Provinces. But being laſt taken by Count *Maurice*, he had fortified it much better than formerly it was; particularly the year before, and this very year, fearing leſt one of *Spinola*'s chief ends about the *Rhine*, might be to beſiege that Town. This was very much approved of in the Council of War, and it was hoped that it might be ſoon effected. *Spinola*'s Army was ſo diminiſhed by reaſon of the unuſual troubles which it had undergone,

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as his Forces alone were not ſufficient to undertake ſuch an enterpriſe: Wherefore he writ to *Bucquoy* to come with all ſpeed to him. *Bucquoy* drew firſt near *Reinberg* on that ſide which lies towards *Brabant*; and *Spinola* ſoon after came on the other ſide which looks towards *Friezeland*. When *Maurice* had diſcovered the deſign, he ſuddenly diſpatched away his brother *Henry* with two thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe into the Town, and began to make fitting proviſions to come to the full relief thereof himſelf. This mean while all the Catholick Forces came on both ſides the *Rhine*; inſomuch, as about the end of *Auguſt*, *Spinola* incamped himſelf formally before the Town on both ſides. *Reinberg* is ſeated on the left hand of the *Rhine*, which is thought to be one of the moſt advantagious ſituations which is to be had about that River. To her former ancient and but ill flanked Line, was added a ſecond, which had a great number of Ravelins, Half-moons, and other greater, and leſſer Flanks, which were all accompanied with a Ditch and *Strada Coperta*. Nor did the outward Rampires end here, but a third Line was almoſt finiſhed, with new Works, flanckt, and of a large circuit to the end that imbracing ſo much compaſs abroad, the inward Fortifications might be the better ſheltered, and defended. Not far from the ſhore where the Town is ſituated, an Iſland of ſmall circuit riſeth in the River: in it there was a Fort with four Flanks, to which other Fortifications were added, which took up almoſt the whole Iſland. And a Fort was likewiſe placed on the other ſide of the ſhore, but with greater Flanks, with Trenches, and other defences near it. The Siege began hotteſt on this ſide, for they deſired firſt to bereave the Enemy of the Fort on the aforeſaid ſhore, and then of the other in the Iſland. Here then they began firſt to fight. The Catholicks were firſt to win the great Trench: but they met with great reſiſtance; and the beſieged ſallyed ſo fiercely out upon them both with Foot and Horſe, as they could not take that fence from the Enemy ſo ſoon as they thought to have done: yet they did ſo vigorouſly re-inforce their aſſaults, as they won the Trench, and made uſe of it afterwards to go the better ſheltered to the taking of the Fort. Where the buſineſs was more hotly diſputed, and the Camp-maſters *Antunes*, a Spaniard, and St. *Georgio* an Italian, behaved themſelves therein very gallantly. But after ſome days ſtout reſiſtance, thoſe within the Fort were at laſt forced to quit it, and went into the other Fort in the Iſland, which was commanded by the other, which gave great advantage to the Catholicks for the eaſily coming by this alſo; and which hapned after divers bickerings, which coſt much blood on both ſides. The Forts being taken, *Velaſco*, the General of the Horſe, ſtayed on that ſide the River, and was very careful in fortifying a quarter; for Count *Maurice* was on that ſide, between *Weeſel* and *Res*, intending to come himſelf upto the ſuccour very ſpeedily, *Spinola* would go to the other ſhore, that he might be an eye-witneſs of the Works which were to be made on that ſide. He from the beginning had made the bridg of boats, firſt built at *Rorort*, to fall down near *Reinberg*, to the end that his Army might have ſuch communication as was needful from the one and the other ſide. *Maurice* had likewiſe thrown another Bridg over the *Rhine*, a little beneath, that he might the more eaſily paſs to relieve the Town; to which purpoſe he aſſembled men together, and made all other neceſſary proviſions. The chief bulk of the buſineſs being then brought to that part whither *Spinola* was gone, the Catholicks began to advance with their Trenches. There was above 4000 Foot, and 300 Horſe in the Town, many pieces of Artillery, and great proviſion of all things that were neceſſary for the defence thereof. There was particularly much French Nobility, who were come to exerciſe their Arms under Count *Maurice*. The beſieged therefore ſallied almoſt every day out of the Town; and oft-times acting the part rather of beſiegers than beſieged, they fell furiouſly upon the Trenches, hindred the Works, and endeavored by all means to retard the Catholicks proceeding. They made one very fierce Sally in particular againſt the Italians Trenches: But the Camp-maſters, *Juſtinian* and *Brancherone* did ſo valiantly defend them, as the Enemy was forced to give back, and to retreat. A like action, and with a like ſucceſs hapned where *Bucquoy* made his men work, who were almoſt all of them *Germans* and *Walloons*. Nor were the ſallies leſs frequent againſt the Spaniards quarters, nor leſs ſtoutly withſtood. *Spinola* had a great care at the ſame time over all the Works, viſiting the quarters, encouraging the Souldiers, and ſtudying to haſten the inward Works, and to ſecure the fields without; in which the Cavalier *Meltzi*, who ſucceeded *Trivulſio* in the Lieutenancy of the Horſe, did worthily behave himſelf; and wherein amongſt other Captains, our brother Cavalier *Bentivoglio*, was much imployed with his Company of Lances, moſt commonly augmented with other Troops of Curaſſiers and Harquebuſiers. The Catholicks did every day thus advance; and the Enemies defences were continually played upon by them, with above 30 pieces of Canon; and the foremoſt which were furtheſt outward and were the leaſt exact, could already no longer reſiſt their aſſaults. Wherefore the Catholicks having won them, laboured to fall into the Ditches of the ſecond. Here the conteſt was longer and fiercer: For it was not to be doubted but that if the Enemy were driven from thence, the Siege might be accounted at an end: But if the oppugnation were great, the reſiſtance was no leſs vigorous: the beſieged uſing likewiſe counterbatteries, countermines, and artificial fires, and with all gallantry oppoſing nearer at hand, Pikes to Pikes, Swords to Swords, and all cloſer defence, to the more cloſe oppoſition of the Adverſaries:

versaries. Many therefore were slain on both sides; and very many were wounded; nor were the chief Commanders less adventurous than those of the meaner sort. On the Catholicks part *Spinola* did worthily behave himself; as did also *Velasco*, and *Bucquoy*: the Camp-masters of each several Nation doing what could be desired at their hands. Nor ought the Duke of *Ossonua* to be forgotten; who though he were one of the chief Subjects of *Spain*, did notwithstanding, without any respect to his person, expose himself to the most usual dangers with the common Souldiers. The Princes of *Caserta* and *Palestrina* laboured with like fervency. And the Marquis *Sigesmond d'Este*, and Marquis *Farrente Bentivoglio*, our Nephew, being come a little before into *Flanders*; neither of them did ever stir from *Spinola*, but imbraced all occasions wherein they might signalize themselves amidst dangers and labours. The defendants shewed equal courage; and those most who were greatest either for Office or Blood. They did notwithstanding conceive that they must shortly be forced to yield, unless Count *Maurice* should come all the sooner with the expected succour; of which he gave assured hope, and prepared for it. But the Catholicks were already well fortified every were. And *Maurice* thought that to go about to force their Trenches, would be too hard a business: having them for his example who upon other occasions of Sieges had so oft in vain endeavoured to force his. He had with him 12000 Foot, and little less than 3000 Horse. Seeming as if he would attempt the relief, he at last resolved to pass over to the other side of the *Rhine*, and dividing the Foot into divers squadrons, securing them on both sides with wings of Horse, he marched towards *Alpen*, a Town belonging to the Country of *Meurs*, and not above three hours march from *Reinberg*. He from thence put 2000 Foot into *Meurs*, a Town not much further from *Reinberg*; and it was thought that he would leave some other in *Alpen*, and make no further attempt at that time; but that returning again more unexpectedly, he would give a very hot false Alarm against *Velasco*'s quarter, and make true assaults elsewhere, making the Garrison sally out furiously at the same time. *Spinola* was advertised by his spies, that *Maurice* was removed, and drawn nigher. Wherefore he caused *Velasco* to joyn with him, together with all his men, save only such who were of necessity to guard the quarter; and sending in like manner for *Bucquoy*, he prepared to give battel. But *Maurice* did advance no further, and *Spinola* still better securing his quarters, it was not perceived that *Maurice* would make any further attempt to introduce succour. As much as the besiegers were inhearted, as much disheartned were the besieged. The former continued to make great ruines with their Batteries, and advancing every day further in filling up the Ditches, and then in undermining the Flanks, they brought the besieged to bethink themselves rather of surrendring, than of defending themselves. Yet divers parties passed before they treated of surrender; in one of which Signior *di Torres*, a Walloon Camp-master, an ancient and highly esteemed Souldier, was slain. All possible Military worth being thus expresst, the besieged condescended at last to treat of delivering up the Town; and having obtained the most honorable conditions from *Spinola* which they could desire, they in the beginning of *October* delivered the Town up into his hands. Above three thousand Foot, and one hundred and fifty Horse marched out of the Town in good order; besides those who were wounded which were above S[illegible] hundred, Five hundred of which dyed. On the Catholick side where more men were slain, and hurt, and the Siege lasted but little longer than a month.

Spinola had not well ended this Siege, when as the Souldiers retreated, a new mutiny began to be discovered; was which endeavoured to be remedied first by fair means, and then by foul; but all proved to no purpose. Their number increased in a short time to Two thousand, what Foot, what Horse, and fomented, as usually, by the Enemy, they went to the parts about *Breda*, and did there secure themselves; to boot, with the diminution of the Army by reason of these men, many more were lost in the late enterprises; so as the Catholick Army was very much lessened. Wherefore *Maurice* made use of this occasion: He having brought his Army suddenly together, he turned towards *Friesland* thinking to recover some of the Towns that were lost and with firm belief that he might do it, before the Catholick Army could bring succour. His first assault was against *Lochem*, a Town not able to make any defence, and therefore he took it in three days space. From thence he threw himself upon *Groll*, and besieged the town. *Spinola* was very much troubled at this unexpected resolution of *Maurice*; he considered the danger that *Groll* might run; (as for *Lochem* the matter was not much) but he could not endure, that a place of such consequence as was *Groll*, and which he had won but a little before, should fall a gain so quickly into the Enemies hands. He therefore inclined to relieve it; but propounding it to the Council of war, they were most of them against it.

The season was now too far advanc'd to transport the Army again beyond the Rhine. *And if they had suffered so much in those low situations but a little before, whilst it was yet Summer; how much greater would their sufferings be now about the end of Autumn? Then how many hardships had they undergon in the last Siege? That therefore the Army required some rest after so sore labour. That it was to be considered*

conſidered how much it was leſſened; a part thereof being mutinied, the reſt but little ſatisfied; and there being two great a ſcarcity of Monies to content them. Wherefore what certainty could there be of bringing them ſo ſoon into the field again? That they were alſo to paſs through Countries of the Enemy, or at leaſt ſuch as were ſuſpected. That they ſhould find the Enemy very ſtrong; and already fortified about the Town: ſo as it would be little leſs than raſhneſs to aſſault them. And if the Catholick Army ſhould chance to be endangered, what other Forces had they to relieve them? And conſequently into what danger would the affairs of the King and Archdukes fall.

Theſe were very efficacious Reaſons; but it was no leſs efficaciouſly urged on the contrary.

That upon this occaſion the loſs of Groll *was not only to be conſidered; but the manifeſt danger of loſing* Oldenſel, *and* Linghen *alſo. And how could it be doubted but that* Groll *being cut off from them, and the other remaining open and without ſuch an aid; both of the other Towns be muſt inevitably loſt? In which caſe, the King nor Archdukes having no Towns at all beyond the* Rhine, *what would it avail them to have* Reinberg *on this ſide, which was taken chiefly for the ſecuring of that paſſage? Were theſe to be the advantages; theſe the glories of two fields, which had coſt ſo much Treaſure, Blood, and trouble? That then ſince the queſtion was now, whether whatſoever they had beyond the* Rhine *was either to be loſt, or to be preſerved, it muſt conſequently follow that they muſt endeavour by all means to overcome thoſe difficulties which preſented themſelves to the contrary. That Armies were made uſe of in ſeverer ſeaſons, and upon leſſer neceſſity. That if the Army might receive ſome relief, it might be believed they would willingly undergo this new trouble. That whether the Country were foe, or Neutral; they would march in ſuch order, as by means of their Forces in the former, and their good Reglement in the other, the Souldiery ſhould be ſenſible of no ſufferings. That ſuccour was therefore by all means to be carried with all poſſible ſpeed. That it was not poſſible the Enemy ſhould ſo ſoon have fortified themſelves on all ſides. Wherefore being reſolutely aſſaulted in ſome of their weaker quarters, it might very poſſibly be, they would not wait the encounter. That uncertainty always attended Armies: And that if in ſo many, not altogether ſo neceſſary occurrences, Commanders did adventure themſelves, much more ought they to do ſo in theſe, where manifeſt neceſſity did not admit of any more circumſpect reſolutions.*

In wiſe debates it is ſeen, that a few weighty reaſons, prevail over the numbers of a great many to the contrary. *Spinola* was of this opinion: the particular conſideration was of too great force with him, that if *Groll* ſhould be loſt, *Oldenſel* and *Linghen* would be loſt likewiſe almoſt unavoidably. Wherefore he reſolved to attempt the relief.

This reſolution being taken, and the Arch-duke approving thereof, he came to *Reinberg*, and paſſing over the *Rhine*; began to march towards the Enemies Camp. He could not muſter above eight thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe; all of them notwithſtanding people long experienced in Arms, and who came readily to their colours, to be made uſe of upon this occaſion. Count *Henry de Berg* was at the defence of *Groll*, but with a far leſs Gariſon than the Town required. He therefore made known the apparent danger of loſing it, if it were not all the ſooner relieved: nor did *Spinola* fail to march as faſt as he could: inſomuch as about the midſt of *November* he drew near the Enemy. *Maurice* by reaſon of the ſo ſhort time, had not yet ſufficiently fortified his quarters; nor did he believe that *Spinola* would have put on ſo bold a reſolution, being to meet with ſo many difficulties therein: When the Catholicks camp was come to the Enemies Trenches, and when *Spinola* ſpied out their weakeſt ſituation, he turned thitherward. The deſign was to fall on at the ſame time, both thoſe who brought the ſuccour from abroad, and thoſe that expected it from within. *Spinola* thus ordered his Army; he made a flying Squadron, which according to his cuſtom he placed in the Front, with two pieces of Artillery; and in it were twelve hundred choiſe Souldiers, picked out of all the Nations; and this he aſſigned to Camp-maſter *Antunes*, who was one of the valianteſt and oldeſt Souldiers of all *Flanders*. A little behind this followed two other Battalions of Foot, with two pieces of Artillery likewiſe in the Fronts of each of them; the one Spaniards under Camp-maſter *Meneſſes*; the other Italians, under the two Camp-maſters, *Juſtinian*, and *Brancaccio*. Theſe two Battalions ſtood on equal breſt, but at a befitting diſtance one from another. After theſe came another greater Battalion of Foot; and becauſe it was the laſt, it had two pieces of Artillery on the Rear thereof; and it was led on by Count *d' Emden*, a German Camp-maſter; and by Monſieur *d' Aſſurt*, a Walloon Camp-maſter. The Horſe were placed on both the Flanks, divided into divers Squadrons: two whereof which were the greateſt, and which were called the reſerve, as being reſerved for the greateſt need, were commanded by Cavalier *Bentivoglio*, and *Luca Cairo*, both of them Italians, and who were the ancienteſt Captains. On the Front of the Cavalry, and in the Van ſtood *Velaſco* their General, on the right hand; and *Melzi* Lieutenant General on the left. And becauſe the Enemy were much ſuperior in Horſe, their wings were ſheltered with long and redoubled Files of Carts, which were likewiſe furniſhed with ſome Files of Musketiers, and with a piece of Artillery on each ſide. *Spinola* choſe no particular place for himſelf, that he might be at liberty to turn whither he liſted. This was the Order of the Catholick Camp, and in this manner they ſtill drew nearer the Town; and

though they had all a great deſire to fight, yet *Spinola* to confirm it the more in them, by ſhewing his own forwardneſs, added ſuch incitements, as upon ſuch an occaſion was moſt requiſite; he told them,

That the preſervation of Groll *was not only in diſpute now, but even the like of all that they had purchaſed at the price of ſo much blood and labour on the other ſide the* Rhine. *That therefore they muſt either die or relieve it. But that he believed, though the Enemy were more in numbers than they, yet they would not come to the tryal of a Battel. That it was not numbers but valour that got the Victory. And had they not newly tryed even in thoſe very parts, that Count* Maurice *would ſtill keep ſheltered between Ditches and Rivers, not ever coming forth to open Battel? And more of late at* Reinberg, *when, did he ſhew any true good will thereunto? Let them then according to their cuſtom, play their parts valiantly. That he would not fail on his behalf; nor would he forget to let the King and Arch-dukes know their ſeveral good ſervices, and endeavour their reward.*

But theſe exhortations needed not: For Count *Maurice*, were it either by expreſs Orders from the Confederate Provinces; or for ſome particular ſenſe of his own; or that in reaſon of War, (he being ſo great a Commander) it ought indeed to have been done; he would not lead forth his Army into the Field, nor put himſelf upon the trial of a Battel. And not being ſufficiently fortified, to attend the Catholick Camp within his Trenches, he reſolved to retreat; and firſt ſtaying in a certain place where he was ſafe on all ſides, he afterward withdrew from the Town, and led his Army into other parts. And *Spinola* after he had furniſhed the Town with what was neceſſary for the defence thereof, did the like. And ſending his Souldiers to their Gariſons, he himſelf paſt back again over the *Rhine*, and came to the Archduke at *Bruſſels*. *Spinola*'s deſigns had then been really very great, as may be gathered by what we have ſaid. And though by reaſon of the unexpected difficulties which aroſe, the ſucceſs did not correſpond to expectation; yet theſe two affairs of *Reinberg* and *Groll* proved ſuch, as doubtleſs the one may be numbred amongſt the nobleſt Sieges, and the other amongſt the moſt famous Reliefs, that the War of *Flanders* had till then produced.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Wars of Flanders.

PART III. BOOK VII.

The opinion of the Popes of Rome *in advantage to the affairs of* Flanders. *A ſuſpenſion of Arms iſſues in thoſe Provinces. They then fall to a ſetled Treaty, that they might come either to a ſettlement of a perpetual Peace, or of ſome long Truce. The reaſons why the King of* Spain *and the Arch-Dukes do incline to bring the affairs to ſome accommodation. Great conſultations hereupon had in the Confederate Provinces: The Emperors, King of* France, *and King of* Englands *ſenſe therein. Count* Maurice *his declared oppoſition: yet the Treaty proceeds; and Deputies on both ſides meet. The Buſineſſes are propounded. Great difficulties in thoſe of the* Indies, *and afterwards in other things. Whereupon all Treaty of Peace ſoon ends. They therefore enter upon the ſecond Conſideration; Viz. Of a long Truce. The Ambaſſadors of* France *and* England *labour hard therein. Count* Maurice *does what he can again to interrupt it. Yet the Treaty is held on foot by the ſaid Ambaſſadors. And the Ambaſſadors of* France *doe particularly ſtickle very fervently therein. Divers difficulties ariſe on the Spaniſh ſide: And great diligence is had to overcome them. Which at laſt is done; and a Truce for twelve years is concluded.*

IN this condition were the Affairs of *Flanders* when the year 1607 began; the forty ſixth year wherein thoſe miſerable Provinces had been ſo long and ſo ſorely agitated with the troubles of War, was now on foot. Nor for as many Treaties of agreement as had been begun, was it ever poſſible to bring any of them to a good reſult. The hotteſt negotiation was that of *Cullen*, wherein *Gregory* the thirteenth had imployed an extraordinary *Nuntio*, (as was then ſhown) that thoſe Provinces might take into conſideration the prejudice which the Church had ſuffered in *Flanders* by occaſion of the Wars; And on the contrary, what benefit ſhe might reap by the introducing of ſome ſort of accommodation. His ſucceſſors did ſtill retain the ſame ſenſe. And more modernly *Clement* the eighth, in his having endeavoured and procured a peace between the two Kings, did amongſt his other ends aim at making ſo good a correſpondency between them, as that *France* might for the time to come, afford all favourable aſſiſtance to the new Principality of *Flanders*; and might reduce the affairs of thoſe Provinces to ſome peaceful end. *Leo* the eleventh, who ſucceeded *Clement* in the Pontifical See, did abound yet more in the ſame ſenſe, as he who being imployed as *Clements* Legat in *France*, had been the chief inſtrument of making that peace. But being ſuddenly ſnatched away by Death, he could not witneſs it by his endeavours. After him *Paul* the fifth was Pope, a Prince very zealous in exerciſing the Pontifical office; endowed with great worth and goodneſs; and who being made Cardinal by *Clement*, had drunk in the ſame ſenſe of labouring peace in Chriſtendom: and of ſtill preſerving that between the two Crowns, particularly in reſpect of the ſervice that *Flanders* might receive thereby. *Paul* ſat at the helm of the Univerſal Government of the Church this very year of 1607, which was the ſecond year of his Popedome. Cardinal *Maffeo Barberino* was then Nuntio in *France*, who was a little before promoted to the Cardinals Cap, together with *Jovanni Garzia Millino*, Nuntio of *Spain*, with divers others of great merit; amongſt which the ſame Cardinal *Barberino*, by the eminency of his deſerts came afterwards to the Supream dignity of the Church, and continues ſtill happily therein. Theſe two Cardinals did in the

the name of Pope *Paul* the fifth, do all the best offices they could still better to establish the aforesaid Peace between the two Kings. But great were the difficulties which were met withal on the behalf of *France*, in order to the Affairs of *Flanders*, by reason of the near confederacy which was between the United Provinces and that Crown. Yet Cardinal *Barberino* took often occasion to put the King in mind, how much it became him to see the pride of the Flemish Rebels abased. He told him how that they had always conspired together with the Hugonots of *France*; and the *French* Hugonots no less fervently with them; that each of these had at all times, with mutual intelligence favoured the others Rebellion. That in point of Religion, Calvinism reigned equally in them both; a Sect which was no less an Enemy to temporal Monarchy, than to the supream primacy of the Church: and that it had already been seen, and was still seen to what end the Politick Government of the Hugonots did tend: and particularly by their so many Towns of safety; wherein doubtless their only aim was to make a separation of themselves from the State, and to bring the Government of *Holland* into *France*. These reasons, together with divers other which the same matter did administer, prevailed much with the King. But because the Cardinal knew very well how desirous the Pope was to fasten the two Crowns close together by all possible means, he bethought himself of uniting them together by marriage. They had both of them several sons and daughters; and though they were very young, yet by the example of so many remote espousals, which had at all times insued between great Princes, in order to the Publick good, he thought the negotiation hereof ought very suddenly to be commenced. The Pope approved of his purpose, and gave order to the Cardinal that he should as dexterously as he could, set on foot the Treaty there in *France*. Monsieur *de Villeroy* was then chief Secretary of State in the Court of *France*, a State Minister very much versed in the management of the weightiest affairs of that Crown, wherefore by reason of his place, and the particular esteem that he was in with the King, of all the other State Officers, the Cardinal did most usually negotiate with him. He therefore made the first overture to him, and thought he found such a disposition in him thereunto, as he began afterwards to move it to the King, who seemed to approve of it from the very first. The Pope was hereat very well pleased, and so much the more, for that the like introduction being by his order made by the Cardinal *Milino* in *Spain*; upon the same motives which Cardinal *Barberino* had made use of in *France*; he found a like inclination there also, applying himself especially to the Duke of *Lerma*, who was in chiefest favour and authority with the King of *Spain*. And though by reason of the tender years of the Princely Progeny, and for divers other reasons, the business past no further at that time; yet the same Pope having at other times set the negotiation more maturely on foot, it was at last to the great honour of the Holy See, and to the great glory of his endeavours, perfected and consummated, in two mutual marriages between those two Crowns. But amongst *Barberino*'s main Motives, and *Paulus Quintus* his chief ends this was one, that by the near alliance of the two Crowns, for both their general welfares, a third marriage might be made, by joyning a second son of *Spain* to a daughter of *France*, and by placing this young couple near the Infanta *Isabella*, who might succeed in the Principality of those Provinces, now that there was no hopes of succession between her and the Archduke; and this would at the same time have redounded to the advantage of the affairs of *Flanders*; and without doubt it might be thought, that no tye would have proved more tenacious than this, to unite both the Crowns together by enterchangeable advantages, and to make *Flanders* enjoy the benefit which by the precedent marriage between the Arch-duke and the Infanta *Isabella* was hoped for, as well in matter of Religion, as in point of State, and which for want of succession did not afterwards ensue. A thought which the Pope himself always had, and which often was made known to us in the time of our Nuntioture in *Flanders*: to the which he was chiefly moved by the example of what had been done in the case of the same two Princes, by *Philip* the second a King of great piety and prudence, and by the same considerations which were then discerned in *Clement* the eighth, who was so worthy and so zealous a Pope. These intercessions which were so efficacious made in the name of Pope *Paul* to the two Kings still to establish more good intelligence between them, made much then for the service of the affairs of *Flanders*.

There was a Treaty begun that Winter touching some suspension of Arms, that they might afterwards come, if it were possible, to some formal negotiation, either of a perpetual Peace, or of a long Truce. The Authority which the King of *France* had with the United Provinces, could not be greater than then it was; and it was plainly seen, that no overture made by the Spaniards would have been listned unto by those Provinces, and would much less have had any good end without his appearing, and particular favour therein. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, but that the aforesaid intercessions would greatly help to dispose that King to favour so much the more the negotiation which was already begun, and which afterwards by his authority chiefly was concluded, and ended in a Truce of twelve years (as shall hereafter be related) though through the wonted jealousies of Princes, he seemed at first rather averse than willing thereunto. At this very time were we destined to be Nuntio in *Flanders*, and came to *Brussels*, just when the suspension of Arms was, which afterwards past into a greater Treaty. Before the

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ſuſpenſion was had which was about the beginning of *May* no military action was done that deſerves any relation. We will therefore fall to give you an account of all the aforeſaid negotiations and becauſe when the Truce was eſtabliſhed, we did then compoſe a full hiſtorical Narration thereof apart, which was afterwards printed, together with ſome other of our writings concerning the Affairs of *Flanders*; and that even ſince then we had a thought of compoſing this intire preſent Hiſtory of the War which happened in thoſe Provinces, till by the Truce, Arms were laid down: we will therefore here inſert the ſame Relation, though it were formerly printed; it being a member which ought alſo to be joyned to this body in this place: and which will now fully compleat it.

The Command of the Catholick Army being paſt into Marquis *Spinola*'s hands, great were thoſe deſigns (as you have heard) which he brought with him from *Spain* to *Flanders*, to make the chief ſeat of the War on the other ſide the *Rhine*, and to ſtraiten the Enemy the moſt they could in thoſe parts. To this purpoſe were the extraordinary Forces in the two laſt fields raiſed. But though great advantages were gotten thereby, yet fell they far ſhort of the conceived hopes. It was ſeen that *Spain* could not continue to maintain ſo exceſſive an expence. That for want of Money, a new Mutiny had again happened. That another might enſue; and that one of theſe diſorders did much confound, and diſtort the whole body of the Army. *Spinola* was ſo troubled with theſe and ſome other reflections of importance, as he at laſt fell upon thoſe very conſiderations, which already divers of the graveſt, and beſt experienced State-Miniſters both of *Spain* and *Flanders* had faln upon, touching the difficulties and dangers which the War of *Flanders*, and the going about to weaken or ſubdue the Enemy by force of Arms brought with it. They diſcourſed thus amongſt themſelves.

That all the good they had reaped by forty years War was, their having made the Enemy the more ſtrong; more reſolute to defend their uſurpt liberty; more firm in the union which they had eſtabliſhed amongſt themſelves; and better united to the forein Princes who ſided with them: That Nature's ſelf might be ſaid to have fought always for them, by their Bulwarks of Sea and Rivers, and their ſtrong ſituations in all other parts; and that where nature was wanting, there induſtry, together with their ſo many well munited places did make amends: That their power by Land was very great in all things elſe; and their power at Sea ſo great, as that the Crown of Spain *had been much endammaged thereby, even in the* Eaſt-Indies; *and was in danger of being a greater ſufferer by them in the* Weſt-Indies *alſo: What a maſs of ſtrength (on the other ſide) and mony muſt it coſt the King to maintain the War of* Flanders? *That doubtleſs his Empire was very large, but much diſunited;* Flanders, *the moſt diſunited member of the whole body of his Dominions both by Sea and Land. That the Sea was blocked up by the Enemies ſhips: That their paſſage by Land did depend upon many Princes, which always cauſed great difficulties in their ſending of aid, and deſtroyed their men more by their marches than by their bickerings. Then, how many corruptions and diſorders had been rooted in their Army? And how could they be remedied during the War, they being the effects which ſo long a War had inevitably produced? That inſtead of obedience, ſtrife reigned amongſt the Nations. That there were now more wives than Souldiers; more mutinies than years; that their own Forces were almoſt as dangerous to them as thoſe of their Enemies: And mutinies growing ſo familiar, now of one, now of another Nation; and oftimes of many Nations at once, what a ſad day would that be when the whole Army ſhould mutiny together? A day which would bring the Kings affairs in* Flanders *to their utmoſt danger, as alſo the Cauſe of the Catholick Religion, for the defence whereof the War at firſt was chiefly made, and hath been ſo long maintained by the Spaniſh ſide. If then by ſo many reaſons and ſo long experience, War againſt the Enemy were to be eſteemed ſo fruitleſs, is it not better (ſaid they) to come to ſome fair agreement with them? Is it not better to order our Army anew? And in the mean time to get ſtrength, and laying down Arms, except what with time would make moſt to the Spaniſh advantage? Arms being laid down, the King of* France *already grown old, might in this interim die, and with him that aſſiſtance might chance to ceaſe, which was ſubminiſtred to the Enemy by a Prince of ſuch power and repute: That after his death the affairs of* France *might peradventure change face, their King being ſo young: the like might be expected in the affairs of* England, *their King being a new King, and a Scotchman, but ill looked on by that Kingdom; the Enemy having likewiſe received conſiderable ſuccours from* Scotland: *And in caſe any of theſe things ſhould happen, how much would the affairs of* Spain *be bettered? But above all, it was to be hoped that even peace it ſelf might turn to a ſecret war againſt the Enemy: That the fear of the Spaniſh Forces was the bond which faſtened their union cloſeſt; ſo as this fear ceaſing through the enjoyment of quiet, ſome domeſtick evil might ariſe amongſt them which might break the union; and ſome opportunity in favour of the King and Archdukes, of regaining ſome of the Rebellious Provinces by underhand-dealing, and of ſubjugating the others afterwards by force.*

Theſe reaſons were doubtleſs very weighty, and of great conſideration, and had been oftimes argued in *Spain*; whereupon the King had at laſt reſolved that if he could not effect his ends by Arms, all poſſible means ſhould be uſed to come by ſome convenient Treaty of agreement with the Enemy in *Flanders*: and the affairs of *Flanders* may be ſaid totally to depend upon the King: For the marriage between the Archduke and the Kings ſiſter proving barren, and the Provinces of *Flanders* being conſequently to return unto the King again, he had therefore chiefly

chiefly maintained the War with his Forces, and conſequently all Treaties of agreement were chiefly to depend upon his Authority. The Archduke inclined alſo very much to bring things to ſome accommodation; he being a Prince naturally given to love his quiet, and full of years and experience, might comprehend better than any other the dangerous conſequences which the Wars of *Flanders* brought with it: but it was very hard to find out a way how to treat of accommodation. A while ſince the Enemy ſeemed to be quite averſe unto any ſuch Treaty; and ſtill ſwelling with proſperity and ſucceſs, they reſolved never to liſten to any whatſoever Treaty, till ſuch time as the King and Archdukes ſhould firſt publickly declare that they treated with them as with Free Provinces and States, unto the which the King nor Archdukes made no claim nor pretence whatſoever: Wherein the Archduke found great repugnancy in himſelf, and foreſaw the like in the King.

'He thought that to declare thoſe now to be a free people, againſt whom they had fought as 'againſt Rebels, would be to confeſs that their former War had been unjuſt; and that to ſeem 'now ſo willing to put an end unto it, would be likewiſe a declaring that they were no longer 'able to maintain it; what honor ſhould they loſe herein? how could they with credit treat of 'peace or truce with their own Rebels; and how dangerous a preſident would it be, to make 'liberty the reward of Rebellion? for ſuch an example in favour of thoſe Provinces which 'had Rebelled, would be an invitation to ſuch as yet kept their obedience to do the 'like.

This preparation of the affairs of *Flanders* was in the beginning of the year 1607. Father *John Neyen*, a Franciſcan Fryer, was then at *Bruſſels*; he was born at *Antwerp*, and after having taken upon him that religious habit, he had ſtaid a while in *Spain*, to paſs to the courſe of his ſtudies there, and by that reaſon was well acquainted with the affairs of that Court. He returned from thence to *Flanders*, and being become Commiſſary General of his Order in thoſe parts, he kept very much at *Bruſſels*: He was very religious, of an eloquent tongue, very well fitted to the nature of his Country, and therefore as well acceptable in private diſcourſe as in the Pulpit; and much verſed in the negotiations of the age. The Commiſſary had ſome acquaintance in *Holland*; and by chance a *Holland* Merchant who was a friend of his was then in *Bruſſels*; This Merchant was very inward with divers of the chiefeſt that ſate at the Helm in the United Provinces. The Archduke being at private Council with *Spinola* and ſome others of the Kings Officers in *Flanders*, 'twas thought expedient that the Commiſſary ſhould diſpoſe the Merchant to go to the *Hague* in *Holland* to endeavour ſome new overture of Treaty. The Merchant went; but he found no ear would be given thereunto, till the aboveſaid Declaration of their being Free-States were granted, and that this ſhould precede all other things. The Archduke was ſenſible of the aforeſaid repugnancies in condeſcending thereunto; yet all the former conſiderations being again weighed, it was at laſt judged, that it was beſt to yield to the preſent neceſſity, and that all means ſhould be uſed to procure a ceſſation of Arms, and to enter into a Treaty of accommodation.

'If the Treaty ſhould have good ſucceſs, the ſucceſs would ſufficiently applaud the Treaty; 'if it ſhould not ſucceed well, but that they muſt be forced to continue the War, the making of 'ſuch a verbal Declaration would not import much. 'Twas added, That to declare that they 'treated with the United Provinces, was as with Free-States unto which the King and Arch-'dukes laid no pretenſion, was always to be underſtood by way of ſuppoſition, to wit, as if 'they were free, not ſignifying a true and legitimate liberty; which they by their rebellion could 'never juſtly come by, nor juſtly enjoy: which being ſo manifeſt, neither did the King nor the 'Archdukes loſe any right which they formerly had to the United Provinces, though they ſhould 'make a Declaration thus limitted.

Sudden advertiſement was ſent to *Spain* of what had been diſcovered by the Merchants means; and all things were again repreſented unto the King, which were thought likelyeſt to induce him to give way, that ſome Treaty of agreement might be had with the United Provinces, in ſuch manner as hath been ſaid. The reaſons which prevailed in *Flanders*, did ſo likewiſe in *Spain*, in perſwading the King to give way to the Treaty which was deſired. Whereupon the Archduke reſolved to ſend the Commiſſary General in perſon, into *Holland*, to endeavour once more ſome fairer way of commencing a Treaty, and to yield at laſt, if there were no remedy, to what the United Provinces pretended unto. The Commiſſary took his journey about the end of *February*; and being come to the *Hague*, he ſoon perceived there was no hopes of ever being heard in any thing whatſoever, unleſs the aboveſaid Declaration ſhould precede: whereupon being admitted into the Council of the States-General, which is the ſupream magiſtracy by which the whole body of thoſe Provinces is repreſented: He opened himſelf thus unto them.

'That the Archduke *Albertus*, and the Archdutcheſs the Infanta his Wife, had always de-'ſired to ſee the Low-Countries once free from Civil Wars; that ſo many and ſo bitter cala-'mities of War, might be turned to the enjoyment of a happy Peace. That Peace was the end 'of War; which not being to be had but by the way of Treaty, they did conſent on their ſide

'that

'that the Declaration of Liberty which they knew the United Provinces do pretend unto should
'precede; that it became all good Princes to endeavor all means whereby to cause quiet unto
'their People, and that to justifie this their so just and religious end to the World, they had
'willingly descended now to an overture of Treaty; and to second the success thereof,
'would be as willing to do any thing that might tend to the good of the Weal-
'publick.

This Proposition being well discust in the Council of the States-General, they thought that whatsoever could be desired, made then for the advantage of the Low-Countries; whereupon they resolved to accept of the offer: and before the Commissary departed, a suspension of Arms for eight months was agreed upon, which was to begin the next *May*; and it was likewise concluded that the Treaty should begin the next *September*. The Commissary went from *Holland* with this answer. Not long after the Archdukes declared by a particular Edict or Proclamation, that they came to suspension of Arms with the United Provinces, as with Free Provinces and States, unto which they did not lay any pretence; the States-General did also the like on their side: the Commissary did likewise promise that the King of *Spain* should by the Archdukes procurement ratifie the same within three months: and he did likewise desire in the names of the Archdukes, that the States would inhibit all hostility by Sea, promising that the Archdukes would oblige themselves that the King of *Spain* should do the same: to the which the States after some difficulties condescended: all this was afterwards published by the United Provinces to their people with great demonstrations of joy; and they gave an account thereof to their Confederate Princes; but more particularly to the King of *France* and King of *England*; from both of which, Ambassadors were forthwith sent to congratulate with them.

The affairs of *Flanders* were at this pass when I came to *Brussels*, which was on Saint *Laurence* his Eve, 1607. It cannot be expresst how all men on all sides did rejoyce, in expectation of what the event would prove. Soon after my coming to *Brussels* the Kings ratification came; to procure the which, as also to give a more particular account of what had past, the Archduke had dispatched away Commissary *Neyen*. The ratification came in general terms; and so pen'd, as it was to be doubted the Provinces would not allow of it; yet *Lewis Verreychin* chief Secretary of State to the Archdukes was suddenly sent with it into *Holland*. The United Provinces shewed strange arrogancy in these negotiations; and particularly a great suspicion of being overreached by the Spaniards: whence it was to be believed that they would interpret that all should come from that side in the worst sense.

You have heard what the number and Government of the United Provinces are, and how they are seated. How *Holland* and *Zealand* are seated in the bosom of the Sea, and the other five lie more inwards into the land; these therefore did more willingly give way unto the Treaty at the first, and did afterwards appear more inclined to continue it. The principal and Fundamental Law of their Union is, That in resolutions appertaining to the common interest, the Votes of all of them must equally agree; so as their businesses proceed but slowly; they being to be treated of a part in every several Province, and a like uniform consent to be gathered from them all by long and tedious perswasions, as their liberty is in all of them alike; The Kings ratification being then sundry times consulted on, and with great jealousies, these difficulties were objected by the United Provinces. That the ratification came in general terms; that it did not contain the essential clause touching their liberty; but that the King still styled the Archdukes Princes of the Low-Countries; that the King writ himself, I the King, as he used to do to his own Vassals; that it was written in ordinary Paper, and not in Parchment, as is usually done in things of great importance: and finally, that it was sealed with a little Seal, and not with a great one; as ought to have been. *Verreychin* being afterwards sent for in, these difficulties were propounded unto him and exaggerated rather in an insolent than free manner: and it was at last concluded, that the United Provinces would by no means accept of the ratification in manner as it was by him presented.

The common peoples madness is always very great, but more when they are smiled upon by Fortune. They are full of arrogancy, and rashness, in time of Prosperity; and as base and abject in adversity: So as a multitude must either not be treated with at all, or these alternate defects must be patiently born withal, *Verreychin* used therefore such dissimulation as was requisite; and endeavoured to remove their suspicions. He assured them that such a ratification would not have been sent from *Spain*, did not the King intend to make it good; and that his intentions were excellent, and that he did vie therein with the Archdukes; he prayed them to allow time for another to come; that he did again promise in the name of the Archdukes to cause another ratification be sent in same for as was by them desired. The resolution put on in *Holland* was; that the Archdukes should procure a new ratification to be sent from *Spain* within six weeks, which should contain word form word the same Declaration of Freedom, which the Archdukes had made in their instrument, that it should be written in *Latin*, *French*, or *Dutch*, and should be subscribed by the King, with his own name; and to the end that no more errors might be run into, the form thereof was given to *Verreychin* in all the three Languages.

Father *Neyen* was this mean while returned from the Court; he acquainted them how hard it was to procure the King to ſend the former ratification, though in general terms; yet he affirmed that he did verily hope that a ſecond would come in particular terms. The Spaniards knowing what neceſſity there was to commence a Treaty thus with the United Provinces; ſince no other way would be admitted of. The Arch-dukes did again ſignifie this neceſſity; ſo as not long after the ſecond ratification came from *Spain*, but it was ſo opened, as it was feared the United Provinces would raiſe new ſcruples in admitting it; it contained the pretended declaration of liberty; and all the other clauſes that were deſired. But in the concluſion this was added by the King; that if the matters of Religion ſhould not be agreed upon as well as the other points, his ratification ſhould ſignifie nothing; and affairs ſhould ſtill continue in their former poſture. It was alſo written in Spaniſh, ſubſcribed as uſually, I the King; and in all things elſe according to the former manner. Yet it was believed that theſe laſt rubs would eaſily be removed, by the example of the Kings having done the ſame in the two Peaces which were lately concluded with the King of *France*, and the King of *England*. The other difficulty touching the new added clauſe, was thought the greater. And that word Religion ſeemed to be immaturely put in; ſince it might raiſe jealouſies in the United Provinces; as if it were already determined in *Spain* to make propoſitions againſt the liberty of their Government, and againſt that Declaration which the King at the ſame time made in form aforeſaid. The Commiſſary and *Verreycbin* were ſent both together with this ſecond ratification into *Holland*; who in the preſenting thereof, made large profeſſions to the States General again, of the great good inclinations of the King and Arch-dukes towards the common good, and how deſirous they were particularly of the Low-Countries welfare.

The States took time to give their anſwer; and after much conſultation, their anſwer according to their wonted arrogance, was thus: That the Kings ratification was not anſwerable to the form which they deſired; and that amongſt other things the new added clauſe could not be allowed of: ſince the King knew very well, as did alſo the Arch-Dukes, that the United Provinces were free Provinces, and would allways be ſo, though no Agreement were made. That notwithſtanding the States would acquaint every Province with the ratification, and would within ſix weeks make their reſolution known: But with this proteſtation, that they intended not that by vertue of ſuch a ratification any thing ſhould be propounded which might tend to the prejudice of the freedom of their Government, in caſe the Treaty went on.

This anſwer being given, the Commiſſary and *Verreycbin* returned to *Bruſſels*. Whilſt affairs were thus negotiated in *Flanders*, divers intereſts, paſſions, and ends were upon this occaſion diſcovered to be not only in the neighbouring Princes, but almoſt in all the Princes of *Europe*. In *Germany*, the Emperor *Radulphus* the ſecond, pretended that no Treaty of agreement could be made in *Flanders* without his participation and conſent; taking for granted, that the Low-Countries did depend upon the Empire; and therefore no ſeparation could be made therein without his Authority: Wherefore he had written ſome Letters to this purpoſe to the Catholick King, the Arch-duke, and the United Provinces.

The King and Arch-duke anſwered him in general terms; as did alſo the United Provinces; ſave only that they added a long juſtification of their cauſe, and of their War againſt the Spaniard till the preſent. Neither was there any more news heard of the Emperor in the whole progreſs of the Treaty. But *Henry* the fourth of *France*, was not ſo negligent in the conſideration of theſe paſſages. He had ſent Ambaſſadors upon this occaſion at the firſt into *Holland*; the trueſt and moſt intrinſecal end whereof was, that he might have a ſhare in what was to be done, and ſpecially to cauſe jealouſie in the Spaniards, and by this means to induce them to make uſe of him, and to make him Arbitrator in the differences.

The King of *France* was then in his chiefeſt greatneſs and proſperity: and enjoying his Kingdon in perfect peace and honour; after having arrived thereat through many difficulties, all which he had overcome with incredible conſtancy and valour. He conſidered the Affairs in *Flanders*, after ſeveral manners; on one ſide he could have wiſhed that the War might continue, and that thereby the affairs of *Spain* might ſtill be impaired, even till at laſt they might loſe whole *Flanders*. On the other ſide he ſaw himſelf well ſtricken in years; his Children very young; and that in caſe he ſhould fail, freſh troubles might in a ſhort time ariſe in his Kingdom, which might chiefly be fomented by the Spaniſh Forces of *Flanders*; that the diſorders of thoſe Forces were not ſo many, but that if the War ſhould continue, very neceſſity would force them to find out a remedy; nor the danger of their loſſes ſuch as might not be evaded by the power of ſo great a Monarch; which made him deſire to ſee *Flanders* without War, and the Spaniards without Forces ſo near at hand. Neither did he like that the United Provinces who were already become ſo formidable at Sea, might by their growing too great be as dreadful at Land. For the Hereticks of his Kingdom could from no part elſe be better fomented to rebel. The King amidſt theſe various conſiderations had his eye fixt upon theſe paſſages of *Flanders*, and becauſe his authority was very great in the United Provinces, he believed they would never come to any accommodation with the Spaniards without his conſent.

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At the first he seemed to be averse to the affairs in hand; though to say truth, he did not well know what he had best to do: but he did this of purpose to enforce the Spaniards to put the Negotiations into his hands. Great dexterity and cunning was requisite to the leading on of these designs. He therefore chose for this so important affair the President *Jannine*, a man of great experience and abilities, and one who was then chiefliest employed by him in State-affairs. He sent Mr. *de Rosse* along with *Jannine* (who was then extraordinary Ambassador into *Flanders*) to continue afterwards his ordinary Ambassador in the United Provinces. Having both of them exercised their Offices in the entrance into the affairs spoken of, they stayed in *Holland*; *Jannine* did diligently observe the whole carriages, and wrought himself every day more and more into the affairs, which still increased the jealousie of the King of *Spain* and the Archdukes: who then began to see clearly, that it behoved them to have recourse to the King of *France* his mediation; who already had complained to the Commissary General in his return to *Flanders*, that the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-dukes had proceeded so far without his knowledg in the aforesaid business. Almost the like passions and artifices appeared in *James* the first, King of *England* who was newly come to that Crown. The same reasons appeared in him for desiring the continuance of the War in *Flanders*, as did in the King of *France*: For the King of *England* being strong at Sea, and confiding in the strength of all his Kingdoms situation, as also in the conformity of his ends with those of the United Provinces in favouring Heresie, he could not much fear their Forces; though they should grow greater. He was more secure likewise by having *Flushing* and the *Ramechins* in *Zealand*; and the *Brill* in *Holland*, Sea Towns of great importance in his hands; as pawned for monies lent by Queen *Elizabeth* to the United Provinces, and for that their chiefest strength consisted in English and Scottish Souldiers, who were in their Army. He foresaw he should have greater cause to be jealous of the Spaniards, if being free from the War of *Flanders*, they might endeavour to molest him in any part of his Dominions; especially in *Ireland*, an Island which is almost wholly Catholick, well-affected to them, and much dis-affected to *England*.

Out of these reasons it was believed, that the King of *England* desired the War in *Flanders* might continue. But being a great lover of Quiet, and much given to Hunting, and to his Book, and wholly fixt in warring by writings with the Church, it was therefore judged he would not at last, shew himself totally averse to see the affairs of *Flanders* in some sort pacified. To boot, that not being able for scarcity of Monies to give any considerable succour to the United Provinces, his power would be but small in perswading or counselling the continuance of War, since he could not much assist it by his Forces. Yet it very much imported those Provinces to preserve his friendship, were it only that they might raise Souldiers out of his Kingdom. Wherefore they entertained his Ambassadors which were sent into *Holland* at the beginning of this Negotiation with very much respect, and treated with them with all confidency.

The King of *Englands* end in sending of them was almost the same as was that of the King of *France*: To wit, that he likewise would have a share in the business which was in hand, and to enforce the Spaniards to make use of him likewise therein. The King of *Denmark* sent likewise Ambassadors to *Holland*; as also the Prince Elector Palatin, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, and other German Heretick Princes; who all of them seemed to shew their good affections towards the United Provinces in so important an occasion. These businesses which were thus begun grew very hot in *Holland*: every thing was in motion, and great was the expectation what the United Provinces would resolve, as well touching the second ratification come from *Spain*, as also whether they would continue or break the Treaty. But of all others Count *Maurice* of *Nassaw* thoughts were most busied at this time. His Father the Prince of *Orange* being dead, he being yet but a youth of sixteen years of Age, had got into all his Fathers Military and Civil employments, with the great good will and approbation of the United Provinces. And increasing no less in valour, than in years, after so many enterprises and prosperous successes, his authority grew daily greater amongst them. He had won it by Arms, and he thought he could best preserve it by Arms. And by means of the publick trouble of War, he hoped some favourable conjuncture might the easilier be opened unto him, of making himself one day Prince of those Provinces.

It is not to be doubted, but that his ambition carried him thus high; for his Father was very near attaining thereunto; and his own deserts being added to his Fathers, his hopes ought rather to be augmented than diminished. To boot with the Supreme Government of the Army, he had succeeded his Father in the Civil Administration of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and *Overisel*. His Brother Count *Henry*, General of the Horse of the United Ptovinces, and the Counts *William* and *Ernestus*, the one of them Governor of *Friesland* and *Groningben*, and the other Governor of *Ghelderland*, were all of them of his House, and depended on him almost in all things, so as the whole Government of the United Provinces, as well Military as Civil, may be said to be in his hands: and his domestick power was the greater by his great friendship and alliance with Forein Princes. The Negotiation in hand made nothing at all for his

preſent condition, nor for that which peradventure he had an intention to raiſe up unto himſelf. And ſay he had a mind to have hindred it at the beginning; what colour, or what pretence had he ſo to do? Since the United Provinces in the Propoſal made by the Arch-dukes for a Treaty, had gotten all that they deſired; when the firſt ratification which came therefore from *Spain*, proved vain, *Maurice* began to hope well in the begun breach of the Negotiation; and by occaſion thereof augmented the common jealouſies. He enlarged himſelf very much and with great fervency in calling to mind their late good ſucceſſes; ſo many miſchiefs, cruelties, and horrible inhumanities committed as he affirmed, by the Spaniards, together with many other things, to make all manner of Treaties with them ſuſpitious, and to increaſe the hatred which thoſe of the United Provinces always bore to that Nation. And though the ſecond ratification was come in very ample manner, yet did not he go leſs in continuing to do the ſame, hoping to make this ſecond appear likewiſe faulty in many things. The time drew near of giving their reſolution therein; concerning which, they had many meetings; at laſt, one day when the Council of the States General was fuller than uſual by reaſon of the importancy of the buſineſs, 'tis ſaid Count *Maurice* ſpoke thus:

'How much (moſt worthy Deputies) I have always deſired the proſperity of our Republick, 'all my precedent actions which have made me appear no leſs my Fathers competitor than his 'ſon, in her ſervice, may ſufficiently manifeſt. I have not laboured leſs than did my Father, in 'all ways procuring the common good: and if he loſt his life in the publick cauſe, I have expo- 'ſed my ſelf to no leſs dangers in the defence thereof; and certainly it would have redounded 'much more to my honour and glory to have died amidſt Arms, then it did to him to periſh by 'by the hand of that baſe and deteſtable Parricide, who ſo unworthily ſlew him. None there- 'fore ſhould more rejoyce than I, to hear our Provinces declared to be Free-States, even by our 'Enemies themſelves, did I not think that all theſe proceedings were but couzenages, whereby 'more eaſily to draw our Liberties again into their ſubjection. I apprehend this even from the 'beginning of theſe practices; ſo that, as I have hitherto ever abhorred them, ſo do I now ab- 'hor them more than ever, and think it now more neceſſary than ever to break them wholly off, 'and to throw back this ſecond ratification with the ſame reſoluteneſs as we did the former. 'How many tricks, and how many cheats the Spaniards have always uſed in their like Treaties, 'is too well known to us all. But what need we look after paſt-times? Hath not the like been 'ſeen, and is it not now ſeen in theſe preſent negotiations? The firſt ratification came in general 'terms, nor did it contain any thing of ratification but the bare name. The ſecond is come ſince, 'which is likewiſe ſo defective, as in my opinion it ought in no way to be accepted. Do you 'perceive how the King would have it ſent in the Spaniſh tongue? A tongue unknown to us, the 'true meaning and efficacy whereof we do not underſtand. Do you obſerve how he uſes the 'ſame ſubſcription as he uſeth to his Vaſſals? Not having changed any of the other things ex- 'cepted againſt. And the addition of the addition of the laſt clauſe, doth it not evidently enough 'ſhew his pretenſions that it ſhall wholly depend upon his will whether we ſhall be free or no? 'As if from the time that the Duke *d' Alva*, (that Fury and Firebrand of all the troubles of '*Flanders*) and after him the other Governors had bereft their Country of its priviledges, 'brought forein colonies thereinto, put the whole Country to Fire and Sword, and given ſen- 'tence themſelves againſt our Liberties, and we had not known how to defend it by our uncon- 'quered Forces? We then are free, whether the King declare us to be ſo or no. And our pre- 'tence to this Declaration is, becauſe it is due to us from all the World, and due to us by him 'abſolutely, without any conditional limitation of enſuing agreement, as he pretends in the 'additional clauſe; ſo as it is now too well ſeen that the Spaniards treat with their wonted 'frauds; and that they would pretend they can never loſe by any whatſoever accord that ſhould 'enſue; the right which they preſume to have over our Provinces; that they may afterwards 'expect new opportunities to oppreſs them again; it may then be granted, that it is not any 'publick reſpect, but their own particular neceſſity which induceth them now to come to agree- 'ment with us. The neceſſity I ſay of their diſorders, which doubtleſs are ſo many and ſo great, as 'we may expect their utter loſing of *Flanders*. What darkneſs, what obſcurity is it then that doth 'poſſeſs our ſenſes? Or what hoodwinkt and untimely wiſdom is it which teacheth us to intermit 'and ſlacken the courſe of our Victories, when they are neareſt and moſt certain? Their Ar- 'my is in very great confuſion, without any Diſcipline, without any obedience; corrupted by 'perpetual mutinies: And if the War continue, we ſhall doubtleſs ſee the whole Body of the 'Souldiery mutiny, and then their whole Country will riſe. How great a part thereof does 'there already abound in our ſenſe? We on the other ſide have a flouriſhing Army, well diſci- 'plin'd, well paid, and well provided of all things. We have the aſſiſtance of *France*, of *Eng- 'land*, and of the greateſt part of *Germany*. We maintain a Cauſe, than which none can be 'more juſt; nor can there be more conſtancy deſired in our peoples wills to defend it: To theſe our 'advantages land, our other progreſſes at Sea do fully correſpond. What greater blow could 'the Spaniards receive from us, than that which we have given them in the *Eaſt-Indoes*? What

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'will the other prove which we are preparing for them likewiſe in the Weſt? To this end, to 'boot with the publick Forces, particular Companies of the richeſt Merchants of all Provinces 'are appointed: ſo as when we ſhall get footing there, to what ſtraits and hazards ſhall we re- 'duce the Spaniſh-Fleet? On the contrary ſide, how much both publick and private advantages, 'how much honour and glory ſhall our Common-wealth receive thereby? Our having got round 'the Sea where ever the Sun ſhines, with ſo many and ſo illuſtrious Navigations, and having 'made our name ſo famous by ſo many and ſo glorious Victories, will be the moſt memorable 'things ſpoken of by our poſterity in after Ages. The fear of loſing the *Indies* is that which 'chiefly cauſes the Spaniards to come to ſome accommodation with us. Who will then perſwade 'us to let ſlip theſe ſo propitious opportunites which now offer themſelves unto us, and ſee them 'turned peradventure hereafter to their advantage; True Victory lies in the making good uſe 'thereof; Which not being done, the too late remedy of repentance ſerves but in little ſtead. 'We ought by all means poſſible endeavour not to fall into ſuch errors; and not ſuffer our ſelves 'to be deceived by the falſe names of repoſe and Peace, and other ſpecious alluring pretences. 'Theſe are the means wherewith thoſe lull people aſleep, whom they intend afterwards to op- 'preſs. No Lethargy is more mortal than a Peace, which is to prove worſe than war it ſelf. 'Our people this mean while will grow unſinewed by idleneſs. We ſhall loſe thoſe friends which 'our Wars have purchaſt to our cauſe. But the worſt of all evils will lie in the ſecret venome of 'diſcord, which the Enemy will in this interim endeavour to introduce amongſt us; and this 'ſort of Plague will ſooner be radicated amongſt us than driven out. Thus by means of reſt 'more fatal far than Arms, our Common-wealth would fall into the greateſt misfortunes, and 'the Spaniards by their machinations quietly enjoy what hitherto they have not been able to do 'with their Armies in the Fields. But I never was an Orator; and as a Souldier methinks I 'have ſpoken more than I need upon ſuch an occaſion. Nor can I deny but that my particular 'paſſions ſway me in what concerns the common good, which is now in hand; which may not- 'withſtanding all of them be reduced to the implacable hatred I bear thoſe who are our impla- 'cable Enemies; and hope to make their power more formidable to others by the ruin of our 'Republick.

The Authority of ſo great a man aſſiſted by ſo many and ſo forcible reaſons, prevailed very much with the hearers. *John Barnevelt*, Advocate-General of the Province of *Holland*, and one of her Deputies in this preſent Council, was one of thoſe who did moſt favour the things which were now in Treaty. His Authority was very great not only in *Holland*, but even throughout the whole Union; in the ſervice whereof he had ever had the chiefeſt employments, and had therein continually faithfully diſcharged his truſt. So as his credit was ſuch at this time with the Union, and his eſtimation ſo great, as he drew commonly moſt men to adhere to him in all his opinions. He deſired to ſee Count *Maurice* his power leſſened, to the end that the common liberty might be the more ſecure both at home and abroad, though this his emulation coſt him afterwards his life: For not many years after *Maurice* his faction prevailed ſo far, as for divers faults laid to his charge, (were they true or falſe) he was publickly beheaded in *Holland*. When *Maurice* had ended his diſcourſe, *Barnevelt*, ſtill reſolved to defend the contrary opinion, ſpoke thus.

Of ſo many egregious acts (moſt worthy Deputies) which the Prince of Orange, *of ever happy memory, did and which have been ſince continued by the Illuſtrious Count* Maurice, *the worthy ſon of ſo gallant a father, in ſervice of our Common-wealth, this is one of the fruits we reap, that every one may freely ſpeak his mind in this Council, for what concerns that common good; and if it were ever requiſite ſo to do, the nature of the buſineſs in hand doth now require it. He hath certainly ſhewed great gravity and wiſdom in what he hath ſaid: But ſince the more weighty the affairs are, ſo much more neceſſary it is to have them maturely debated, I hope it will not be diſpleaſing, if I alledge all thoſe reaſons to the contrary as may be conſidered in ſo important an affair. We ſhall differ in our opinions, but not in our ends; which is the like in us all, to endeavour all the advantage and ſtability which we can to this our Common-wealth. The Illuſtrious Count did, if I be not deceived, urge two points chiefly: the one that the Spaniards do not proceed with ſincerity in theſe their negotiations; and the other, that it is meer neceſſity which makes them now ſeek to come to ſome agreement with us, that they may hereafter find ſome more favourable opportunity to oppreſs us. As for the firſt, I hope that none will deny, but for what concerns the affairs now in hand, we have hitherto obtained all that we have demanded of the Arch-dukes. 'Tis true that afterward, the King of* Spains *firſt ratification was faulty, and as ſuch a one, was juſtly by us refuſed: but to ſpeak truly, I do not think this ſecond ſuch a one, as ought to be rejected: the defects whereof being well conſidered, do more tranſgreſs againſt the circumſtances, than the eſſence of the ratification which we demand. The eſſence lies in this; that the King ſhould acknowledge our Provinces to be free, and that he ſhould declare he had no pretence or claim thereunto; this, this ſecond ratification doth fully contain, as doth alſo the firſt Declaration made by the Arch-dukes. And in fine, it is the very ſame which we did deſire, except it be in the diverſity of Language, and in ſome other petty things of ſmall importance, and in the laſt clauſe added by the King. Faults which in my opinion cannot be held any ways eſſential. Firſt, how can it be doubted but that the true ſenſe and meaning of*

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the Spaniſh tongue muſt be underſtood by us? Here, where the frequent commerce of ſo many of our Cities with all the Principal Cities of Europe, *makes all Languages common and known? To boot, that the Arch-dukes Deputies affirm, and give it under their hands that it is in the ſame language, with the ſame ſubſcription, and alike in all other things to the ratifications of Peace between the Crown of* Spain, *and thoſe of* France, *and* England. *Ought we to pretend to more than what was then done to two ſo great Kings? The greater difficulty would lie in the additional clauſe, if it were not evidently known that it were to be underſtood, though it were not expreſt; ſince how can it be denied, but that if no agreement ſhould be made, both parties would continue in their former rights? To wit, the Spaniards in what is grounded upon violence; and we in what is grounded upon ſo known Juſtice. But ſay the Spaniards after ſome agreement made, ſhould pretend a Title of right over us, tell me I pray you, wherein could our affairs be therein prejudiced? Should they peradventure, be Judges in ſuch a cauſe? In ſuch a caſe recourſe muſt be had to the Tribunal of the whole world; and each party to the favour of their friends; or rather to the Tribunal of Arms, where Armies pronounce ſentence, and for the moſt part the juſtice of the cauſe gives the victory. It imports but little then whether their ends be ſincere or fraudulent in caſe of agreement; for then they cannot oppreſs us by their forces. We muſt above all things endeavour to ſecure our ſelves from this danger, which neceſſarily conſiſts in one of two remedies; either in continuing the War out of hope that their neceſſity will daily grow greater; or elſe in ending it by ſome accommodation, after which our affairs might be better ſecured. And from hence I come to the ſecond point. I deny not but that their preſent diſorders and neceſſities are great; but I cannot think them paſt remedy ſo far, but that if the War indure, the Spaniards may find ſufficient Forces to do it. I for my own part find the Monarchy of* Spain *to be the ſame thing that it hath always been, during the whole courſe of this War; nay rather increaſed in this interim by the addition of the Kingdom of* Portugal, *and of the Eaſt-*Indies, *which depend thereupon. I find it to be very ſtrong both at Land and Sea. Where hath the formidableneſs of their forces been better ſeen than here in* Flanders? *What other power hath at any time maintained ſo long, ſo far diſtant, ſo hard, and ſo expenſive a War? And ſhall we believe that the Spaniards cannot ſtill maintain it? And that they are not likely to find a remedy for their diſorders in theſe parts; and for any hazard they may run in the Eaſt-*Indies? *The very neceſſity of making War, will doubtleſs furniſh them with means enough to continue it. So then we are again engaged in War; in a new and more obſtinate War than the former: and what ſecurity can we have that fortune will always favour us? We have likewiſe our neceſſities; and if they be at preſent great amongſt the Spaniards, remember I pray you that they have been greater amongſt us; and that all humane things being ſubject to alteration, and the events of War uſually very uncertain: the time may prove propitious again to them, and averſe to us. Do not we know how much our War depends upon the aids from* France *and* England? *May not the King of* France *die? Is he not already very old? May not the Kingdom afterwards alter? And ſhall we not then be deprived of all ſuccour from thence? Do not we likewiſe know upon what fickle terms the affairs of* England *ſtand? The King being a Scotch man, a ſtranger in that Kingdom, and there being many other occaſions which may cauſe ſome fear of alteration on his ſide? How much would the affairs of* Spain *be bettered by any of theſe accidents? How much worſe would ours be? We ought then to be taught by all reaſon, and by all the rules of good Government, not to let ſlip this happy conjuncture of coming to ſome good agreement with the Spaniards. Fortune is flitting, inconſtant, diſdainful and exceeding apt to be provoked: 'Tis now the time to know how to lay hold of her: So as my opinion is, that by all means we ought to accept of this ratification come from* Spain, *and proceed on to ſome Treaty of agreement: I confeſs it is not always in the power of man to enjoy the happineſs of Peace; but I verily believe it is now in our power to ſhun the dangers of War; which in my opinion ought by all means to be indeavoured: and certainly we may hope for great advantages from the Spaniards by this accommodation which they do ſo much deſire to make with theſe our Provinces in this their preſent neceſſity: As all Pilots prefix the Haven for their end; all Travellers their Country, and all motion reſt; ſo all War hath Peace for its end, wherein conſiſts mans chiefeſt happineſs; and ſhall the War of* Flanders *be the only thing which ſhall never have an end? And ſhall all our moſt advantagious ſucceſſes, depend always upon the ſo uncertain event of War? We ſhall be free from the uncertainties, and from ſo many dangers which troubles bring with them, by reducing our ſelves at laſt to a quiet condition: we ſhall then much better re-order the Government of every of our particular Provinces, and of the entire body of the union, when we ſhall be in a quiet condition: This our Common-wealth will then break forth from out the duskiſhneſs and horror of Arms: which how wonderful a ſight will it be, and what unaccuſtomed praiſes will it produce in the Theatre of the Univerſe? When it ſhall be ſeen how our Provinces do unite themſelves in one Body? with what ſort of Laws and Magiſtracy they conſpire together; how unwounded the Liberties of each of them remain, and how uninjured it paſſeth through every one of them, as through ſo many veins to the entire Body of their general Union. We ſhall have Ambaſſadors ſent to congratulate with us from all parts; who will return rather envying than rejoycing at this our ſo great felicity. We ſhall pay the debts we have contracted abroad: we ſhall eaſe our ſelves of thoſe we have here amongſt our ſelves; and we ſhall enrich our Treaſury, by taking off ſo many and ſo grievous expences: our people ſhall then know that they are truely free, when they ſhall enjoy liberty without any conteſtation: and being once got into ſuch a condition, what need we fear to be at any time reduced under the yoak of that proud, cruel, and tyrannical Spaniſh Government.*

Barnevelt

Barnevelt was listned unto with much attention: and the reasons alledged by him, appeared to be so weighty and wisely grounded, as after some other consultations, it was at last resolved on by the States General, that they would accept of the ratification; yet there was much ado before *Zealand* could be brought to joyn in this Vote, so absolute Authority had Count *Maurice* in that Province; whereof he was not only Governour, but had a great estate there, and enjoyed such prerogatives, as he appeared rather to be Prince than Governor of that Country. The Arch-dukes were then acquainted with this the States Generals resolution, and 'twas almost in the same words which were used in the answer which was first given to the Commissary and *Verreychin* when they brought the ratification into *Holland*. And because the term for suspension of Arms was already expired, it was by both sides prorogued, and continued to be so from time to time in new terms, till the end of the Treaty, which was after concluded. I thought good to insert this in this place, to shun the tedious repetition of the same things sundry times. Now all the eyes of *Flanders* were fixt upon what Deputies the Arch-dukes would choose to send, according to the first agreement, into *Holland*. The greatest weight of the Spanish affairs which were agitated in *Flanders* lay upon the Marques *Spinola*, Camp-master-General of the Army, and upon *Manchichidor* the Spanish Secretary of War: and as for the Arch-dukes business, *John Richardotto*, President of the Privy Council, and *Verreychin* so often named before, were chiefly trusted therewith. These four were chosen for Deputies, and Father *Neyen* was added for a fift, as one who had hitherto had a great hand in the business. Marques *Spinola* was already got into great Authority by reason of his so many imployments and Trusts. He was Camp-master-General and Governor of the Army; Administrator, or Pay-master-general of the Kings monies; of the Council of State in *Spain*; and through his hands all the Kings affairs in *Flanders*, as hath been said, did chiefly pass: and the Arch-duke likewise seemed to put much confidence in him. Indeed a States-man of singular judgment and valour, of incredible vigilancy and industry in the managing of whatsoever business either Military or Civil; and endowed with so many other gallant parts, as he had reason to be esteemed one of the greatest States-men that the Crown of *Spain* hath had these many years. The Secretary *Manchichider* was likewise highly esteemed of, for his long experience in the affairs of *Flanders*: for he had been Secretary of War, even from the time that the Arch-duke whilst he was yet Cardinal, was come to the Government of those Provinces. In the affairs which belonged properly to the Arch-dukes; the President *Richardotto* was no less esteemed of; he had for a long time been the man chiefly imployed in the affairs of greatest importance by the Duke of *Parma*, and other Governors: and the Arch-Duke being made Prince of the Low-Countries, chose him particularly to employ in making the last Peace with *France*, and the like with the King of *England*; so as almost all the important business of the Country passed through his hands. *Verreychin* was likewise present at the making of the two above named Peaces, and had long before exercised the place of first Secretary of State, and was always held a man of great wisdom and integrity. Enough hath already been said of the Commissary-general and of his endowments. But when the Spaniards who were in *Flanders*, understood who the Deputies were, and that they were to go to the Enemies own homes to treat of agreement with them, it is not to be believed how much they stormed and how much they complained of the Arch-dukes in particular.

'Are the affairs of *Spain* (said they) come to so low an ebb, that our King must abase himself thus? hath so much time, blood, and treasure been spent against the traiterous Rebels to bring things to this end? That the affairs of *Spain* were now in as glorious a Condition as ever, but that there wanted fitting instruments in *Flanders* to manage them: That the Arch-duke had always shewed himself to be better at Peace than at War; and that now that he saw himself not likely to have any Children, his only desire was to spend the remainder of his days in peace and quietness: That it was impossible so great a Monarchy should be without a War; nay it was to be desired that it should always have an Army in the fields for its service. And what other more fitting Theatre could there be found for the seat of its Arms than *Flanders*? a place so opulent, and of such extent, and placed in the midst of *Spains* chiefest enemies and maligners? That if the War could not be always so plentifully maintained, their Forces might be lessened, and consequently their expences: That thus the vigor of so great a Monarchy might be preserved even to eternity.

The Spaniards broke forth into these complaints, and sent them from *Flanders* into *Spain*; but to no purpose: for it was then seen, as also during the whole Treaty, that the King and the Archduke did always jump in their opinions: and as for the Deputies going into *Holland*; without all doubt it might seem in all appearance no ways to agree with the Kings and Archdukes dignity: but the form of the Government of the United Provinces considered, no other manner of negotiation could well be had; for their Deputies were so many, that Commissions so bounded, and so many sendings to and fro, as they were inforced to make Orders, to receive new Orders, and new Consents from every Province; which if it had been to be done out of their own Country, the Treaty would never have had an end: and though afterwards, as you shall hear, it was concluded in *Antwerp*; 'twas because all things were already digested, so as they went thither

thither as it may be said, to a business already concluded. The Deputies departed about the end of *January* 1608. and being come into the United Provinces, they were received by the Governors of their Frontier Towns with all honor, and bravely lodged in all places. They came to the *Hague* the first of *February*, and were met half a league without the Town, by Count *Maurice* of *Nassaw*, accompanied by the other Counts of his House; and all the chief men of those parts.

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE TREATY OF THE Truce of Flanders.

HOLLAND is the greatest, richest, and best peopled Province of all the United Seaven: Nay, it so far exceeds all the rest, as it furnisheth half the monies which are issued out by the whole Seaven Provinces. It is made by the Sea, and sundry Rivers a Peninsula, it is incompassed on many sides by the Sea, cut through in many parts by Rivers: many Channels cut by hand, joyn with these Rivers, and there be many lakes within it: So as it may be doubted whether it consist more of Land or Water. Besides, it doth so abound whith shipping of all sorts, as it may likewise be questioned, whether the number of moveable habitations on water, or of houses fixt on the land be the greater. This Province is full of Cities, and of a great many lesser Towns. *Amsterdam* is its chiefest City, and here is the greatest Traffick, not only of *Holland* it self, but almost of the whole North: of all its Towns *Hague* is the principal, an open Village; but so large, so well peopled, and so delicious as it may compare with many Cities. Here did the Counts of *Holland* formerly build a Palace for themselves to live in, which the United Provinces do now make use of for the meeting of their Councels which depend upon the Union, Here likewise the Councel of the States General do meet almost every day; wherein things of greatest importance are agitated and resolved by the Deputies of the whole seaven Provinces. The chief affairs of the whole Union are then handled in the *Hague*; and here staid the Catholick Deputies to give a beginning to the Treaty: Before they arrived, the United Provinces had likewise chosen their Deputies; one was chosen for every Province, and two of the best of bloud amongst them, in the common name of them all. And these were Count *William* of *Nassaw*, full Cousin German to Count *Maurice*, and Min here *Bredrode*: for *Holland*, *Barnevelt* was named, and by him the business on the behalf of the United Provinces was chiefly to be agitated. At their first meeting, nothing was done but the producing of the credential Letters on all sides, they then began to discuss affairs with an intention to come to a perpetual peace if it were possible. The United Provinces offered one Article in the first place, wherein they pretended, that the King of *Spain* and the Archdukes, should acknowledg them to be absolutely Free States, and should at large renounce all right or claim which might be pretended unto by them or any of their successors, to, or over those Provinces, with an obligation not to make use of their Arms or Titles, or whatsoever other appearance. This last addition appeared too arrogant to the Catholick Deputies, who complained very much thereof to the Ambassadors of *France* and *England*, with whom from the beginning they had had communication in what concerned the Treaty: alleadging,

'That it was an usual thing amongst Princes, still to retain the Title of States or Kingdoms, 'though they were lost, or but pretended to, whereof there was examples in the greatest Kings 'of Christendom. That the Catholick King stiled himself King of *Hierusalem*, and Duke of 'Burgony; the King of *France*, King of *Navar*; and that the King of *England* did still keep 'the Title of King of *France*: That the United Provinces would be they alone who would in- 'troduce new Laws in the World, and not content to pass from Rebellion into Liberty, would 'pretend, as it were by usurpation to such and so rash advantages: in fine, that this was a cause 'common to all Princes, and wherein they were all by this one act injured.

'The

'The anſwer which the Catholick Deputies gave hereunto was, that they had no Authority 'to admit of the Article in manner as was deſired: That they would acquaint the Archdukes 'therewith, and expect their Anſwer; but the Ambaſſadors thought theſe their complaints to 'be artificials, they imagined that the Catholick Deputies meant to indear the ſaid renuntiation 'as much as they might; that they might the eaſilier induce the United Provinces to give way 'on their parts in other things, in which opinion they were confirmed by the Anſwer which came from *Bruſſels*, which was, that the Archdukes would conſent to the Article in the ſame manner as it was propounded, if the United Provinces by acknowledgment of ſo great a benefit, would in lieu thereof abſtain from their ſailing into the *Indies*. The United Provinces ſeemed to be as much moved by this anſwer; and their Deputies made equal complaints thereof to the Ambaſſadors of their confederate Kings and Princes.

'What do the King of *Spain* and the Archdukes grant (ſaid they) more than what the U'nited Provinces do already poſſeſs? that what ſhould be granted by the King and Archdukes 'was nothing but wind, and a bare Title; whereas if the United Provinces ſhould give over 'their ſailing to the *Indies*, they ſhould deprive themſelves of the principal and moſt important 'part of their Traffick. That they had begun and would continue that their Navigation, which 'by the Laws of Nature, and right of Nations is allowed to all men. That ſome other thing 'might be thought upon which in this point might give reciprocal ſatisfaction to both ſides: 'But that they ſhould exclude themſelves from ſailing into the *Indies*, was neither to be thought 'on nor hoped for: and why ought not the ſpoils of that new World be common to all? That 'it was of that immenſe vaſtneſs, as more thereof was undiſcovered than diſcovered as yet: 'and that the right of the occupiers in thoſe parts, differed only in the better knowing how to 'manage what they poſſeſs.

Both parties argued this point touching the *Eaſt-Indies* with great ſtifneſs and pertinacity; nor would the Catholick Deputies ever diſcede from their firſt anſwer. At laſt the Deputies of the United Provinces made three Propoſitions: The firſt, that according to the nature of all Peaces, Commerce might be free both by Sea and Land to both parties. The ſecond, that for the ſpace of Seven years, the United Provinces might continue the Navigation to the *Indies*; and that one year before the expiration of thoſe ſeven years, ſome new compoſition might be made. The third, that upon the inſuance of peace, and due obſervation of all things on this ſide the Line, the United Provinces might at their own peril continue their Navigation on the other ſide. The Catholick Deputies were not pleaſed either with the firſt or the third Propoſitions. Not with the firſt, becauſe it left the United Provinces abſolutely free to Traffick in the *Indies*: Not with the third, becauſe they ſaw a peace mixt with hoſtility was not likely to laſt. They did not appear to be totally averſe from the ſecond, ſo as they would now agree, that when thoſe ſeven years ſhould be ended, the United Provinces ſhould for ever forbear from their Navigation to the *Indies*. To this their Deputies would by no means conſent; this point of the *Indies* was much ſtood upon, and the difficulties thereof inlarged by the particular Company of Merchants in the United Provinces which Traffick into thoſe parts. The Company was chiefly compoſed of the Merchants of *Amſterdam*, and of *Middleburg*: and one was ſent in the name of that Company to the *Hague*, to ſhew how great the gain was which they made by their Trafficking in the Eaſt-*Indies*, and how much the continuation thereof did import in other reſpects.

'They alleadged that they had already introduced Commerce in ſundry parts of thoſe Coun'tries; that many were the friendſhips and confederations which they had eſtabliſhed there; and 'that thoſe ſeas were already frequented by above 150 of their Veſſels, and by above 8000 of 'their Marriners and Souldiers; that great was the gain of particular men, and the advantage 'no leſs which the publick received thereby: that to keep ſo many of the baſer ſort of people im'ployed who would be always troubleſome, when at quiet, what was it but to purge their Pub'lick of ſo much ill blood, ready to grow corrupt? That the Navigation of the United Provin'ces into the *Indies* had already made *Lisbon* groan; that the Merchant Towns of the Portu'gueſes in thoſe parts went to wrack; and that their ſhips were ſeen to go and come much poſ'ſeſt with fear and apprehenſion; and were inforced to be at much greater expence than for'merly; for they had wont to be greatly vigilant in that their Voyage, not meeting with any con'teſtation, ſave from the ſeas and wind.

Theſe and many other conſiderations were repreſented by the Company, to keep the United Provinces from conſenting to the *Spaniards* demands touching the *Indies*. So as both parties adhering to opinions, nothing was done therein. The Catholick Deputies reſolved therefore to ſend Father *Neyen* into *Spain* to acquaint the King with what paſt; and particularly to receive Orders for what they ſhould do concerning the *Indies*; having firſt declared to the other Deputies that they had no Commiſſion to conclude any thing in that buſineſs. They told them alſo how that the Commiſſary ſhould be back within two months; whereupon he ſuddenly took his journey for *Spain*; and I to ſhun the tedious prolixity of the leſs important affairs, will here mention only things of greater moment, wherein their differences conſiſted. The King of *Spain* and the Archdukes, to ſhew their ingenuity, and the more to honeſt all concluſion of agreement,

desired that the exercise of Religion might be left free throughout all the United Provinces: towards which I had not been wanting; but particularly before the Deputies went for *Holland*, had prest the Archdukes much therein: and certainly the United Provinces should by all rules of good Government, of their own accord have endeavoured to give the Catholicks, who were in no small numbers amongst them, satisfaction: but the hatred to the Catholick Religion prevailing on the one side with the leading Hereticks, and the suspition that this was the more to oblige the Catholicks which were amongst them, to the Spaniards on the other side, it was to be believed they would not consent to any thing in favour of the Catholicks. The second chief point was that which concerned Commerce; the United Provinces would have had it absolutely free; and the King and Archdukes would have the *Indies* excepted, and desired that many insufferable Taxes might be taken off, to which the Merchandizes were subject in *Zealand*, which were necessarily to pass from thence to *Antwerp*, and which every day much lessened the Traffick of that City. The other chiefest affairs consisted in the exchange which was to be made of divers Towns and other places, which the one side were Masters of, in the others Country; in the adjusting of confines; in contributions which were paid in several parts by those whose habitations confin'd on both sides, to free themselves from Military incursions: in the restitution of goods confiscated in the time of War, and in other the like things of Justice. They treated sometimes of one of these, sometimes of another, but very leisurely; for great difficulties were met withal in all of them, without coming to any resolution. The point of exchange of places was in particular much argued. The United Provinces were possessed of *Sluce* in the Province of *Flanders*, together with the Island of *Cassant*, which is but of small circuit, but commodious for the unlading of Goods; having in it some Forts.

They were likewise Masters of *Breda*, *Bergen-ap-zome*, and St. *Getrudenberg*, all of them strongly situated both by Nature and Art in *Brabant*; together with some lesser places, fortified likewise.

On the contrary the Archdukes had *Lingben*, *Groll*, and *Oldensel* beyond the *Rhine* towards *Friezeland*; *Lingben* is a very strong Hold, and the other two, places of good consideration. The Archdukes would have desired to have changed these three places, with those which the United Provinces had in *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

And because that which was possest by the United Provinces, was much the greater and better part, it was thought that the Archduke to make the change more equal, would willingly have quitted unto them all the rest which they were Masters of in *Ghelderland*, or at least the greatest part thereof. Long dispute was had upon this Article, but to no purpose; for it was not possible ever to agree upon it. And with the same difficulties and prolixity they proceeded likewise in the other affairs. This mean while the time was expired wherein the Commissary was to return from *Spain*; who did not only not appear, but not any news was heard of him; whereupon the United Provinces grew very jealous, and their Deputies began publickly to complain thereof. The King of *France* was all this while very attentive upon the proceedings in *Holland*; and to make the *Spaniards* the more jealous, he was easily perswaded upon this occasion to make a new League with the United Provinces. The Contents whereof was, That in case the peace now in Treaty should succeed, the King of *France* should be bound to assist the United Provinces with Ten thousand paid Souldiers, to make the Spaniards the better keep it; and that they on the other side should give the King of *France* Five thousand paid foot in case the Spaniards should make War upon him. The Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors which were at *Paris*, quarrelled with the King hereupon; but he justified it with divers pretences, and shewed how that the King of *Spain* and Archdukes should rather be beholden to him therein, as a business which might the easilier facilitate the peace of *Flanders* which was in Treaty. These artifices were not unknown in *Spain*, and it was every day better seen, that no agreement would ever be made with the United Provinces, without the King of *France* his interposition and authority. To the end then that he might obtain his mediation upon this occasion, the King of *Spain* resolved though upon other pretences, to send *Don Piedro de Toledo*, one of the chief Lords of *Spain*, into *France*,

And this was thought then the fitter to be done, because the King of *France* at the same time had sent for President *Jannines* to *Paris*; with whom advising upon the affairs of *Holland*, and the King resolving upon the forementioned things which might make him desire to see the affairs of *Flanders* setled; he sent him suddenly to the *Hague*. But *Jannines* grew quickly to despair of seeing any Peace concluded. He found the business more perplext with difficulties than before, and the minds of both Parties more exasperated. The United Provinces could not tolerate the Spaniards slowness; for the Commissary did not appear at all, nor was there any news heard of what he had done in *Spain*. Whereupon their Deputies resolved to know directly the King of *Spains* final intention touching the *Indies*, which when they should not know, presently to break off the Treaty; and this they prest upon the Catholick Deputies with much inconstancy, who made them this Answer:

'That the King desired a happy end of the begun Treaty, and that he would at last condes-
'cend to that renuntiation which they desired, and in manner as was by them propounded; But
that

'that on the other ſide, he expected that in requital of ſo important an Affair, they ſhould forbear 'going to the *Indies*; and that moreover they ſhould permit liberty of conſcience to the Catho-'licks within their Provinces. That the Commiſſary was already diſpatched from the Court 'with this anſwer; and that they had already received orders to acquaint them the United Pro-'vinces therewithal.

This Anſwer quite overthrew all hopes of Peace. The United Provinces had put on an unalterable Reſolution neither to abandon the *Indies*, nor yet to admit the Catholick Religion amongſt them. Whereupon having heard this, they in Writing did preſently declare the Treaty broken, and preſented the writing to the Catholick Deputies. The treaty of Peace being thus faln to the ground, it remained to ſee whether they might the eaſilier compaſs a long Truce. The King of *England* had all this while ſeemed rather averſe than otherwiſe to the Negotiation in *Holland*; and having the ſame ends which the Kings of *France* had, to raiſe jealouſie in the Spaniard, as hath been ſaid, he alſo made uſe of the ſame means. In imitation of the King of *France*, and almoſt after the ſame manner, he had at this time made alſo a new League with the United Provinces; and though his Authority was nothing near ſo great with them, yet was it ſuch as it might much impede the proceedings of the new Treaty for a long Truce: and he had already complained to the Spaniſh and Flemiſh Ambaſſadors who were reſident in *England*, that the King of *Spain* had ſent Don *Piedro de Toledo* to *Paris*, putting thereby ſo great an eſteem upon the King of *France*, and that he had made no manner of addreſs at all to him. For theſe reſpects the King of *Spain* reſolved to ſend likewiſe Don *Fernando Girone* who was then in *Flanders*, and who was one of the chiefeſt Commanders in his Army, to the King of *England*; who ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied therewith; and made large promiſes to intercede for the negotiation in *Holland*, being thereunto perſwaded by his natural addiction to Peace, as alſo for the aforeſaid Reaſons. Before the Catholick Deputies departed from *Holland*, the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England* began to ſet again on foot this new Treaty of a long Truce: inſomuch as the Ambaſſadors meeting one day, *Jannines* in the name of both the Kings made this enſuing Propoſition in the Council of the States-General:

'That both their Kings had always conſidered the affairs of the United Provinces, as their 'own particular concernment, having maintained them all this while as ſuch by their Counſels and 'defended them by their Forces; but that the end of War muſt be Peace; That to this pur-'poſe the United Provinces had been aſſiſted by both of them: and that both of them were 'therefore much troubled to ſee the Treaty of Peace which was begun, thus broken: and that 'they thinking it howſoever much better for the United Provinces to enjoy a commodious and 'honourable quiet, than to return to the former difficulties and dangers of War; were pleaſed 'to propound unto them by their Ambaſſadors joyntly, a long Truce inſtead of Peace. That 'notwithſtanding in this Truce, in the firſt place, and before all other things, it ſhould be decla-'red both by the King of *Spain* and by the Arch-dukes, that it was made with the United Pro-'vinces as with free Provinces and States, unto which they made no pretence at all; and that 'they ſhould be left Free in point of their Navigation to the *Indies*. That both their Kings did 'believe that the United Provinces might be content with a Truce which was to bring with it 'ſuch important advantages for them; and not only theſe but peradventure ſome others alſo. 'That greater difficulties were to be feared on the other part; but in caſe the War were to con-'tinue by reaſon of the Spaniards fault, the Forces of the United Provinces would be there-'by the more juſtified, and both their Kings ſtill the more obliged to maintain their 'Cauſe.

The States General took time to adviſe upon the whole with their Provinces. The Ambaſſadors with like conformity applied themſelves to the Catholick Deputies, who having loſt all hopes of Peace, did very much deſire to come to ſome other accommodation, or compoſition: ſo they willingly liſtned to this new propoſal of a long Truce; though they thought many difficulties would be met withal in *Spain* touching the form thereof: They promiſed the Ambaſſadors notwithſtanding to uſe all the diligence they could to overcome them: and having received aſſurances from the Ambaſſadors that they would do all good offices for the continuation of the Treaty, and eſpecially from *Jannines*, on whoſe means and authority they did chiefly relie, they at laſt went from the *Hague*, after having been eight months entertained there, and went to *Bruſſels*. The Negotiation of the Truce lying then chiefly on *Jannines* hand, he did all he could to perſwade the United Provinces to allow of it, in the ſame manner as had been propounded by him and the Engliſh Ambaſſadors. Thoſe Provinces ſeemed well inclined in general toward the Truce, though they wanted not ſome amongſt them who would have had the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes make the ſame renunciation in the Treaty of Truce as they pretended unto in that of Peace; but the wiſer and more moderate men amongſt them conſidered that this would be too unjuſt a pretenſion, due regard being had to the difference between a Truce and a Peace. This difficulty proceeded chiefly from *Zealand*, and was fautor'd by Count *Maurice* by reaſon of his aboveſaid power in that Province, and the almoſt abſolute dependency which *Maldereo* the

particular Deputy of *Zealand* had upon him. *Maldereo* had been a menial servant of the late Prince of *Orange*, and to say truth, the Interest of *Zealand* did accord with Count *Maurice* his particular ends; for the Traffick and wealth of that Province was greatly increased by the War; the choice Mariners who had served and did as yet serve in the voyages to the *Indies*, were likewise Zealanders; and next unto *Holland*, certainly this was the chiefest and most considerable of all the United Provinces.

The same difficulties, out of the same reasons were insisted upon by the City of *Amsterdam* in *Holland*; but it was thought, that at last the rest of that Province would prevail over the particular opposition of that City, in a favourable acceptation of the Truce; which *Zealand* did still pertinaciously resist: And *Maldereo* very zealous in the cause, endeavoured to make those words suspected, wherein the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes were to denounce the United Provinces to be Free-States, in form aboveſaid. Whereupon one day that this Clause was treated on, he with great fervency broke forth into these words:

'Are we Free-men, or still Subjects? If we be Free-men, why ought we not to be publick-'ly acknowledged for such? Shall it depend upon the Spaniards to allow us what sort of liber-'ty they please, now that they cannot impose that slavery upon us which they would? To wit, a 'liberty more servile than our former servitude; since it must depend upon the interpretation of 'their own words? Do not we know what interpretation they have already given to those words? 'Do not we know that they take them in such a sense as doth not take from them any pretended 'right to our Provinces? At this rate we shall get nothing more by this long Truce, than what 'was had in the bare suspension of Arms: And yet this Truce shall rather look like a Peace; 'and it may so fall out, as by often prolongation, it may at last be insensibly turned into the na-'nature of a Peace. Then, as in the Treaty of Peace we did pretend in the first place, That 'that absolute abnegation should be made by the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-dukes which is 'now Treated of; so ought we still to pretend unto it, and in that form which may clearliest 'declare our Provinces to be Free and Soveraign. Shall not he acknowledge them, when all the 'world Treats with them as such? To what corner of the Earth, or of the Sea is it that the 'Fame of their Liberty together with the Fame of their Forces is not flown? Let the Spaniards 'then do the like, or let all Treaties be broken. That necessity which enforceth them to come 'to agreement with us, will likewise compel them to do it in this manner. So since we would 'make no greater advantage of this their necessity, with our swords in our hands, as we ought, 'and peradventure might have done, we shall at least come by it, by this contestation of Treaty, 'in such manner as the victory of words can most promise.

These reasons against the above named clause, and many others against the Truce in general, were exaggerated by *Maldereo*, or rather through his mouth by Count *Maurice*, who laboured by all other means, and used all his industry that this Treaty of Truce might prove vain, as the other of Peace had done; the same things were scattered abroad by his followers, giving out many printed papers to this purpose, not owned by any: they seemed to distrust the foreign Ambassadors, and it was whispered that though the two Kings advised to Truce, yet for their own self-interest they would not totally forbear assisting the United Provinces, though contrary to their Counsel, they should reassume their Arms; that howsoever it was requisite to return to Arms, since it was undoubtedly to be believed, that the present necessities being over, the Spaniards would no longer observe the Truce. That in the mean while, the people of the United Provinces, cheated by the abusive names of Peace and Quiet, would lose their former vigour and constancy? That they would hardly be brought to contribute those monies afterwards, for the War, which at first they did so willingly part withal: And that all these would be seeds to produce pernicious discords amongst their Provinces. Lastly, they concluded, That though the Spaniards should observe the Truce, it would be requisite howsoever to keep their Frontiers still well look'd unto; The which being so many, and the jealousies on all sides being now likely to prove so great, the expence in time of Truce would be well nigh as much as in the time of War. How much better would it then be to continue the War, and not to lose the present occasions which did all of them so smile upon them, and frown upon the Spaniards? Affairs leaning already towards discord, and the Zealander Deputies threatned openly a separation from the rest of the Provinces, if contrary to the form of common Government, the rest would resolve upon Truce without the particular consent of *Zealand*. *Janninet* loitered now no more, but judging this a fitting occasion to shew his experience, and force of his advices, one day when their contestations grew highest, 'tis said he spoke to the Deputies of the United Provinces in this manner.

'Neither did my King ever think (worthy Deputies) that so long contestations could have 'had place here amongst you in so great an Union; nor did I ever believe that such distrust were 'to be found here, as some of you seem to have of my behaviour. I will speak of mine own, 'leaving the English Ambassadors either to justifie themselves, or make their just complaints. 'For what concerns my endeavours, I will only say, Execution is the only share I have therein. 'So as to mistrust them, will be much more to offend my King than me. And to say truth, what

'greater

'greater injury can he receive than this; He having always ſhewed himſelf ſo partial to your 'Common-wealth, as he hath almoſt never made any difference between the intereſts of his 'own Kingdom, and of your Common-wealth. When he was hardly yet come unto the 'Crown, and had hardly, after ſo many Domeſtick and Forein oppoſitions, ſetled his own 'affairs, the firſt thing he did was to aſſiſt your Provinces. From that time to this he hath not 'been wanting in aiding you with Monies, Men, and Counſel; and to make your Cauſe appear 'the juſter in all other reſpects, by his owning it. Doubtleſs he pretended to aſſiſt a juſt Cauſe: 'but the juſteſt actions do not always prove the moſt uſeful. Nay theſe of yours might have 'been thought the moſt dangerous, by how much their power is the greater, who take them-'ſelves to be offended. The liberty of your Provinces may be ſaid to have ſailed into the Ha-'ven, chiefly by the ſails of his favour. And becauſe we cannot now eſtabliſh it upon the An-'chor of Peace, my King endeavours at leaſt to faſten it upon the Anchor of Truce, which may 'prove as advantagious to you. Let us then conſider whether ſuch an Agreement may be tru-'ly advantagious to your Affairs: Which when it ſhall be known, as I hope it will, ſiniſter diſ-'courſes will then ſoon ceaſe; whichif they do not, it will appear at leaſt, That they proceed from 'particular paſſions, vailed over with the ſemblance of Publick good. The buſineſs is then 'touching the making of a long Truce; and whether the chiefeſt endeavour ought to be, That 'your Provinces ſhould be therein clearly acknowledged to be Free. We Ambaſſadors think the 'clauſe by us propounded ſufficient to that purpoſe: That the King of *Spain* and Arch-dukes 'ſhould declare that they made Truce with your Provinces as with Free Provinces and States unto 'which they make no pretence at all. But there are ſome amongſt you who differ from us in o-'pinion, thinking it to be too generical and dubious; and who would have the King of *Spain* 'and Arch-dukes make the ſame abſolute renunciation now, as was pretended unto when there 'was a Treaty of Peace. I cannot notwithſtanding part from my firſt opinion; for it appears 'to me that to boot, with the difference that there is between a Peace and a Truce, this De-'claration may be thought to make more for your liberty than the other. Tell me I pray you! 'Have not you always declared, That you have taken up Arms againſt your Prince, inforced there-'to by neceſſity? And that the War on your ſide could not be more juſt, becauſe it could not be 'more neceſſary? And by the ſame reaſon have you not ſet your Provinces at Liberty by your 'own Authority? Then if you pretend upon ſo good grounds to be free, what need you now 'that the King of *Spain* and the Arch-Dukes ſhould make theſe renouncings? Do not you ſee, 'that ſuch like renouncings of right would preſuppoſe it to be more manifeſt on their behalf? 'And that in ſuch a caſe much more ſhould be conſeſt by you, than granted by them? Do not you 'know that they can grant nothing to the prejudice of their ſucceſſors? Kingdoms cannot other-'wiſe make any contract, nor Kings make any alienable part therein? And ſince they give the 'laws to others, they muſt likewiſe in this behalf receive it from their Crowns. How much bet-'ter is it then that your Provinces be declared by the King and the Arch-dukes to be free by a ge-'neral clauſe, and that the agreement which is now ſpoken of, may follow with this preſuppo-'ſition of your Liberty, without making it doubtful by any other kind of clauſes, inſtead of ma-'king it more clear? This form is not only ſufficient, but beſt. And if it be not ſufficient with 'the contrary party; think you that if the Spaniards would not obſerve the Truce for ſome other 'end of theirs, they would as your opinion firſt before they would break it? And that they would 'firſt argue whether they have any right over you, or no? This is the cuſtom of private ſuits, 'not of publick Cauſes; The controverſies whereof are atlaſt reduced to Field-Forces, where 'he that overcomes hath the right, and no account of the Victory is given.

'So as you need not care what interpretation the contrary party will give to thoſe words 'wherewith they do acknowledge you to be free. That which imports you, is, That your peo-'ple hold themſelves to be conſeſt to be free by thoſe words, and not to be made ſo. And that 'the Princes your friends underſtand them in the ſame ſenſe. So as if it be needful to fall to 'Arms again, your people may be more ready than ever to reaſſume them, and that your Friends 'may ſhew themſelves more diſpoſed than ever to favour your cauſe. But it is too well known 'how much more eaſie it is to uſe conſtancy in troubles, than moderation in proſperity. Tell 'me I beſeech you, thoſe who are the moſt zealous amongſt you, when did they ever think that 'the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes were to condeſcend to Treaties ſo advantagious for your 'Provinces? And will you loſe this ſo happy occaſion? Shall vain ſhadows prevail more with you 'than eſſential reaſons? Shall ſeditious Papers which are every where ſcattered abroad, be of 'more validity amongſt you than the ſincere and wiſe Counſels of two Kings who are ſo affecti-'onate unto your Cauſe. Now is the time then to reſolve upon, and to embrace this agreement 'which is now offered. Do you ſee how the Swiſſers have fared? Take them for your exam-'ple. And by the ſimilitude of their affairs and yours, hope for the like ſucceſs. The Swiſſers 'took up Arms at firſt againſt their Princes, not being able longer to undergo the grievances of 'their Government: nor were they above two or three Cantons at the beginning, and thoſe the 'weakeſt amongſt them; but their People gaſping for Liberty, and defending it with equal vi-'gor both of body and mind, they made invincible oppoſitions to their Enemies Forces; till

being

'being unconquerable by the Forces of the other Cantons, and the ſtrength of their own *Al-*
'*pes* ſituation, their Enemies deſpaired of ever ſubjugating them. At laſt they ceaſed fighting,
'and from tottering agreements they came to a firm and continual peace. And who will now
'diſpute the Swiſſers Liberty? Why may not your Provinces hope for the like ſucceſs? Theſe-
'verity of the Spaniſh Government made *Holland* and *Zealand* take up Arms at firſt; their Peo-
'ple valiantly withſtood their Enemies: The Sea, Rivers, and the ſtrength of their Natural ſi-
'tuation fought for them; your other Provinces came in afterwards unto them; and all made
'ſuch reſiſtance to the contrary Forces, as there is not any example to be had of ſo long a War.
'The ſucceſſes have been various; but at laſt they have proved ſo propitious to you, as a Treaty
'of accommodation was ſought for by your Enemies; and now we are upon the point of a long
'Truce: which if it ſucceed, will doubtleſs prove very advantageous for your affairs, and will
'eaſily be hereafter renewed upon the ſame advantages, or turned into a perpetual Peace, which
'may prove yet better for you. That which I have hitherto ſaid, ſeems to me to be ſufficiently
'clear.

'In fine, there will be no doubt of your liberty by this Clauſe, which is propounded: Nor is it
'leſs to be doubted that a Truce will be more advantageous for you, than unneceſſitated to ſub-
'ject your ſelves to the uncertain events of a new War. Fortune is generally ſeen to have too
'great a ſway in War; and that mocking at humane arrogancy, ſhe too often makes the more
'powerful give way unto the weaker; and loſſes inſue where victories were expected. To wit-
'neſs which, and paſs by ſo many other examples; What more memorable preſident can you
'have thereof, than what ſo lately befell here before your own eyes in the Arch-dukes own per-
'ſon at *Newport*? Where inſtead of being Victor, as it was aſſuredly hoped, he was overcome,
'wounded, and very near being taken priſoner.

'By means of this Truce you will eſcape ſo many and ſo dangerous uncertainties of War; you
'will in the interim eſtabliſh your Government the better; you will eaſe your people of their
'diſburſements; you will continue your former Traffick into the *Indies*; and you ſhall finally ſee
'an end of thoſe hateful Titles of Perfidiouſneſs and Rebellion, which hath hitherto been given
'by a great many in the World to your motions and proceedings in Arms. And who can doubt
'but that your Proviuces will hereafter willingly concur in ſuch expences as ſhall be needful,
'ſince they will be ſo eaſie in compariſon of what they have been? And ſo much the more wil-
'lingly, by how much men do more naturally deſire to enjoy quiet, than to live in troubles: and
'by how much liberty is the ſweeter, after having made tryal of ſervitude.

'And ſurely it is to be believed that thoſe to whom the Government of your people ſhall be
'committed, will uſe the ſame care and vigilancy in the adminiſtration of publick affairs in time
'of Truce, as they have prudently done hitherto in the time of War: their chiefeſt care will be
'ſtill more to eſtabliſh the preſent concord, which is the ſoul which gives life unto the Body.
'and the heart which maintains it: and hence proceeds that miraculous temper which of many
'makes but one, and of but one many; but yet ſuch as whether they be ſevered or conjoyned do
'always conſpire to the ſame end. Thus your affairs being well ordered within your ſelves, you
'ſhall have little need to fear forein dangers: and thus your Truce being at laſt turned into
'Peace (as 'tis to be hoped it will be) my King ſhall ſee the ſame ſucceſs in your affairs as he
'hath ſeen in his own, and whereby his Kingdom is now made happy: to wit, after War, Peace,
'after troubles, reſt, and after the ſacking and burning of Towns, and all the other miſeries of
'Arms, the commodity, ſecurity, and felicity of quiet and peace.

The Majeſty and preſence of the King of *France* himſelf, ſeemed to break forth in the Preſi-
dent *Jannines* countenance and words. He afterwards gave what he had ſpoken more fully in
writing, to the end that the People might come to the better knowledge thereof, and that they
might the eaſilier effect the agreement which was in Treaty.

The like offices were done by the Ambaſſadors of *England*, and to overcome fully the pertina-
cy of the Zealanders, it was reſolved that Deputies ſhould be ſent into *Zealand* in the name of
the ſix other Provinces, to induce that Province to conformity with the reſt: which after much
difficulty was at laſt effected, and all of them concurring now in the ſame reſolution; the Am-
baſſadors began again to labour to overcome the difficulties in diſpute. Continual correſponden-
cy was had by Letters between *Jannines* and *Richardotto*? ſo as the Negotiation of what was
needful paſt between them; but the King of *Spain* needed no leſs labouring to be brought to
give way to the Truce: news was ſent to the King of *Spain* of the Propoſition made by
the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England*, and of the new Negotiation introduced by their
means.

The King would have been well enough pleaſed with the Truce, had it been according to u-
ſual form, and all things left in the ſame terms on both ſides, as they were at preſent; but to
declare the United Provinces to be altogether free, and to ſuffer them in expreſs words to traf-
fick in the *Indies*, ſeemed to put too great a difference between the preſent Treaty, and ordina-
nary Truces: yet 'twas ſeen that 'twas impoſſible ever to come to any accommodation without
this Declaration of Liberty; and that if the United Provinces had ſtood ſo abſolutely upon it

before

before they would be brought to a bare ſuſpenſion of Arms for a few months, they would now be much more reſolute in it, in a Truce which was to endure for many years.

The Arch-dukes who ſaw the difficulties and dangers of the War in caſe it ſhould be continued, at a nearer diſtance, were eaſilier induced to give way to the Propoſal made by the Ambaſſadors; and *Jannines* both by word of mouth, and by Letters, had endeavoured to perſwade the Catholick Deputies, that to declare they made Truce with the United Provinces as with free Provinces and States unto which the King and the Arch-dukes made no pretence at all, did not any ways prejudice the right which the King or Arch-dukes might pretend to have over them. 'He had ſhewed how that it was a general Declaration; that the word (as) bore with it a ſenſe 'of ſimilitude, and not of propriety: That in the declaring of one mans being friends with ano-'ther, 'twas never ſaid I hold him as a friend; that the adding in the laſt words, not to pretend 'unto any thing, had reference to the ambiguity of the former words: And finally that ſuch a 'Declaration could not admit of any interpretation, ſave only during the time of the 'Truce.

'That then the King and the Arch-dukes ought to be content to make it; ſince it was involved in words which might ſatisfie both parties.

'Firſt, The unskilful multitude of the United Provinces, for the outward appearance of 'their pretended Liberty; then the King and the Arch-dukes, for the true ſubſtance which was 'retained in them of leaving their former right ſtill unhurt. Then opening himſelf more freely *Jannines* ſaid; My King in ſuch a caſe, would not make any difficulty in granting this Declaration; for if the United Provinces when they ſhall betake themſelves to Arms ſhall not have 'better Canons and Muskets; words and interpretations will avail them but little.

In this manner, and by theſe wary and wily ways *Jannines* as a good mediator, endeavoured to draw both ſides to a Truce; to which the Arch-dukes were eaſily perſwaded, and endeavoured to bring the King to be ſo likewiſe; ſhewing that by this, neither they nor the King ſhould do any thing more, than what was yielded unto at the firſt ſuſpenſion of Arms; much repugnancy did notwithſtanding appear in the King. 'Twas thought in *Spain* that the Clauſe wherewith the United Provinces were to be declared Free States, though it were limited, would generally be interpreted in favour of their Liberty; and that when they ſhould have got their deſires in that behalf, the King would not obtain leave for the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion in their Country, which he was reſolved to have by way of interchange; and moreover if the Article concerning the *Indies* ſhould be condeſcended unto, how much would the King be thereby damnified? How much reputation would he thereby loſe? To which difficulties the Arch-dukes replyed, ſhewing that when the King reſolved to have the aboveſaid requital, 'twas only to be underſtood, if the peace ſhould be concluded; and that the King and the Arch-dukes having abſolutely renounced all their right, the United Provinces were abſolutely free; that the preſent Negotiation of the Truce did differ very much; by which the King nor the Archdukes could not loſe any piece of their former right; that it was not to be doubted but that a clauſe ſo general and ſo limitated, would be interpreted rather in favour of them, than of the contrary party. That the Ambaſſadors themſelves thought ſo; as alſo divers of the Inhabitants of the United Provinces, who were againſt the Truce, as that which would be no whit more advantagious for them than was the bare ſuſpenſion of Arms. And as for the point of the *Indies*, they ſeemed to have hopes to end it ſo, as it ſhould be no conſiderable prejudice to the King.

Theſe reaſons were not taken as fully ſatisfactory in *Spain*; but on the other ſide the King did very much deſire the Truce, and that the ſo great, and ſo unneceſſary expences of *Flanders* ſhould ceaſe. The Duke of *Lerma* was then in great authority with the King; and having gotten the ſole power over the King by ſuch arts as were available in Peace, he was unwilling to ſhare it with them who might gain it by ſuch means as War affords: which made him from the very beginning very earneſt in endeavouring the Negotiation: and he did now no leſs labour that it might come to ſome good event of agreement; the ſame deſires were known to be in the Arch-duke; who therefore reſolved to ſend his Confeſſor to the Court of *Spain*, to anſwer all the difficulties which were inſiſted on in *Spain*, the which was thought neceſſary alſo to put an end to ſo long a Negotiation, wherein above two years had already been ſpent; which had ſo tyred the two mediating Kings, as they began already to proteſt that they would meddle no more therein, if it were not all the more ſpeedily ended.

Father *Inico di Brazuela*, of the Order of the Dominicans, was the Arch-dukes Confeſſor, a very learned and upright man, and one who had been long experienced in the affairs of *Flanders*: ſo as men hoped well of him, and of his fidelity, that he might reconcile affairs with the King and State-Officers, he being a Spaniard, a Votary, and of a very noble Family, and commendable life. He was particularly to take all ſcruples from the King in the point of pretending by way of interchange the exerciſe of the Catholick profeſſion in the time of Truce, whereof he was to preſs the neceſſity even for the cauſe of Religion it ſelf. By repreſenting, That if they ſhould return to Arms again, manifeſt hazard would yet be run of loſing more than

formerly

formerly on the King and the Arch-Dukes behalf in *Flanders*, and conſequently of quite loſing the Catholick Religion in the yet obedient Provinces, inſtead of regaining it in thoſe that were revolted. The buſineſs was all this while put on by the two Kings Ambaſſadors: but becauſe to Negotiate by way of Letters was long and tedious, the Ambaſſadors minded the Catholick Deputies who had been in *Holland*, that it would make more for the purpoſe to have the meeting in *Antwerp*, to end thoſe difficulties which yet remained concerning the Negotiation. This Propoſition was willingly liſtned unto by the Arch-dukes; whereupon the Ambaſſadors, and the Catholick Deputies, met in *Antwerp* in the beginning of *February* 1609. The greateſt difficulty was touching the point of the *Indies*. The Ambaſſadors had always aſſured the United Provinces, that in the Truce they ſhould be permitted to Traffick thither; and they therefore deſired that that Article might be laid down in clear and expreſs words. On the contrary the Catholick Deputies deſired that if it ſhould be impoſſible to come to a Truce without condeſcending to that point, it might at leaſt be underſtood by tacit circumlocutions, than by nominating the *Indies* expreſly.

They deſired alſo howſoever, that the United Provinces ſhould forbear from coming into or from trafficking in thoſe parts of the *Indies*, which were already under the Crown of *Spain*. At laſt after much arguing this point was agreed upon, and was couched in ſuch terms as both the United Provinces, and the Catholick Deputies were ſatisfied therewith: for the name of the *Indies* was left out, and the ſaid Provinces were forbidden entring into the Kings Countries in thoſe parts: And *Richardotto* had wont afterwards to ſay, that this Article was ſo obſcure, as he himſelf did not underſtand it: much diſputation was likewiſe had upon the Article of Contributions: 'twas ſaid that the United Provinces received every year 300000 Crowns of Contribution money, which was a great help to their expences. The Arch-dukes did not receive near ſo much; but becauſe theſe monies were all raiſed by hoſtility, it was thought a thing too repugnant to the publick tranquillity which was endeavoured, that this kind of Hoſtile proceedings ſhould be continued in times of quiet: ſo as the United Provinces were at laſt perſwaded, that all contributions of both ſides ſhould be laid down. On the contrary 'twas neceſſary to yield to the pretenſion moved by them, that the precincts which did appertain ſuch Towns as were enjoyed both on this and on that ſide, ſhould be reſtored to the ſaid Towns. Touching which point little or nothing returned to the Arch-dukes hands, whereas large boundeurs were reſtored to the Towns of *Breda*, and *Bergen-ap-zome*, together with ſome others in *Brabant* which were in the poſſeſſion of the United Provinces? Yet the Arch-dukes did ſo far prevail, and my endeavours were alſo ſo earneſt therein as the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion only was left in thoſe precincts, as it was before. To the which the United Provinces obliged themſelves apart, being promiſed by *Jannines* and *Roſſi* his Colleague, who gave it them under their hands, that the King of *France* ſhould oblige himſelf to ſee it performed. Touching the point of exchange of Towns, there was no means of accommodation therein to be found; ſo as it was reſolved that each party ſhould ſtill enjoy what they did poſſeſs at the preſent: nor would the United Provinces ever ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded in the point of taking away the Taxes and other impediments to which thoſe Veſſels were lyable in *Zealand* which paſſed through the *Scheld* to come to *Antwerp*, whereby that City was much endamaged, as hath been ſaid. This buſineſs was referred to be propounded and examined in a friendly manner after the Truce ſhould be concluded. And the Arch-dukes hoped by the benefit of the Truce, the better to accommodate their own Ports in *Flanders*, into which much merchandize was to be brought, which in time of War went neceſſarily into *Holland* and *Zealand*; becauſe their Havens were continually block'd up by many of the United Provinces men of War.

Theſe were the chief points on which the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England* treated with the Marqueſs *Spinola*, and the other Catholick Deputies in *Antwerp*: The Catholick Deputies endeavouring to proceed as ſlowly as might be, that the Arch-dukes Confeſſor might have time to Negotiate in *Spain*, and to ſend away the reſolution which was expected from thence; which not long after came, and was the ſame in ſum which the Arch-dukes had deſired, and the Confeſſor by the reaſons alledged by him, had perſwaded the King unto: great conſultations were had notwithſtanding before this determination, both in the Council of State, and amongſt the graveſt and learneſt Eccleſiaſticks of *Spain*: for the King would be fully ſatisfied in all thoſe affairs which were to be conſidered in ſo important a buſineſs, before he would ſuffer it to be brought to a concluſion.

The Confeſſor himſelf returned ſoon after; ſo as the affairs being fitted by all parties for an agreement, the two Kings Ambaſſadors, who after the Negotiation at *Antwerp*, were gone to give an account of the whole buſineſs to the United Provinces, thought it fitting to return again to that City, and to bring thither the ſame Deputies of the United Provinces, who were firſt imployed in Negotiating the buſineſs in *Holland*; which was approved of by the Arch-dukes, and at the ſame time the Catholick Deputies returned thither likewiſe, amongſt which was Commiſſary *Neyen*, who was then returned from *Spain*.

The

The United Provinces thought this to be the buſinſs of higheſt nature, and of greateſt importancy which had befaln them ſince their withdrawing themſelves from the obedience of the Crown of *Spain*, and therefore it was judged neceſſary that it ſhould be concluded by the Authority of the whole body of the great aſſembly repreſenting the general Union; and that the Aſſembly ſhould conſiſt of as many Deputies, as could be gathered together upon ſo great an Occurrency.

The Town of *Bergbenapzone* was made choice of to this purpoſe, ſituated not many leagues from *Antwerp*. Here the great Aſſembly met, and 'twas ſaid that the Deputies were eight hundred in number. The Deputies of both ſides, together with the two Kings Ambaſſadors, met every day in *Antwerp*, in the publick Palace of that City. From whence whatſoever paſt from time to time was ſent to *Bruſſels* to the Arch-Dukes, and to the United Provinces in *Bergbenapzone*, and reſolutions were ſuddenly taken. When all points were then adjuſted, after ſo many and ſo long obſtructions, a Truce for twelve years was eſtabliſhed and concluded on the ninth of *April* in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred and nine, betwixt both parties: The Articles were eight and thirty. In the firſt it was declared, that the Arch-dukes made Truce with the United Provinces as with Free-States and Provinces, unto which they did not make any pretence at all; and they obliged themſelves that the King of *Spain* ſhould ratifie the ſame Declaration, together with all the reſt, which was afterwards done in ſuch manner as was requiſit. The other chief Articles contained the affairs of chiefeſt importance, as hath been ſhewed above; and in the reſt divers reſolutions were contained, touching the affairs of Juſtice; and concerning rather particular then publick intereſts.

Thus did this Negotiation of Flanders end at laſt; the iſſue whereof was ſo long expected throughout all *Europe*.

And truly at this Truce, as if it had been at an nniverſal Quiet, all *Europe* ſeemed to rejoyce, which had ſeen for ſo many years, and amidſt ſo many fatal and deadful ſpectacles, the blood of all her Nations run upon the Theatre of *Flanders*.

FINIS.

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FINIS.

A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF The Wars of Flanders.

Anno 1671.



IN *January*, a *German* Prince wrote unto one of the Nobleſt Princeſſes of the *Low-Countries*, admiring that people were ſo ſecure in *Holland*, and not more alarm'd at the great Preparations of War by the *French* and their Confederates; which he verily foreſaw to tend to nothing elſe but the Invaſion of the *Netherlands*.

In *February*, the Biſhop of *Munſter* took many Officers into Service, pretending his own Security; which cauſed the States, as ſuſpecting him, to chuſe Officers for four Horſe and five Foot-Regiments, appointing their ſeveral places of raiſing them.

April 23, The King of *France* began his Journey to the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; which being with great Pomp and Attendance, to take a view of his Conqueſts, cauſed not a little fear to the *Spaniards*; but the Earl of *Montery* held a vigilant Eye upon him.

In *May*, when the *French* Court was at *Dunkirk*, abundance of *French* and *Engliſh* Gentry came to and fro to view the Courts, which by both the Kings were highly entertained.

In *July*, upon the tidings of the Sickneſs of the Duke *d'Anjou*, the King returned home, and arrived at St. *Germain* the 17*th ditto*, finding his Son a little before departed this Life.

In *Auguſt*, beſides the continual taking up of *French* Souldiers, and preparing Magazines, 187 Commiſſions were diſtributed at *Paris*, beſides Expreſſes ſent to *Germany*, *Genoua*, *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, *Venice*, *Luca*, *Corſica*, *Scotland*, and other places, to levy ſeveral Regiments; and throughout all *France* their Sea-equipage was haſtned.

In *November*, the *French* were yet buſie to form Magazines in *Leyck*, *Bon*, and *Nuys*, pretending it to be for the Biſhop of *Colen*'s ſervice againſt the City; But in the mean time,

abundance of *French* entred, upon divers pretences, the Countries of *Over-Maes*, and along the *Rhine*; which awakened the Duke of *Monterey* to visit and provide the Considerable places of his Government, as far as *Nevegeay*. The States also by their Committees visited their Frontiers, and resolved against Spring to set forth a Fleet of 72 ships; and by their Edicts forbad the Bringing in, Buying, Selling, or Consumption of *French*-wine, Vinegar, Paper, Canvas, or Chesnuts.

In *December*, This State perceiving the mighty increase of the *French* Forces, and their great endeavours to gain *England*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, and *Germany* on their side, sent a friendly Letter to be delivered to the King of *France* by their Embassador *de Groot*, who was kept from his Audience the space of a Moneth: but in the mean while in the *Hague*, on the 17th *ditto*, a Defensive League was concluded betwixt this State and the Ministers of *Spain*, and afterwards was ratified and delivered over on both sides.

Anno 1672.

January 2d, The Agreement between the Bishop of *Colen* and that City was signed at *Colen*; by which also the City was necessitated to cause *Bampfield*'s Regiment, being in service of the States, to quit the City; which, by reason of many Obstructions, the *French* urging to Muster them, and to take out all of their Nation amongst them, was retarded untill the fourth of *February*; but without molestation then departed to *Rhineberg*, and other places on the *Rhine*. But it manifestly appeared, that the *French*, *Munsters*, and *Colens* designes were to fall upon the *Dutch*; to which end the Bishop of *Colen* claimed the delivery of *Rhineberg*, and the Bishop of *Munster* the Children of the Earl of *Bentheim*. In the mean while, nothing was more noised abroad than the raising of Souldiers; and then, because of the low Waters, many flat Boats were also made ready in several places to lay upon the Rivers.

February 4th, The Embassador *de Groot* obtained his first Audience, to deliver the States Letter to the King; receiving for Answer, That this Letter was already communicated to him from the Courts of other Princes; and that about the Spring 'twould appear whereto his Army tended. To which purpose also the sixth *ditto*, a Letter was sent to the States by the King of *France*.

In *France* many Forces were now raised, and the Militia was to be increased to 180000 men; of which 14 or 15000 were already in the Countries of *Luyck* and *Colen*, with much Provision and Ammunition. A Fleet also of 30 Capital Ships was preparing to joyn with the *English*. Nor was it long after that, his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, attended by a compleat number of Gentry, and followed by a stout Band of *English*, went to assist the *French*.

Ninth *ditto*, The States of *Holland* took in Officers for eight Regiments of Horse, and five of Foot; and the twelveth *ditto*, for two more: which choice of Officers, *pro rata*, was also made in the other Provinces.

In *France* Commissions were given out for 20000 Foot, and 6000 Horse more. The Bishops of *Colen* and *Munster* also gathered Forces amain.

25 *Ditto*, After infinite Consultations and Disputes, at length his Highness the Prince of *Orange* was appointed Captain-General over the Forces of the State; but with all possible Restrictions, an Oath being taken of him, that he might never seek to be Stadtholder of any of the *Seven Provinces*, nor accept of it if he should be desired to it. Hereupon, *March* 1, his Highness treated the Deputies of Knighthood and Cities of *Holland* with a Royal Feast.

March 4, The Frost, which this Winter was very long, now ceasing, here happily arrived a great and rich Fleet of Merchandize, with their Convoys, having lain long at the Isle of *Wight*.

The Generals of the French *Army.*

The Army of the King.

Monsieur the Duke of *Orleans*, Generalissimo.

Marshal *de Turenne*, Captain-General.

Earl of *Soissons*, Marquis *de Rochefort*, Earl of *Lude*, Earl of *Guadaigne*, Duke *de la Feuillade*, Earl *de Lorge*, Lieutenants General.

Chevalier *de Lorain*, Marquis *de Genlis*, *Martinet*, *de Montal*, Field-marshals.

The

The Army of the Prince of Condé.

Marſhal *de Humieres*, *de Bellefonds*, Captains General.
Faucault, *de* St. *Abre*, Earl *de Guiche*, Lieutenants General.
Earl *du Pleſſis*, *du Nogent*, *Magalotti*, Field-marſhals.

The Army of the Marſhal de Crequi.

Monſieur *de Naucre*, Lieutenant-General.
Earl *de Vaubrun*, Monſieur *du Pleſſis*, Field-marſhals.
Duke of *Luxemburg*, General of the Confederates.
Monſieur *de la Valiere*, Field-marſhal.
Monſieur *le Breſt*, Field-marſhal toward *Catalonia*.
Monſieur *d'Elbœuf*, General of a Body at the Sea-ſide.

The King, before the ſetting forth of the Army, gave ſtrict Command to the Marſhals *de Humieres*, *Bellefonds*, and *Crequi*, that if the Armies came to be conjoyned, or that it were in the abſence of the Princes of the Blood, that they ſhould, for the time of this Expedition, ſubmit to the orders of *Turenne*; which they for a while excuſing, were for the preſent laid aſide, and *Chamilli*, *Guadaigne*, and *Navaille* put in their room; but after ſome time the former were replac'd, yet with promiſe of ſubmiſſion to *Turenne*.

Generals of the Army of the States of the United Provinces.

The Prince of *Orange*, Captain-General.
Prince *Maurice*, and the Lord *Wirtz*, Field-marſhals.
The Rhinegrave ſenior, General of the Horſe.
The Lord of *Zuyleſtein*, General of the Foot.
The Earl of *Horn*, General of the Artillery.
John Van Walderen, and Earl of *Naſſaw*, Lieutenants General of the Horſe.
Alna, and the Earl of *Coningſmark*, Lieutenants General of the Foot.
Kirpatrick, and the Earl of *Stirum*, Serjeant-majors.
Afterward was choſen for the third Field-marſhal the Earl of *Waldeck* and *Kuylenburg*.

The 13th *ditto*, the States proclaimed a general Faſt againſt the fourth of *May*, and ſo afterwards to be kept upon every firſt Wedneſday of the moneth: And it was reſolved to increaſe the Militia, both for the States in general, as alſo for *Holland* in particular, of which Capitulations were formed to raiſe them of Outlandiſh Souldiers. Alſo ſome of their Foot-Regiments were ſent over to the *Spaniards*, to be in Garriſon in *Namen*, *Valencien*, and other places: And on the right hand to them came ſome Regiments of *Spaniſh* Horſe; of which ſome Troops were ſent to *Maeſtrichi*.

16th *Ditto*, The Elector of *Colen* publiſhed a Manifeſt, that he would maintain Neutrality, forbidding the acting of any Hoſtility againſt the Subjects of this State in all his Dominions.

27th *Ditto*, After that the *French* King had for a long time been raiſing a vaſt Army, (for the Muſter-rolls amounted to 146270 Souldiers, with Dead pays) and had provided a vaſt Artillery, with an incredible quantity of Proviſions and Ammunition, both at home, and in divers Magazines abroad; His Majeſty, having committed the management of the Kingdom to the Queen and her Council, ſet out from *Paris* the 27th of *April* with the Marſhal *Turenne*: Three days together being ſpent in tranſporting of the Train and Baggage; for which were employ'd 40000 Horſes, with a ſufficient number of Carts and Waggons.

The 28th *ditto*, the Duke of *Orleans* with many Grandees followed, who took their march with his Majeſty by *Nanteuil*, *Soiſſons*, *Laon*, *Rocroy*, and the 5th of *May* arrived at *Charleroy*.

The ſame 28th of *April* the Prince of *Condé* departed from *Paris*, and paſſing by *la Ferte* and *Rheims*, arrived the 30th at *Sedan*, to come down with an Army apart.

In the mean while, much Shipping came down the *Moſel*, and *Rhine*, to bring all manner of Neceſſaries paſt *Colen* unto their Magazine at *Nuys*: Great numbers alſo paſſed along the *Maes* to *Luyck*; and the Troops which lay ſpread abroad in the Country of *Colen* were now rendezvouz'd together at *Nuys*; and the Biſhop of *Munſter* alſo gathered his Souldiers together, preparing for the Field.

May the 6th, at *Colen* a Treaty of mutual Aſſiſtance and Defence was concluded between

the Elector of *Brandenburgh* and the Lord of *Amerongen*, Envoy extraordinary of the States General: In which *Brandenburgh* engaged to raiſe for the defence of this State 20000 men; to wit, 12000 Foot, and 8000 Horſe; to which *Holland* was to furniſh the half of the Levy-money; (*viz.* 120000 Rixdollers) and for the pay of every Regiment, conſiſting of 500 Horſe, 4977 Rixdollers 10 Stivers: And for every Regiment of Foot, conſiſting of 1000 men, 4314 Rixdollers 4 Stivers *per* Moneth; amounting together to 79543 Rixdollers *per Menſem*; with proviſo that *Brandenburgh* at his Charges ſhould provide 50 Pieces of Cannon, with all the Ammunition and Proviſion thereto belonging; obliging himſelf two moneths after the receipt of the firſt Payment to have his Army in a readineſs. There was a Treaty alſo with the Princes of *Lunenburgh*, but without effect. In the mean while the *Dutch* Army, which was raiſed near the *Yſſel*, was compleated; whither the Prince with moſt of the chief Commanders went to view it; and the Fort at *Staphorſt* and *Ronveen* was with all diligence forwarded, and the Army muſtered.

9 *Ditto*, The King of *France*, having made a review of his Army near *Charleroy*, ſent the Marſhal *Turenne* with 20000 men, 4000 Wagons, and 27 Cannons to march along the great Cauſey by *Luyck* and *Maeſtricht*, and himſelf followed with the groſs of the Army: And on the 11th, 12, and 13 *ditto*, having Lodged in three ſeveral places of the *Spaniſh* Territories, came the 14th *ditto* into the Country of *Luyck*, paſſing by *Navagne*, and arrived the 18th *ditto* at *Viſe*, where he ſtaid and beſet *Tongeren* with *French* Souldiers.

In the interim, *ditto* 16, the Avantguard under Marſhal *Turenne* had ſurrounded and ſhot upon *Maſeyk*, requiring them to deliver it up: ſoon after he poſſeſſed himſelf thereof; and *Turenne* entring it, ordered that there a Magazine for the King ſhould be erected; and that the place ſhould ſerve for a Paſs to the Armies. After he was gone, the *French* thereupon preſently fell to work to fortifie the Town, demoliſhing whatever ſtood in their way. Hereby *Maeſtricht* was as good as blocked up; and the rather, becauſe the Prince of *Condé* came on the other ſide of it with an Army of 35000 men, marching from *Sedan* through *Ardennes* all along the over ſide of the *Maes*. So that it ſeemed they intended to aſſault *Maeſtricht*; of which however there ſeem'd to be no great fear, ſeeing it was ſo well provided with all things neceſſary, and had a Garriſon of 12000 Soulders, beſides the Citizens.

18th *Ditto*, The Biſhop of *Munſter*, deſirous to ſhare in the enſuing War, publiſhed a Declaration of War againſt the *Hollanders*.

18 *Ditto*, Here happily arrived the Fleet from St. *Ubal*, being about 80 ſail; of which ſome that went towards the Eaſt Sea were taken by Capers. The day following, the States choſe Officers for the raiſing of four Regiments, and gave the Commander *Stockleim* an order to raiſe one Regiment more. A part alſo of the *Dutch* Foot that had been quartered in the *Spaniſh Netherlands* returned, and the reſt followed ſoon after. All *Holland* over the Peaſants were armed and muſtered, and 1375 of them were ſent from *North-holland* to the *Yſſel*.

18 *Ditto*, In open field the King of *France* held a great Council of War with all his high Officers, and concluded to keep *Maeſtricht* blockt up with 20000 men, and to march with the groſs of the Army to the *Rhine*. Whereupon *Condé*, the 21 *ditto*, brake up with his Army, paſſing through *Gulickerland* directly to *Keyſerſweert*; where the 27 and 28 *ditto*, he paſſed the *Rhine* over a Bridge of Ships, and came the firſt of *June* before *Weſel*. *Turenne* with his Army followed him, and paſſing the *Maes*, marched directly to *Nuys*; and from thence along the Weſt-ſide of the *Rhine* by *Orſoy* and *Rhineberg* to *Burick*; where he arrived the firſt of *June*. The King with his Army followed the 27 of *May*, and 31 of the ſame moneth arrived near *Nuys*, where the Elector of *Colen* had made great preparation to entertain his Majeſty; but the King excuſing it, haſtened his march directly to *Orſoy* and *Rhineberg*, where he came the firſt of *June*.

June 1, by break of day *Orſoy* and *Rhineberg* were ſurrounded by the King himſelf: *Weſel*, by the Prince of *Condé*: And *Burick*, which lay over againſt it, by *Turenne*. At the ſame time the Biſhop of *Munſter*, with his Troops, and ſome of *Colen*'s, brake up from *Benthem*, and ſurrounded the City *Grol*.

Orſoy, though but a little, yet a ſtrong City, having 700 Souldiers in it, for defence whereof more than 2000 had been needful, was by the King ſummoned *June* the firſt; but the Council of War would not liſten to his Summons, reſolving to defend the City. Wherefore the King was neceſſitated to plant his Cannon; which the Beſieged ſeeing, and fearing the great power of the Enemy, more eſpecially having no hope of ſuccour, they began to deſpair, and to think upon good Conditions of Agreement, and were conſtrained to deliver up themſelves, the third *ditto*, to the diſcretion of the King, onely reſerving Life and Goods.

Rhineberg, gallantly and ſtrongly fortified, and with great Charge and Labour repaired, and furniſhed with all things needful but Souldiers, (there being but 1000 within) which were

ſcarce

ſcarce half enough to defend the Counterſcarps, had for Governour Colonel *Baſſet*, and for his Aſſiſtant one other whoſe Name I have forgot. The City being beſieged the firſt of *June*, upon the third ſaw the King himſelf, after the taking of *Orſoy*, before their Walls. The ſame day the Governour ſuffer'd the Baron of *Hovelig*, Mathematician to the Biſhop of *Strasburgh*, to enter the City; who pretended that he heard that thoſe within would ſet the City on fire, deſiring that it might be ſtay'd; but in the mean while he ſecretly held a correſpondence within, taking an exact view of the Fortifications. The fourth of *June* a Trumpeter came with a Letter from the King, deſiring Duke *de Duras*, under Hoſtages, might come into the City: which the Governour conſented to. The fifth he came, offering good Conditions; amongſt other things, *That the Garriſon ſhould freely depart to* Maeſtricht, *if the City were ſurrendred up*: and ſo he returned after he had made his Propoſition. The ſixth, a Council of War being called, and the Propoſitions of *Duras* laid before them; the Captains and the Governour, fearing the event of a Storm, delivered up to the *French* a very ſtrong City, without almoſt any attempt upon it. However, the *French* made good their Articles, and the Garriſon was conducted ſafe to *Maeſtricht*.

Buriek, right over againſt *Weſel*, being a ſmall Fortreſs, with five Bulwarks, and a ruined Fortification, no reparation a long time having been done to it, three hundred Souldiers onely in it, and alſo unprovided of Cannon and Ammunition, having for their Governour the Lord *Peckendam*, was alſo beſieged the firſt of *June* by *Turenne*; who (notwithſtanding the Beſieged, conſidering their bad Proviſion, defended themſelves courageouſly) advanced ſo ſtrongly, that on *June* the third, early in the morning, he approached the Moat, and had almoſt half filled it up, having made all things ready to ſtorm, and reſolved to attempt it the next morning with 12000 men. The Beſieged having notice hereof, and finding themſelves unable to reſiſt ſo great a force, made their compoſition with *Turenne*, and forthwith delivered up the Keys to him; upon which the *French* entred, ſpoil'd the Garriſon, and kept the Souldiers Priſoners of War. *Turenne*, not willing to loſe time, removes with his Army further downwards, and beſieges the City *Rees*.

Weſel, that known Fortreſs, and Magazine of all manner of Proviſion, but with a ſad ruined Fortification, and unſerviceable Cannon on their Walls, having the *Lipperſcons* hard by it, but very much decayed, was alſo ſurrendred to *Condé* on the firſt of *June*. Aſſoon as notice came of the Enemies approach, they began with might and main to repair the Fortification; but Burgers and Souldiers together could ſcarce raiſe their Breaſt-work to a ſufficient height, having onely planted here and there ſome Palliſadoes without Baskets; however, they within made a ſtout defence the firſt and ſecond day. But the *French* made them no anſwer; for they were very buſie in delving and making all things ready for the Battery; which the Beſieged might have more annoyed, if their Pieces had had more force. While they thus manfully gave fire out of *Buriek* and *Weſel*, they in the *Lipperſcons* did nothing, having but two Pieces, and both unſerviceable, as ſtanding upon a Bulwark not compleated, having no Palliſadoes yet erected; which encouraging the *French*, they with four hundred men onely, in the Night between the ſecond and third of *June* fell upon it, ſurprizing the Watch, and quietly coming over the Wall without lett, (for that corner lay flat open) they marched with this advantage to the head-Watch, who thus ſurprized, they within preſently cried Quarter, which was granted them: and they ſhould all have been kept Priſoners; but being two Companies, and almoſt as ſtrong as their Aſſaulters, the moſt of them got out of the *Scons* into the City, one or two who ſtood upon their defence being onely killed. Thus the *Scons* was loſt, which the 3d *ditto* cauſed ſo great a Tumult in the City of *Weſel*, that the Citizens forſook the Walls, and carried home their Arms, and would watch no more. Beſides that, the Women and Souldiers Wives required the delivery up of the City, and threatned Sword and Halter to any that ſhould oppoſe it. The Garriſon indeed, conſiſting but of about 15 or 1600 men, was too weak to defend the out-works and thoſe within together; therefore the Captains deſired a Council of War ſhould be called to deliberate about it; but the Governour being abſent, and the Council of War delaying to give their Reſolution, the very ſame day in the afternoon the Burgomaſters ſent a Meſſenger with a Letter to the Prince of *Condé*. And next day, being the 14th, the Burgomaſters rode out themſelves to the Prince, the Women crying out all the way as they paſſed for an Accord. By this time, the Commander in Chief being returned, and ſeeing the confuſion which the Town was in, ſent certain Officers to the *French* Army, and made an Agreement for the Garriſon. Thus upon the 5 *ditto*, being *Eaſter*-day, early in the Morning before day, the *French* had the Keys delivered up to them; and before eight of the Clock the Garriſon was ſhut up as Priſoners of War in the Church.

Thus an Invincible City was in the ſpace of four days, together with a Magazine full of Ammunition, wherein were above 100000 barrels of Powder, ſurrendred up into the hands of the Prince.

Rees, being reasonably well fortified, and provided with a sufficient Scons over the *Rhine*, had a Garison of 500 men for it self and Scons. This *Turenne* had blocked up before the King was master of *Rhineberg*, or the Prince of *Wesel*; and no sooner were the *French* come before it, but the Scons was delivered up to them: Nor did the Citizens know any thing of this, till by the Cannon of the Scons, turned against the City, they were untimely warned of their Misfortune. They within shot furiously; but after the loss of *Rhineberg* and *Wesel*, they saw themselves more strongly assaulted. The King had sent a Trumpeter to demand the Town; upon which the Council of War sent Commissioners empowred to treat with him. The Army being yet encamped about *Wesel*, the Capitulation was signed there in the same form as with them of *Wesel*; *That the Garison should be six weeks Prisoners, and afterwards have Liberty of Ransome.* And thus this City also was delivered up.

The Garison of *Emmerick*, not so strong as the other, seeing it would now be their turn, and not willing to prostitute their Souldiers to a Massacre, or to be shut up Prisoners in the Church; and finding that for want of Men, and by reason of the slightness of the Fortifications, there was not the least appearance to defend the City, retreated in time to *Schenkenscours*, for the preservation of that Fort, as being a Bulwark to the States Territories. So leaving *Emmerick* open for the *French*, they possessed themselves of it, who now with their three Armies came down upon the *Dutch*; the King having appointed Monsieur *d'Estrades* Governour of all the Cities already conquered upon the *Rhine*.

When the *French* begun to act, the Bishop of *Munster* also, after a kinde of Declaration of War, soon sent divers Troops into *Twente*; who seizing on the small Towns *Otmarschen*, *Enschede*, *Almelo*, *Goow*, *Delden*, and leaving Garisons in them, with his Army, and some Troops of the Elector of *Colen*, sate down before the strong City of *Graf*, which without much resistance gave up themselves to the Bishop the 9 of *June*. Whereupon the small Towns thereabouts were forsaken by their Garisons. *Heremberg* and *Borkelo* also fell into the hands of the Bishop.

This was the unhappy success of the beginning of *June* on the Land, in which more Cities and Fortresses were lost than there passed days.

9 *June*, The Agreement with *Rees* no sooner was subscribed, but the Prince of *Condé* drew his Army to the *Issel* side, and that very day took in *Deutecom* two miles from *Doesburg*; which seemed to import, that the Prince of *Condé* intended to fall upon the *Issel*. *Turenne* passed the same day by *Cleve* with 6000 Horse, as far as *Nimmegen*, where the Prince of *Orange* himself then was, and appointed Lieutenant-General *Welderen* for Governour of the place; and in person went into the Works, and observed the motion of the Enemy: for it seemed credible, what then was reported, that the designe of the *French* was first to surround *Nimmegen*, and so on the Land-side to besiege it; and that the Prince of *Condé* would endeavour some way or other to break through the *Issel*. But forasmuch as then opportunity was offered to get over the *Rhine* into the *Betuw*, by the Tol-house, the former designe was laid aside. However it be, *Condé* diverted his course from *Doesburg* towards the Tol-house, and *Turenne* returned from before *Nimmegen*, passing by *Cleve* to the King's Army, which then was about *Emmerick*.

10 *Ditto*, The Prince of *Condé* made an Assault upon the Tol-house, to have got over the *Rhine*; but was repulsed, and forced to retire and cast up Batteries there.

The *Betuw* was trusted to *Johan Barton* of *Mombas* Commissary-General of the Horse, having by him two Horse-regiments, and two of Foot, with a pretended Order, that in case the Enemy should press on, and he be in danger to be driven back, by which *Nimmegen* also might be in danger, he rather should in time retire to *Nimmegen* and command there. But whatever might be the pretence of such an Order, this could not excuse him; for he acknowledged that the Field-marshal *Wurts* had the 9 *ditto* about the Evening sent him a Letter, that his Highness had made *Van Welderen* Governour of *Nimmegen*; and that he, the said *Mombas*, therefore was discharged of that care: but that it was his Highness's pleasure that he should take care of the *Betuw*; and that five Regiments more were a coming to him for that end. But notwithstanding all this, yet in the morning of the 10 *ditto*, he sent away the Foot, and caused the Cannon to be carried off one by one; so that the Regiment of Horse was left to sustain the Assault of the *French*, till that *Mombas*, meeting the Succours sent him by his Highness, by reason of the Prince of *Condé*'s approach so near *Doesburg*, was forced to return, and then they forced the Enemy again to retire. But forasmuch as *Mombas* doubted not but the Enemy would the next day pass the River, he would not stand to it, but resolved to quit his Post, and took his way to *Arnheim*, and from thence to *Dieren*; where on the 11 *ditto* about nine of the Clock he came in view of the Prince of *Orange*, to the great astonishment of his Highness, who commanded another Supply to the same Post, of two Regiments, for its defence.

12 *Ditto*, The Prince of *Condé*, accompanied by *Turenne*, fell early in the morning upon that

that very Poſt, where the Commander acquitted himſelf as a gallant Souldier, and made a ſtout reſiſtance; but being too weak, that Poſt was loſt, and the *Dutch* Horſe purſued by the *French*, who in their flight met with a Regiment of *Alua*, ſent by the Governour of *Nimmegen*, as well knowing of what concernment the preſervation of the Tol-houſe was: but they being weary, and over-toiled with continual marching, were for the moſt part routed, and purſued almoſt to the Gates of *Nimmegen*, where ſome of the *French* Troops preſently ſurrounded *Knodſenburg*. However, the *French* did not get into the *Betuw* without conſiderable loſs: The Prince of *Conde* himſelf, with eight or ten Dukes, Earls, and Lords, being wounded; and the Duke of *Longueville*, Monſieur *de Guitry*, the Marquiſs *d'Aubuſſon*, Earl of *Nogint*, *du Pleſſis-Praſlin*, and other great ones ſlain.

Before the *French* were got over the Tower of the Tol-houſe, the Scons, where lay a Serjeant with eighteen men, was deſerted: But *Turenne* was no ſooner got into the *Betuw*, but he marched to *Arnheim*: part of his men running through the *Betuw*, upon the 13 *ditto* took *Henſden*, and made ſpoil thereof. And from thence they went and took *Yſſeloort*, ſhooting all the afternoon upon the *Dutch* who were upon the *Veluw*; and at night ruſhed over the *Rhine* upon the borders of the *Veluw*. And thus the 14 *ditto*, being now ready to batter *Arnheim* it ſelf on both ſides, they within, the day after, being the 15 *ditto*, made an Accord early in the morning; which was not ſo haſtily done, but that the *French* entred before the Articles were once ſigned, which alſo remained unſigned.

The ſame day *Turenne* came before *Knodſenburg*, a ſtrong Scons, and reaſonably well provided, where ſome Troops already had appeared; though *Turenne* himſelf came not till eight of the clock at Evening; and the day after, being the 16 *ditto*, in the forenoon, he became Maſter of it. The Garriſon was permitted by *Turenne* to depart to *Groeningen*: and then preſently from the Scons he fired upon *Nimmegen*; and the ſame day *Turenne* marched with his Leaguer to *Schenkenſcons*; the 16 and 17 ſending ſome Troops before *Thiel*, who gave up themſelves, and accepted of Protection; whoſe example alſo was followed the 19 and 20 by the Impregnable Sconſes of *Voren* and St. *Andries*.

Upon the 17, *Turenne* approached by his Loopgraves to the ſtrong Fort of *Schenkenſcons*, wherein lay 15 Companies; which by a Trumpeter he ſummoned, and the 18 had it delivered up to him.

The Biſhop of *Munſter*, after the conqueſt of *Grol*, ſate not ſtill, but maſtered *Brevoort*, *Lochem*, and what elſe was near about. And on the 14 ſhew'd himſelf upon the Plain of *Deventer*, to fetch away their Beaſts that were graſing there; but was driven back with loſs, by the courage of ſome that iſſued out of the City upon him. But he came with his whole Army, aſſiſted by thoſe of the Biſhop of *Colen*, to beſiege it. The King of *France* alſo, with the groſs of his Army, ſate down before *Doesburg*, and ſummoned that City.

If the firſt nine days of *June* were fatal to the *Netherlands*, the following were no leſs; eſpecially becauſe his Highneſs was neceſſitated to depart from the *Yſſel*: for *Arnheim* being conquered, the *Veluw* lay open to the Enemy, and the Army in danger of being fallen upon on all ſides, and utterly to be ruinated. So that his Highneſs having divided the Army, and put part in the Cities on the *Yſſel*, under the Command of *Alua* General for *Frieſland*, and brought the greateſt Cannon with the Ammunition and Proviſions into *Doesburg*, *Zutphen*, *Deventer*: He with the reſt and lighter Field-pieces departed thence; and coming the 15 at Evening before *Utrecht*, the Gates were ſhut upon him; and his followers, hungry and wearied with continual marching night and day, were conſtrained to lie the whole night in the Field without any Refreſhment. His Highneſs deſired he might be let in, offering to defend the City, in caſe they would ſuffer it to be fortified as need ſhould require; and that what was in the way ſhould be pulled down: Which they of *Utrecht* refuſed to do; inſiſting upon it, that their Army ſhould lie encamped without; pretending it would be to the great damage of the Citizens, who would not endure to be burthened by quartering of Souldiers. At length it was agreed, that the two Regiments of the diviſion of *Utrecht* ſhould be admitted to come in: But the States of *Holland* judging that thus doing they ſhould not be able to maintain that Poſt, if ſet upon, reſolved for the preſervation of *Holland* to beſet their Paſſes. Whereupon the Leaguer brake up the 17 from *Utrecht*, and ſet forward to *Weſep*, *Bodegrave*, *Goverweller-ſluce*, *Schoonhoven*, *Gorcum*, and afterwards alſo to *Vtborn*; which Poſts being fortified, were found ſufficient to keep the *French* out of *Holland*.

The amazement, by reaſon of the breaking in of the *French* into the *Betuw*, and the retreat of the *Dutch* Army, was greater than can be related; and the flying from all places to *Amſterdam* was unſpeakable. Thouſands of Waggons and Boats daily came in, and as faſt went out again from *Amſterdam* elſewhere: All was filled with fear and trouble.

To this retreat of the Army from *Utrecht*, they aſcribe the delivery up of their City. For aſſoon as the Enemy was poſſeſſed of *Weſel*, the Great ones began ſecretly to tranſport

their Goods; which the Commons perceiving, oppoſed the ſame; yea, not without affronting the Magiſtrates themſelves; openly crying out to the Burgomaſters, *You have ruled long enough; it is now our turn.* From which Tumults no good being to be expected, aſſoon as *Arnheim* was taken, they ſent thither to offer their City alſo to the *French*, deſiring Protection: but they were fain to go further: for the King yet lay before *Doesburg*. Thus they went ſeeking the *French*, to invite them into their City; for in 20 *Engliſh* miles round, there was not a Frenchman to be found. While thus they of *Utrecht* were waiting for the *French*, ſome of them, being impatient he ſtaid ſo long, ſent a Trumpeter up to the Tower to give notice of their coming; which by ſound of Trumpet he did on the 18 day: And indeed it was thought both in the City and all the Country over, that the *French* were come into *Utrecht*; but it proved a miſtake: for thoſe that the Trumpeter thought had been the *French*, were the Burgers, who returning, had ſeen no Enemy at all.

The 13 *ditto*, the King ſent them a Protection with two Trumpeters, and ſoon after a *French* Garriſon; whereupon they preſently capitulated for the whole Province.

The 16 of *July*, the Biſhop of *Munſter* came before *Deventer*, a gallant fortified City, provided of all things, with a ſtrong Gariſon of Soulders; beſides 1450 *South-Holland* Country-men, and reſolute Citizens, together making up 10000 able men; all reſolved to ſtand out to the utmoſt againſt the Enemy. Colonel *Steck* was Commander in chief over the Gariſon, as alſo head of the Provincial Militia. He held much Communication with the Governour of *Coeverden*, Colonel *Broerſma*, whom his Highneſs not truſting, had cauſed to come to *Deventer*, where he thought he could do no great hurt. The *Munſterians* marched over the *Iſſel*, where was moſt convenience, behinde the Hedges of the City-Gardens, to approach and plant their Mortar-pieces; out of which the 20 early in the morning, they ſhot their Bombes into the City; but did little or no harm. Whereupon the Commander, to ſatisfie the Citizens, offered to make a Sally upon the Enemy; which he alſo did, not altogether without ſucceſs: yet ſo as not to do too much hurt to the Enemy. In the mean while the *Munſterians* continued the Bombes from the over-ſide of the *Iſſel* till the Afternoon, when ſome of the Magiſtrates ſent a Letter to the Biſhop, deſiring a Ceſſation of Arms, and Safe-conduct for Commiſſioners to go for the advice of the Cities of *Campen* and *Swol*. This was done after that the Biſhop the day before had declared that his intention was to joyn *Deventer* again to the Empire. And the 21 in the Morning they ſent again a Trumpeter for Ceſſation of Arms, the Cannons ſounding too loud in their Ears, though they hitherto had ſuſtained little harm by them. Toward Evening the Agreement was made; and the ſame 21 day, late in the night, the City was poſſeſſed by the Enemy, none almoſt knowing thereof, or any Neceſſity preſſing thereunto. All the Cities and Forts of *Over-Iſſel* were upon this Provincially given up to the *Munſterians*; and the *Ommer-Scons*, with the new Retrenchment, lying round about in a Moras, was upon this news forſaken by its Gariſon; General *Alua* with his Forces being gone as far as *Leuwaerden*. After the taking of *Deventer*, *Deventer* was allotted to the Elector of *Colen*, *Campen* to the *French*, *Swol* to all three together. The reſt fell to the Biſhop of *Munſter*'s ſhare, and ſo remain to this day.

The 17 of *June*, the King of *France* came before *Doesburg*; and though there were a reaſonable ſtrong Gariſon in it, yet without any great reſiſtance they gave up themſelves to the King: Who from thence in haſte marched to *Zutphen*; taking it in without much trouble, though it were alſo provided reaſonably well of all things, and a Garriſon in it. In both theſe Cities the Souldiery, as alſo the *Hollands Waerdt-Gelders*, or Auxiliary-Troops, were detained Priſoners of War. Thus there being no more to be conquered at the *Iſſel*, the King brake up from thence; and the 27, having in perſon with his Army paſs'd *Arnheim* near to *Utrecht*, he encamped himſelf without the City, and put Gariſons into all the Cities of that Province, as *Wyck*, *Montfort*, *Iſſelſteyn*, *Amersfoort*, and the *Gelder*-Cities, *Harderwick* and *Elburg*; yea, in *Woerden* and *Oudewater* it ſelf, Cities of *Holland*. And ſome few coming before *Naerden*, the dread was ſo great, that they within caſt away their Arms; ſome ſwimming over the Moat of the City, leaving it for the *French* to poſſeſs. *Muyen* alſo was once gone, taken in by 15 men; but they were again driven out.

The King remained in the Leaguer without *Utrecht*, and came the fifth of *July*, accompanied with the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Monmouth*, *Luxemburg*, and other Grandees, to take a view of the Town; but ſoon returned back again to the Leaguer, appointing the Duke of *Luxemburg* Governour of the City and Province; and *Stoupa*, General of the *Switzers*, Commander of the City.

The Commonalty ſeeing the aſtoniſhment of their Governours, and the danger that threatned them, begin to raiſe Tumults: Others flie where-ever they imagine a place of ſafety to be, tranſporting their Families, and what was moſt precious, Eaſt, Weſt, yea, even to *France* and *England*. They that remained behinde with trembling Spirits, at laſt take

up

up Arms to defend their Country: The Magiſtracy in divers Cities being diligent to animate and encourage the reſt to contribute whatever could ſerve for the defence of their Cities. To which purpoſe other places in the mean while being wholly neglected, the Poſts for *Hollands* ſecurity were ſtrengthned with Souldiers, and made defenſible; the Banks and Dams about *Amſterdam* opened; the Country ſet under Water; the Ways cut through; Bridges caſt down; Trenchments erected; Outliers brought upon the Rivers: the Wall repaired, Cannon brought up, the Watch doubled; and for ſecurity of the Citizens, the 29 of *June* it was publiſhed from the Town-houſe, that the Council was fully reſolved to defend the City to the utmoſt: and Burgers were ſent out of the *Hague* and *Rotterdam* to re-enforce the Poſts of the Army, and out of other Cities to the Frontiers of *Holland*, *Heuſden*, *Gertruydenburg*, *Breda*, the *Klundert*, the *Brill*, &c. But all this could not take away from the diſturbed Spirits of men that impreſſion they had taken, that many Members of the Magiſtracy were guilty of Treaſon, and held Correſpondence with the Enemy; as it happens often, that the bad ſucceſs of undertakings is laid to the charge of the managers thereof, though of never ſo pure an Integrity.

June 20, A remarkable Example of this Impreſſion was ſeen in the *Hague*, when the two Sons of Counſellor *de Graaf*, with two other, coming at Evening on the *Viverburg*, and ſeeing Light where the States of *Holland* were met, they concluded that the Pentioner was yet amongſt them; who having the greateſt hand in the management of Affairs, was judged by many the grand cauſe of all their Diſaſters. Theſe people therefore thought they ſhould do a piece of good ſervice to their Country if they made away with him. For this reaſon, as he was going home with two Servants, they fell upon him, and having wounded him, left him for dead, and went away: but his Wounds were not ſo great, but that he ſoon roſe up again and went home; one of the Aſſaſſinates *Jacob van de Graaf* being taken. At the ſame time came four unknown perſons to the Houſe of his Brother *Cornelius de Wit* in *Dort*; who being the *Ruard Van Putten*, and having been Pleniſpotentiary in the Fleet, was now returned home ſickly. Theſe perſons pretended to ſpeak with him, having the ſame deſigne upon him; but were driven away by ſome of the City-watch. In the mean while the murmurings of the Common people increaſed againſt the Magiſtracy, and in eſpecial againſt the two *De Wits*.

The 25, they of *Ardenburg* in *Flanders* had intelligence that the *French* out of their Quarters at *Cortryck*, and thereabouts, had gathered many men, with a deſigne to ſet upon them at the very nick of time when the Governour of *Ardenburgh* was gone for *Zealand*. Thereupon the Garriſon, conſiſting onely of 73 men, and 165 Citizens, was put into a poſture by the vigilant direction of Enſigne *Beakman*, as much as poſſibly the time would permit. At Night, about 11 of the clock, the *French* approached, being 4000 Horſe and Foot, and by a Trumpeter ſummoned the City; which after refuſal they fell upon by force. But by the Magnanimity of thoſe few within, they were ſo manfully repulſed, that after three hours ſtorming they were forced with great loſs, toward the Morning, to draw off, retiring out of Cannon-ſhot: And they of *Ardenburg* the *26 ditto*, got 60 men for ſuccour, with ſome Ammunition. Soon after, the Enemy, ſtrengthned with 2000 men more, fell on again furiouſly at one a clock at Night; their Foot being driven on by the Horſe, advancing (though moſt manfully reſiſted by them in the City) to the very Walls. Upon which they maſtered a Ravelin before the Gate, the Draw-bridge of the Inner Gate let down, when happily at that very nick of time Colonel *Spindler* came to aſſiſt them with 150 men; which ſo increaſed their courage and ſtrength, that the Enemy was forced again to retire. They of the Enemy who were got into the Ravelin, being amazed, becauſe of the continual firing, and the danger of the Bridge which they were to paſs over, called for quarter; which was not granted before they had caſt their Weapons from them, and drawn up the outmoſt Draw-bridge, and then they were brought in; the reſt eſcaping from whence they came. The ways round about were ſtrow'd with the Slain, being to the number of 1000; beſides 200 wounded, whom they carried along with them: not one being ſlain in the City, and one or two onely wounded. The Priſoners taken were 1 Colonel, 2 Lieutenant-Colonels, 28 Captains and Lieutenants, and 530 Common Souldiers.

29 *ditto*, *Jacob de Graaf* was condemned to be Executed by the Sword, for aſſaulting the Pentioner *de Wit*. When he was carried to Execution the Gates of the Cities near about were kept ſhut up, and all the ways beſet with Horſe: By which means that work, notwithſtanding the Executioner made divers blows before he could cut off his Head, was accompliſhed without any great commotion.

Juſt at this very time, the Commonalty throughout all *Holland* and *Zealand* were up in a dreadful Tumult, requiring that the Government ſhould be altered, and more power put into the hands of the Prince of *Orange*. They began at *Dort*, where the Burgers, by their Captains, demanded of the Magiſtrates what they meant to do, whether to defend the

City

City or not. And would know themſelves what Proviſion there was in the Magazines; which was found to be very ſlight, and the Key of the Powder-tower not to be found. This made the Citizens yet more unquiet, requiring that the Prince of *Orange* ſhould be made Stadtholder without delay, and that with high threatnings. Whereupon Deputies from the Magiſtrates and Citizens were forced to go to the Leaguer, to deſire his Highneſs to come to *Dort*; which when he often denied to do, the Deputies told him, That in caſe they ſhould return home with ſuch an anſwer, they ſhould be in great danger to be put to death as Traytors. Which peril his Highneſs conſidering, went the ſaid 29 of *June* to *Dort*, and was received with all the applauſe of the people imaginable. Being come to the Town-houſe, the Magiſtrates made known unto him that the Citizens deſired he would be pleaſed to view the City, Fortifications, and Magazines; not at all mentioning the Stadtholderſhip: Whereupon, with ſome of the Lords, he rode round about the City, and ſo towards the Peacock, to dine there. The Citizens perceiving that they thought thus to put them off, began to murmur, crying out, that they ſought to delude them; and thereupon laid hold of their Horſes, binding their Pikes and Muſquets to their Coaches, highly threatning all of them, in caſe his Highneſs were not made Stadtholder. The Lords thus terrifi'd, promiſe to content the People; and being come to the Peacock, diſcharge themſelves, and alſo his Highneſs, of their Oath concerning the perpetual Edict; and ſo made him Stadtholder. *Cornelius de Wit* the old Burgomaſter being come home ſick from the Fleet, kept his Chamber; for which reaſon they ſent theſe Acts to him, by the Secretary, to be by him alſo ſubſcribed: But he refuſed, ſaying, he neither could nor would conſent thereto. However, his reluctancy was in vain; for by the perſwaſion of his Wife and the Lords preſent, but principally by the menaces of the Citizens, he was conſtrained thereto. For indeed, about that time alſo, the Magiſtrates of moſt of the Cities of *Holland* and *Zealand* had reſolved to advance his Highneſs. Whereupon by the Deputies of the Cities having a voice in the Aſſembly of the States of *Holland*, the perpetual Edict was aboliſhed *July* the firſt; and ſo by the annulling of that Oath, the Members made capable to elect a Stadtholder. Thereupon the 2 *ditto*, in *Zealand*, and the day after in *Holland*, his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* was elected thereto; conferring alſo the power of Iſſuing out Commiſſions, and to be Captain and Admiral General, in like manner as his Predeceſſors the former Princes of *Orange* had been. Whereupon, the 4 *ditto*, the ſaid Dignities and Honours were proffered him by Deputies of the beſt Quality in the name of the States of *Holland*.

The 10 *ditto*, his Highneſs arrived early in the Morning at the *Hague*; and being introduced by the Deputies and a multitude of Gentry into the Aſſembly of the States-General, he there received his Commiſſion, and took his Oath; as he alſo did at the meeting of the States of *Holland*: and he ſate that ſame day as Stadtholder in the Court of Juſtice. And the 16 *ditto*, the Deputies of the States of *Zealand* came to the *Hague*, proffering his Highneſs the Stadtholderſhip of that Province, and took the Oath of him; hereby re-eſtabliſhing him in all the Dignities of his Illuſtrious Predeceſſors.

But for all this, the Spirits of the People were not appeaſed; they ſaw the ſame Management as formerly; and whereas for ſome years paſt, the Magiſtrates of moſt Cities in *Holland* were brought in by the direction of Pentioner *de Wit* and his Brother, the Commonalty were reſolved to have them removed. Whereupon there was a genetal Riſing on a ſudden throughout all *Holland* and *Zealand*: Some were aſſailed in perſon; others had their Houſes ſpoiled; many were forced to quit their Places in the Government: which confuſion produced that reſolution of *Auguſt* 27, not onely to impower his Highneſs, according as ſhould be requiſite, and at pleaſure, to alter the Magiſtracy in all Cities; but alſo entreated him for the Common Good to do it with all ſpeed.

The Biſhop of *Munſter* having put Gariſons in all *Over-Iſſel*, and poſted ſome of his Troops on the Borders of *Friezland*, he made toward *Coeverden*; and coming before it the 8 of *July*, on the 12 *ditto*, without much trouble he became Maſter thereof, the Town ſcarce loſing a man: and though indeed the drought at that time was ſuch as hath not been in the Memory of man, yet the Enemy in their approaches were fain to run Knee-deep in Water, and could not poſſibly have done any thing to the City, had the Defenders done their parts. Thus the *Munſterians* got faſt Footing, and an open way into *Friezland*, or *Ommeland*; and then the Biſhop appointed *Broerſma*, who at the taking of *Deventer* went over to him, Governour the ſecond time of *Coeverden*. He alſo took four of the Companies of the Gariſon lying there, and led them about with him five weeks; and at length let them with their Enſignes depart to *Groeningen*; the four Companies being decreaſed to 110 men. After the taking of *Coeverden* the Biſhop entred into the *Groeninger-Land*, making havock quite through *Drente* and the *Ommelands*; and came the 19 with ſome Troops before *Groeningen*, poſſeſſing the whole Weſtern Quarter, and the 27 fell upon *Adwerder-Zyl*; but was manfully repulſed. However, in the Night he raiſed a Battery, and the 28 began to

fire

fire on the City, formally beſieging it. Upon the approach of the Enemy, the old and new Sconſes were forſaken by the *Dutch*, as alſo *Wynſchoter-zyl*; the Houſe *te Wedde*, and all what was thereabout being poſſeſſed by the *Munſterians*, whereby the *Bourtange* was blocked up and ſummoned; but through the generoſity of Captain *Prat*, they had nothing in anſwer but Powder and Shot. This was the ſame perſon who afterward, when 200000 Gilders were proffered for the Scons, reſolutely anſwered, he would rather gratifie the Biſhop with ſo many Bullets.

Turenne, after the taking of *Schenkenſcons*, appears again before *Nimmegen*; but in the mean while the *Dutch* Souldiers had quitted the ſtrong houſe *te Gennep*; and the Gariſon, being four Companies, marched to *Nimmegen*. Thereupon the 28 of *June*, the *Nimmegen* Horſe went with 64 Carts to fetch thence 84 barrels of Powder, Bullets and Match, with ſome Laſts of Rye; having a deſigne alſo, with a ſecond Convoy, to bring away the reſt into *Nimmegen*. Upon theſe the *French* ſhot very thick out of *Knotſenburg*, and two Batteries which they had made hard by. They alſo caſt many Fire-balls and Granadoes of 90 and 100 pound weight, by which three Out-lyers before *Nimmegen* were drowned. But they within were not behinde-hand with them, ſo that the *French*, the ſecond and third of *July*, paſſed the Wall by their Ship-bridge, and rounded the City on the Land-ſide, bringing their Loopgraves preſently to the Moat; and the fourth made a Battery with five half-Kartowes, and took the Peſthouſe-bulwark that night by ſtorm, but were driven out again; Colonel *Van Ghent*, Brother of the Admiral deceaſed, being there ſlain. The 6 of *July* in the night they ſtorm'd again; but were three times couragiouſly beaten off, as alſo the ſeventh. By this time the *French* before *Nimmegen* were advanced with their Works to the Borſtwerings, and had already undermined two Bulwarks. Whereupon on the 8 they began to parley, and the 9 came to an Agreement; That the Gariſon, conſiſting of 7 Troops of Horſe, and about 40 Companies of Foot, with one Company of *Waert Gelders* from the *Briel*, ſhould all remain Priſoners of War; excepting 5 Companies of *Utrecht* Citizens, and of *Rhenen*, and *Montfoort*, who marched out free with their Arms.

The 11 *July*, *Turenne* from *Nimmegen* went to the *Grave*, and immediately from thence to the *Boſch*. That place was of great importance, and therefore Cannon and Ammunition were ſent by ſhips thither: but coming to *Goreum*, they there received the news that *Crevecoeur* was loſt, ſo that it was not poſſible to carry them to the *Boſch*; therefore the Field-marſhal *Wurts* commanding there, unladed the Cannon, to uſe them for the defence of *Goreum*. They of the *Boſch* had quitted the Sconſes *Engelen* and *Orten*, and brought the Cannon into the City, with all which they had ſcarcely enough to defend the Caſtle as was requiſite; beſides that the Gariſon alſo was but weak. The 13 *July* they ſaw the Enemy at *Vlymen*, and part to *Engelen* and *Crevecoeur*: Into the firſt of which they put Forces, and, beſieging the other with many more, after two days batterie they won it. The groſs of the Leaguer lying at *Boxtel* and the *Vugt*, above 20000 ſtrong.

The 11 *July* the King brake up with his Army from *Utrecht*, lodging that night in the *Grep*, and arrived the 12 at *Arnheim*, drawing forth the Gariſon of *Woerden* and *Oudewater* to *Utrecht*; they of *Oudewater*, being purſued by ſome of the Earl of *Horn*'s quarters, were routed, and ſome taken Priſoners, beſides a good booty of Mony and Arms.

The King, having given a viſit to the Prince of *Condé* and Duke *d'Enguien*, both lying very weak at *Arnheim*, departed thence the 13 to the *Betuw*, ſending part of his Army to *Bommel*; which he ſoon maſtered, and forthwith put Gariſons into the ſmaller Towns, *Heuclom*, *Aſperen*, and *Leerdam*. The 14 the King marched over the Bridge by *Nimmegen* to the *Grave*, and arrived the 16 in his Leaguer before the *Boſch*, being in perſon the 21 *ditto* at *Vugt*, from whence he betook himſelf again to *Boxtel*.

A Liſt of the Cities and Forts conquered by the *French*, ſince the firſt of *June* to the 19th of *July*.

In the Dukedom of *Cleve*.

Orſoy
Rhineberg
Burick
Weſel, and the *Lip*-ſcons
Rees and the Scons
Emmerick.

In the County of *Groeningen*.

Winſchoten
Oude Scons
Boonder Scons
New Scons.

In *East-frieſland* and *Frieſland*.

D'Eyler Scons
Slyckenburg, or *Kunder*-ſcons.

In Gelderland.

Spyck-foort
Schenckenſcons
Tol-houſe
Iſſeloort
Hattem
Elbrug
Harderwyck
Arnheim
Wagenigen

Wagennigen
Knotſenburgh
Nimmegen
Grave
Tiel
Bommel
Scons te Vooren
Scons St. *Andrews*
The *Retrenchment* of the *Yſſel*

In Brabant.

Creveceur
Scons te Engelen
Orte-ſcons

In the County of Zutphen.

Yſſelburg
Anholt
St. *Heerenberg*
Zevenaar
Heuſden
Dotecheim
Brevoort
Grol
Locheim
Zutphen.

In Over-Yſſel.

Deventer
Hardenburg
Ommer-ſcons
Rouveen-ſcons
Zwoll, and the Retrenchment with three Sconſes.
Campen with the Scons
Haſſel
Swart-ſluce
Geelmuyen
Fullenhove
Bleckzyl
Steenwyk.

In the Drente.

Meppel
Coeverden.

In the Twente.

Enſchede
Oldenzeel
Degnecham
Almelo
Delden
Goor
Diepenheim
Ruyſſen.

In Utrecht *Province.*

Rhenen
Wyck te Duurſtee
Amersfoort
Utrecht
Yſſelſtein
Mountfort.

In Holland.

Buren
Knylenburg
Vyanen
Heuckſum
Leerdam
Aſperen
Woerden
Oudwater
Naerden
The Province of *Zealand* onely being free wholly from them.

The 26 of *July* the King brake up from *Boxtel* with Monſieur, and other Grandees, with a Conduct of 14000 men, paſſing through the *Meyery* over *Beringen*, St. *Truyen*, *Hanault*, *Charleroy*, *Queſnoy*, directly to St. *Germains*, where he arrived the firſt of *Auguſt*: The Prince of *Condé* following him ſoon after with moſt of the Gentry and Voluntiers; in which return they of *Maeſtricht* (as formerly, and afterwards) got very great booty, daily ſcouting abroad for Prey; and indeed from the beginning of the year to that time, and for ſome time after, they got an incredible ſpoil; of which the *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries had not the leaſt part, whoſe Horſe were moſt in the ſervice. His Grace the Duke of *Monmouth* returned alſo home over *Flanders*. And thus, to the admiration of every one, this Campaigne was before *Auguſt* broken up. Monſieur *Turenne* alſo, Generaliſſimo of the King's Leaguer in the *Netherlands*, left the Siege of the *Boſch* and marched higher up; ſome Troops at times appearing before *Heuſden* and the *Boſch* to fetch in Contribution, who alſo burned ſome Villages about *Breda*. The Biſhops of *Colen* and *Munſter* had begun 28 *July* to play with their Cannon upon *Groeningen*, and to open their Trenches: However, they in the City were reaſonably provided to hold out a Siege; but the main point of all was, that they had a courageous Governour the Lord *Rabenhaupt*, and a brave Commander the Duke of *Holſteinpleun*, and other worthy Officers. The Governour took upon himſelf the whole management of the Militia and Fortification; being very ſtrict in his Diſcipline, and as vigilant in all other reſpects. The Enemy made his approaches both out of the *Munſter* and *Colen* quarters, playing their Cannon continually, whereby they got to the Counterſcarp; beſides that, they ſhot without ceaſing Fire-balls, Bombs, Granadoes, and caſt their Stink-pots and Pitch-garlands into the City. But they within, both Citizens, Students, and Souldiers, defended the City with unwearied pains, never ſhewing the leaſt diſcouragement amongſt them; but on the contrary, increaſing their Valour. They ſucceeded in divers Salleys upon them: They had alſo ſuccours from other places; ſome Companies of *Coningsmark*, ſome *Frieſes*, and the whole Regiment of *Iorman* of *Amſterdam*; beſide a ſupply of all neceſſary Proviſion and Ammunition. When their houſes were deſtroy'd by the force of the Bombs, inſtead of being diſheartened, they were the more encouraged, the Women themſelves ſtepping over the ruines of their habitations to encourage their Husbands to the fight, till that the Enemy the 28 of *Auguſt* was forced to quit the Siege.

22 *July*, the Embaſſador *de Groot*, who was the chief of the Commiſſioners ſent to the King of *France*, ſilently departed the Land with his Family, as perceiving that the change of time would not permit his tranſactions with *France* to go forward. *De Groot* wrote a Letter to the State in way of excuſe, that he was onely retired for to eſcape the contrivances

of

of his Enemies, and the rage of the common People, which for ſome time had threatned him with no ſmall danger: That all his Services had been improved for the good of the Land, neither would he yet undertake any thing to the prejudice of the State.

26 *ditto*, The *Frieſes* under *Alua* were unawares aſſaulted by 13 Standards of the Biſhop, between *Dragten* and *Bergen*; where the *Frieſes*, being drawn into an ambuſh, would have fallen ſhort, had they not been well ſeconded; whereby the Biſhops men were driven back, with the loſs of 150 horſe, there being only 15 of the *Dutch* Souldiers ſlain.

31 *ditto*, The Pentioner *De Wit* went the firſt time abroad to Church, after his recovery of his wounds; wherein he was the more haſty, that he might have the opportunity to be aſſiſtant to the intricate and dangerous condition of his Brother, the *Ruart van Putten*, who the 24 *ditto* was brought from *Dort* to the *Hague*, and there kept priſoner. The 1 *Auguſt* the Pentioner went and complemented his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*. The 4th he appeared in the Aſſembly of the States of *Holland*, where he made an Oration of his great Services and Care for the Welfare of the State; but perceiving that in this conjuncture they could be no longer for the profit, but contrariwiſe to the diſadvantage of the State, he therefore was come to lay down his Office of Pentionerſhip; and withal deſired, that according to the reſolution before taken, he might have his Seat in the High Court of Juſtice. But foraſmuch as there fell diſpute about Place, and for that afterward *Zealand* was oppoſite to the Seſſion it ſelf, as alſo becauſe, as it was reported, the Chair of State was denied to him in the Church, he never after appeared in the Councel.

1 *Auguſt*, Towards Evening marched out of *Utrecht* about 3000 men, moſt Horſe, having ſome Pieces with them, with which the day after they came before *Kronenburgh*, where Captain *Witze* commanded with about 200 men. It was a ſtrong Fort, but not provided with Ammunition; of which the *French*, with ſome loſs, made themſelves maſters, carrying away the Souldiers priſoners to *Utrecht*. The ſame ſucceſs they alſo had againſt the Fort *Loeverſloot*, in which there lay only a few men. Both theſe Forts a while after they left; by Powder demoliſhing *Kronenburgh*; and having plundered all *Loenen*, and the parts thereabouts, they retir'd with the ſpoil to *Utrecht*.

10 *ditto*, Some Horſe out of the Quarters of his Highneſs advanc'd to the very Gates of *Utrecht*, ruſhing into the Enemies Retrenchment, killing many, and bringing away 16 Priſoners, with the loſs of two men onely. About this time the *Dutch* Forces were muſtered by the Lord *Beverning* here, and by others in other places, and were found to be 783 Companies; 200 whereof had their Officers diſcharg'd to be reform'd, and their Companies added to other; which alſo ſhortly after was effected by his Highneſs; and theſe Reform'd Officers had a certain maintenance allotted them, with promiſe to be again advanc'd, according to Merit, with the firſt opportunity.

12 *ditto*, His Highneſs came to *Amſterdam*: All the 60 Companies with two Troops of Horſe were in Arms: and the 13 *ditto* his Highneſs took Seſſion in the City-Council, and the Council of the Admiralty, having before taken a view of the City-Fortifications: Thence he departed to *Muyen* to ſee the Fortifications there, and ſo to *Weſep*, *Hinderdam* and *Abkow*, from whence he again return'd the 14 *ditto*, and the day following departed in great ſtate to *Bodegrave*.

18 *ditto*, A troop of *French* Horſe of 17 Standards intended to have ſurpriſed *Gorcum*; but the Field-Marſhal *Wurtz*, having notice thereof, ſent ſome Foot with 3 Pieces againſt them, forcing them after the loſs of 60 Horſe to return to *Vianen* and *Utrecht*; 4 only of the *Dutch* being ſlain.

The 20 *ditto* was fatal to *Cornelius* and his Brother *Johan de Wit*; the firſt being Old-Burgomaſter of *Dort*, and Ruart of the Land of *Putten*, and not long before the ſole Plenipotentiary on the Fleet; the other great Councellor and Pentioner of *Holland* and *Weſt-frieſland*. It was the 24 *July* when the Ruart was brought Priſoner from *Dort* to the *Hague*, being lodg'd in the *Caſteleyn*: he was the 6 of *Auguſt* brought from the *Caſteleyn* into the Foreport of the Court; and the 20 *ditto* in the morning, Sentence of Baniſhment was pronounced againſt the Ruart, Priſoner in the Court-Gate.

The Citizens having a few days before heard a rumour that the Ruart was eſcaped, would not be quiet till he had ſhown himſelf before the Grates of the windows; and from that time kept the Priſon-Gates themſelves, and ſtood to their Arms. In the mean while *John De Wit* came in a Coach to fetch away his Brother; but when both the Brothers were coming from above, they were forced by the Citizens that kept the Watch to go up again: And at length the mad people with Iron Inſtruments brake the Gate in pieces, and forcing the two Brothers into the ſtreet, never left till they had barbarouſly murthered them.

1 *September*, The Field-Marſhal *Wurtz* went with ſome Troops out of *Gorcum* to the Houſe *Pouwyen*, which the *French* had fortified and gariſon'd; which he ſoon maſter'd, taking

ſome Priſoners, the reſt retiring to *Bommel*: And while the *Dutch* were buſie in this work, they of the *Boſch* went before *Crevecœur*, to ſee that no aſſiſtance from thence might be ſent to *Pouroyen*, which being ſometime beſet by the *Dutch*, was ſoon after demoliſhed by Gunpowder.

2 *ditto*, Some *Frieſes*, with the help of them that croſs the *Southern*-Sea, fell upon *Blockzyl*, and gain'd the Scons by them erected; upon which the Inhabitants fell upon the *Munſterians*, and cut the throat of the Commander, and forthwith by the aſſiſtance of the *Dutch* Souldiers, drave out the *French*, who thereupon left *Vollenhoven* alſo.

About this time ſome Yachts and ſmall Ships with Souldiers, under the Conduct of one *Muller*, went from *Amſterdam* with a deſigne upon *Swaert-ſluyce*; and thither they came, after a long delay by contrary wind: For the Plot not being well laid, did not proſper; For the *Munſterians* were well ſeconded by their Friends, ſo that the *Dutch* were conſtrain'd to return to *Amſterdam*.

7 *ditto*, Towards the Evening 2000 *Groeningers* with 12 Field-pieces went forth out of *Groeningen*, under the chief Lieutenant of the Governour *Rabenhaupt*, to *Winſchoten*, which the Epiſcopals were fortifying, by that means to ſtraiten the *Bourtange*, *Delf-zyl*, yea *Groeninghen* it ſelf. Whereupon the *Munſterians*, being 800 Dragoons, went the 8 *ditto* out of *Winſchoten*, and drew themſelves up in four Squadrons in the field; but they ſtood not long after the *Dutch* came, being ſoon put to flight, and withal driven out of the *Winſchoter*-Schons, looſing about 200 Men, ſix Pieces, many Waggons, Spades, and ſuch like Inſtruments, and ſo retir'd unto the Old and New Sconſes; after which the *Dutch* put a Gariſon in the Fort *Te Wedde*, which is the Paſs to the *Bourtange*.

The 16th, Some Troops from the Quarter of the Earl of *Horn* march'd into *Oudewater*, and putting a Gariſon into it, ſoon after took up his Quarter there, leaving the Poſt of *Gouverwelle*-ſluyce guarded with ſome Troops only. Which alſo his Highneſs would have done at *Woerden*, if they had not been unwilling. But now the *French* awaken'd by the gariſoning of *Oudewater*, the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, *Stoupa*, *Mombas*, and many other Officers march'd from *Utrecht* with about 4 or 5000 Horſe and Foot, and 4 Pieces of Artillery to *Woerden*; where arriving, the Duke by a Trumpeter deſir'd of the Lords paſſage for ſome of his men; which being granted, they all entred, and held their Poſt there. The 19th many Boats with Baggage and Proviſion, as alſo Carts with the Inſtruments of Fortification, together with Bullets and two pieces of Cannon (for the reſt ſtuck faſt by the way) were ſent in: And with all ſpeed the Countrey-people round about, as well as the Citizens, were forced to work at the Fortifications, for the ſtrengthening of the City; to which end all the buildings without the City were thrown down: And ſo *Luxemburgh* return'd to *Utrecht*, leaving a Garriſon of 2000 there.

20 *ditto*, Some *French* went from *Crevecœur* to *Heuſden*, and on a ſudden fell into a Redoubt and Hornwork; which they of the City perceiving, took the Alarm, and ſtood ſo briskly to their Arms, that the *French* were forc'd again to retire out of thoſe Poſts, only taking along with them ſome Priſoners; but on the other hand, at the ſame time a *French* Troop of Horſe near the Village *Capel*, a little higher than *Schoonhoven*, was put to the rout, and many ſlain. About this time the Emperour rais'd forces at *Egra*, according to a Defenſive League between him and *Brandenburgh*, for the ſecurity of the Empire againſt *France*; in which League *Spain* and *Denmark* alſo were included. The Elector 26 *Auguſt* arrived at *Halberſtadt*, whither the Earl *Montecuculi*, General of the Imperial Forces, came the 10 of *September*. It was expected that both thoſe Armies would have come further to the *Rhine* ſide, and have preſs'd into *Weſtphalia*: Whereupon alſo *Turenne* gathered his Forces, and encamped between *Weſel* and *Doesburgh*, to have a watchful eye upon the Enemy: But the Auxiliary Troops having lain for ſome time about *Halberſtadt*, chang'd their courſe, and return'd back to *Frank-furt*; the Elector leaving only ſome Forces upon the Borders of *Weſtphalia*. But for the body of the Auxiliaries, they ſate down at *Fridburg* and *Butzpach*, which caus'd *Turenne* alſo to march up higher with his Army alongſt the *Rhine*, and to plant himſelf right againſt *Colen*.

The 28th the *Dutch* made an attempt upon *Naerden*, to which end many Ships were ſent with Souldiers from *Tergow* to the *Southern*-Sea; and from *Amſterdam* and other Poſts many Boats were order'd to *Weſep*, with a deſigne to fall upon *Naerden* all together at one time, early in the Morning, both by Water and by Land. The Souldiers at Land, with whom his Highneſs was in perſon, being ready at the ſet time, were advanced near unto the City, they within not knowing of their march; but by reaſon of an extraordinary Calm, neither the Souldiers in the Ships, nor the Float-boats with the Cannon could come up, and ſo the deſign came to nothing.

October

October 7. Some *French* (who upon the Attempt of *Naerden* were come from *Utrecht*) fell upon the *Dutch* who were posted in *Gravenland*, putting them to flight, and taking some of them Prisoners; whereupon the *French* advanc'd before the Sluys of *Ankeveen*, where Prince *Maurice* had planted some Pallisadoes, and had cast up a Breast-work in a hurry, upon which the *French* fell with great fury, but were repulsed with the loss of 50 men.

10 *ditto*, An attempt upon *Woerden* was made; the Lord of *Zuylestein* from the Prince's Quarters, and the Earl of *Horn* from *Oudwater*, coming in the night before it, but pass'd by to their appointed Posts: *Zuylestein* with the Regiment of *Solms* and some other Companies to *Groven*-bridge, betwixt *Utrecht* and *Woerden*, to hinder Succours from *Utrecht*, posting there with a Battery toward *Utrecht*: The Earl of *Horn* having by him some Companies of Mariners, lay posted upon *Polaveen* and the Saw-mills, to batter the City from thence. The 11 *ditto*, by break of the day, the Watch-man on the Tower spyed the Enemies Forces before the City; which being thereby allarm'd, the Watch made a Fire upon the South-east corner of the *Walck*, to give notice to them of *Utrecht* that they were in distress for succours, but the Wind blowing very hard, the Tower, Church, and 15 or 16 Houses were consumed to ashes. In the mean while his Highness made his Approaches on that side next to *Bodegrave*, with a resolution to fall on upon that quarter: but they within sent forth a Party to set on fire the Tile-houses, it being about the Evening; which in some measure succeeded, though they were soon driven in again. At this very time the Duke of *Luxemburgh* with 6 or 7000 men fell upon the Quarter of *Zuylestein*, but met with a stout resistance. So that on the 12, early in the Morning, the Princes men scal'd the Wall, and threw in great store of Fireballs and Granadoes into the City. Upon which they within issued out, but to so little purpose, that retreating in haste back to the City, they left the Gates in a panick fear, for a good while open, and without guard; so that the City might have easily been taken, had the *Dutch* gone forward.

When this action was over, and that all things were prepar'd to storm the City, to which end the Prince himself in person advanc'd to the very Gates; the Duke of *Luxemburgh* (who the night before was beaten off from the Quarter of *Zuylestein*) by the help of some Peasants was led along the *Houdyck* to *Cameryck*, and from thence came by the *Crimpin* (though the waters were knee-deep and higher) betwixt *Woerden* and the Quarter of *Zuylestein*, and on a sudden fell upon them from behinde, where they were naked, and had their Cannon turned: And though they fought it out manfully, yet that quarter, not able to stand any longer against the whole Power of the *French*, would have been ruin'd, in case the Earl of *Horn* had not come to their assistance, who fell upon the *French* with such courage, that many were slain. By which defence the *Dutch* had the opportunity to retreat in order; only the Cannon which was with *Zuylestein*, with all the Ammunition was taken.

However, the Earl of *Horn* brought off his men, and summon'd the City before he departed. Whereupon his Highness, finding no good to be done, gave order to retire with the whole Train, and to return to their former Posts, the City by these succours being too much fortified to make any farther attempt upon it.

At the same time it was order'd, that the Garison of *Schoonhoven* should make a diversion, under the Marquis *de Louvigni*, and alarum *Vreeswyck*, otherwise called the *Vaert*, over against *Vianen*; which was also done with such success, that the *Dutch*-men approaching along by the Dike, with the loss of 7 or 8 men, among which were two Captains, entred the same: but instead of advancing further, and falling upon the *French*, who were not above an hundred, meanly entrench'd, that lay below the sluce, every one fell a plundering, and with their booty retreated; only setting some houses on fire. Whereupon the *French* came afterward, and burnt down the Church it self, with some other houses. At the same time also there was order for a false Alarum to be given about *Naerden*, but to no effect.

17 *ditto*, They of *Ardenburg* assaulted the Fort *Knocke*, lying on the *Vaart* upon the *Steenstraet*, where the *French* had erected a Custome-house, which they took in, killing many of the *French*, and taking 25 Prisoners, amongst whom was the Custom-Master and the Controller. They also brought with them the Kings Arms, with good booty, setting the Fort on fire, which was afterward again repair'd by the *French*.

The 17 *ditto* a great Council of War was held at *Tergow*, where were present his Highness and the Generals of the Leaguer; but their consultations were kept very close: Soon after a great number of inland Ships, to the number of 800 or 1000 were taken up, in which the 26 *ditto* and following days from *Rotterdam* and *Tergow* were shipped the most part of the States Horse and some Regiments of Foot to the *Brabant's* Coasts, being followed by some of the greatest Commanders, and his Highness himself, who rendesvour'd them into order about *Breda*, and march'd into the Countrey of *Luyck*.

26 *ditto*, The *Munsterians* with 1400 men fell upon the *Dutch*, with a designe to raise the Siege of *Bellingwolder*, or old Scons; but they were soon forced to retire to the new Scons, 200 and more being slain. Whereupon those of the old Scons, the 27 *ditto*, began to

parly, and after the Surrender, march'd out of the Fort with matches lighted, to the number of 400.

The Imperial and *Brandenburgher* Forces kept a long while about *Franck-furt*, where were held divers Conferences with the neighbouring Princes, touching the march of the Army through their Territories. For the Elector of *Mentz* was resolv'd to hinder their passage over the *Rhine*, and therefore took away the Bridge before the City. Upon that, the Confederates, in the beginning of *November*, made a Ship-bridge over the *Main* near *Fleersheim*; and there hapned several Skirmishes about *Usingen*, where some of the Imperialists guarding a Pass over the *Lhsan*, were set upon by some Companies of *Turenne*'s Army, who himself with his Body was marched from *Colen* up higher, and was already advanced near *Coblentz* and the *Westerwald*. This encounter fell out to the advantage of the Confederates, they keeping the Pass, though they were fewest in number; and the 7 and 8 *ditto* they passed over the Bridge they had made: The Imperial General *Montecuculi* being to depart to *Weenen*, and the Duke *de Bournevile* to succeed him in his place, and to command the Imperial Troops. At the same time the Prince of *Condé* was come to *Metz* to gather an Army about the *Moselle*, to withstand the Confederates: To which end all preparations were made in *France*, with all the possible haste that could be, to send to the Prince of *Condé*. The 24 *ditto* the Duke of *Anjou* departed this Life, who was born while the King was in the field.

The *French* at this time fearing that the Imperialists would march along the *Berg-straet* through the *Paltz*, and pass the *Rhine* at *Strasburg*, burnt the Bridge, and ruin'd the Arches thereof. But the Imperialists made a Bridge over the *Rhine* a little higher than *Mentz*, and with some part of their Forces march'd over the same. Whereupon also Marshal *Turenne* laid a Bridge over the *Rhine* somewhat below *Coblentz* by *Andernach*, and departed with such speed out of the *Bergsland* and *Westerwald*, that the sick and over-weary were left behinde, above 1000 in number, who were all by the Peasants thereabouts knocked o' the head.

November 4th, 400 *French* came into the Village *Wanerveen*, where the Peasants at first made some resistance, but soon retreated; a small Boat also having in it 28 men and some Iron Pieces, defended it self courageously, but ran aground, and so was master'd. Whereupon the *French* plunder'd the Town, and before they departed set the same on fire.

The 7 *ditto* they burnt down the remaining Tile-houses about *Woerden*; the next day also the Villages *Nieuveen* and *Querneer*, and the 9th a Fort by *Newerbrugge*, and wholly consumed by fire that fair Town of *Jaarsvelt*, and the 16 *ditto* set on fire *Abkow*; nothing being expected, but that that Winter they would have ruinated all the open Country wherever they came.

On the 14th *ditto*, A Party of 400 out of *Oudwater* surpriz'd 14 Ships with Hay by *Montfort*, with Oats, Straw and Corn, intended for *Utrecht*; some whereof they brought with them, the rest they burnt.

On the 16th the *Munsterians* forsook the *Ner*-Scons, because of 2500 Horse of the Prince of *Courland* taken into the service of this State, that were arrived at *Lier* in *East-Friesland*, to come through *Groeningen*. About 100 of the *Dutch* lying before the *Old*-Scons were commanded to take possession of the *Ner*-Scons; but a day or two after, 3000 *Munsterians* fell on, and drave the *Dutch* out again. They also routed 200 of the *Courlanders*, who were gone a grasing too far into *Westphalia*.

The 28 the *French* came to the Post of *Ankeveen*, from which they were forced to retire with some loss; yet in their retreat they burnt some houses behinde the Town. The 20th they came again to *Abkow*, thinking to burn down the remaining part of it; but the *Dutch* sallying out of the Fort hindred their designe, and took 30 of them Prisoners.

26th *ditto*. In the Afternoon 1000 men went forth out of *Utrecht* and *Vianen*, joyning with some Horse and Foot of *Cuylenburgh*, from whence they march'd to that fair Town of *Ameyde*, which had a Retrenchment at the Sluys, with Pallisadoes, where Colonel *Bamfield* with his Souldiers had the watch. In the Night the *French* fell on, and made themselves masters thereof, finding little resistance. But after they had plundered and burnt down part of the Houses, the *French* returned back with their Prisoners; but many of their own were wounded, amongst whom was the Marquiss *De Castlenau*, a chief Commander, and head of this Action, who died of his Wounds at *Utrecht*.

29th *ditto*, 500 men from *Bloekzyl* and the *Kuynder* came before *Swartsluys* with 30 Capers and 3 very great flat-boats, provided with great Guns, having about 1000 men with them to land, and so all together to attaque the Sluys: 200 of the Land-Souldiers fell on at the appointed time, and almost gain'd the Fort; but the Ships and Boats not advancing, but shooting at a distance, did little or no hurt to the Enemy: whereupon a Party of Horse from *Hasselt* and *Meppel* falling upon the back of the *Dutch*, took the Fort again; 100 of them being either slain, drown'd, or wounded, and near 200 taken Prisoners.

It being now Winter, the *Imperialists* and *Brandenburgers* still remained with their Forces betwixt

betwixt the *Main* and the *Rhine*, guarding their Bridges over both these Rivers, as by a Body of Horse they had secured *Keyserlauter*, being a Pass to *Metz*, whereabout the Prince of *Condé* lay. And on the other side of the *Mosselle* lay the Marshal *de Turenne*, with the Lord *Duras*.

In *Holland* a general *Amnestie* was Proclaim'd, for all former Differences and Insurrections against the Magistracy; upon pain of Death forbidding either in word or deed any contrivance or attempt against the present Government established by his Highness.

About this time his Highness marched into the Land of *Liege*, where the greatest part of the States Horse then was, and a considerable number of the *Spanish* Forces under Count *Marcin*, Prince of *Salms*, *Vaudemont*, and other chief Commanders; who made as if their designe was against *Tongeren*, though a strong Garison lay there. The news whereof came no sooner to *Paris*, but immediately Orders were dispatcht to the Governour of *Charleroy*, to betake himself with all the Horse he had, whatsoever it cost him, to *Tongeren* for the defence of the Town; which accordingly succeeded. In the mean time *Duras* finding himself not able to stand against the Army of the States, retreated to the *Roer*, securing the Pass there to *Liningh*. His Highness on the 21th of *December* pursued him, by that means to send him farther out of the way. But *Duras* not waiting his coming, passed the *Roer*, and broke down all the Bridges behinde him; whom his Highness still following to the *Roer*, made as if he would also have cross'd it: Whereupon *Duras* march'd forward towards the *Rhine*, in the upper Province of *Colen*, thence intending to the *Mosselle*, and so to *Turenne*'s Army.

On the 5th of *December*, whilst the Prince lay by the *Roer*, three Regiments of Horse were drawn out of *Maestricht* before the Castle of *Valkenburgh*, where Sieur *Marsillac* commanded with 150 men; and on the 7th, after it had without any intermission been batter'd two nights and one day with 7 Demiculverins, and courageously assaulted, it was surrender'd on Mercy to the Earls of *Waldeck* and *Nassau*. After this his Highness returned from the *Roer* to *Maestricht*, and on the 10th and 11th of *December* caused all the Army to pass the *Maes*, and lodged between the *Hasselt* and *Tongeren*, leaving the Cannon and Artillery in Shipping at *Maestricht*. On the 14th he sent away several *Spanish* Troops to block up *Charleroy*. The 16 his Highness with the gross of his Army, and also Count *Mercyn* with the rest of the *Spanish* Forces, came before it; but by reason of a violent Frost, they could not get a spade into the ground to make any Entrenchments, whereby both horse and men were many of them frozen to Death; which made it impossible for the Army to remain in the field, and for that reason the designe was wholly laid aside. All this while the *French* under Marshal *Turenne* lay encamped six miles along the *Mosselle*, two miles from the Abbey *Hemeral* near *Trier*, and the Prince of *Condé* at *Zirick*, whence he afterwards brake up towards *Thionville* with some Troops to secure *Lorrain*.

On the 31th the Elector of *Brandenburgh* arrived at *Bilefelt*, the Imperialists encamping in the Province of *Paderborne*, and the Duke of *Brandenburgh*'s men in the Country of *Marck*. Whereupon Marshal *Turenne* being recruited with Supplies from the Prince of *Condé* (who having viewed the Frontiers of *Elsas*, and the Cities of *Brisac* and *Philipsburgh*, was returned to Court) march'd down the *Mosselle* towards the *Rhine*. But the Bridge by *Andernach* being much shaken by the Ice, he was forced to take his way through the Province of *Cologne*, and making a Bridge hard by *Wesel*, to pass by that means into *Westphalia*.

Upon the 27th of *December*, the *French* having from all Quarters gathered together about 12 or 13000 men at *Utrecht* and *Woerden*, and made all manner of preparations for an Expedition, began to march by the way of *Woerden*; and so advancing forward all that whole night, on the 28th in the Morning came to *Segveld*. There the *French* put themselves in order, and so marched upon the Ice to *Nieukoop*, where being stopped by the Boors, who were in Arms, they were forced to pass by that Village, and so followed the *Dutch* to *Mey* with a body of about 4 or 500 men. They of *Mey* were forced to retreat to *Swammerdam*, breaking down the Bridge that was behinde them, the *French* gently following them by the way of the *Mey*-dike, over the Ice quite to *Swammerdam*: there they drew up again in order; and from thence, being joyn'd with more forces, they march'd to the *Goudse*-sluys, where they were once more stopt, and forc'd to make a stand, whilst *Coningsmark*, not knowing perhaps but that the *French* might fall in by the *Rhine* below him, drew off the Army towards *Leyden*. But a thaw coming, the *French* were forced to retreat to *Newer-bridge*; only they set on fire the Villages of *Bodegrave* and *Swammerdam*, and burnt several ships which lay at both those places.

On the 30th *Coeverden* was retaken by the *Dutch*, though the place it self was exceedingly well fortified and provided. There was found in it, besides a good sum of Money, very much Corn, and all sorts of Provision, great store of Linnen-cloaths, Stockings, Shoes and Hats for Souldiers, 61 great Guns, and 25 Mortar-pieces.

Anno

Anno 1673.

January 1673. In the beginning of the Year returned homewards the Generals and Officers of the Army, as also the Lord *Beverning* Deputy in the Field; who not long after, at his own request, was discharged of that employ. The Army, being now broken up, followed them; and having been much worn out by the hard Winter, were quarter'd in several Cities to refresh themselves. Whereupon the *French* also on the 4th quitted the Post of *Nieuwerbridge*, having first burnt all they could, and in part ruin'd the Fortification.

On the 13th, The *French* with about 2500 men had a designe against *Ardenburgh*, and were on their march thitherwards; but coming to *Denisen*, began to stagger in their Intentions, being informed that their Designe was publickly known; besides that, they feared lest they might be beset by the *Spaniards*. On the 17 those of *Oudwater* having been abroad with small Boats, brought home good Booty, which they had taken from the *French*, amongst which one small Ship with Victuals, and 4000 Rixdollars ready Money, with another full of Corn.

In the mean time *France* was much dissatisfied with the *Spaniards*, especially those that had been upon the Exploit against *Charleroy*. They had also complained thereof, and demanded satisfaction at the Court of *Spain*, but without any effect. Thereupon they began to seise upon the Goods and Effects which the *Spanish* Lords had under the Jurisdiction of the *French*; they also disarmed the Citizens of *Ryssel*, *Cortrick*, *Douay*, and other places as well in the *Spanish* Conquests, as in this State; and resolved to dismantle 15 or 16 Cities on the Frontiers, besides some Cities in the conquer'd Provinces, and to demolish all their Fortifications, that they might have the fewer Garisons to keep, appointing Monsieur *D'Asfremont*, Captain of the Guards and Engineer to the King, to execute those Orders.

On the 22th, The *French*, by favour of a dark Mist, being about 6 or 700 strong, advanced from *Woerden*, as far as the *Dutch* outlying Ships by *Nieuwerbridge*, intending to have surprized them. To which purpose they cast a Bridge over the *Werick* to pass that way; but being discovered, and the Mist breaking up, the Ships discharg'd so briskly amongst them, that many were killed, and the rest retreating were pursued by the *Dutch* as far as *Woerden*. The *French* in other parts were observed continually in their march towards *Wesel*. Some part of the Infantry and Artillery was sent by shipping down the *Rhine*, which daily pass'd by *Colen*. *Turenne* himself arrived at *Wesel* on the 8th of *January*, from whence on the 17 with some Pieces of Ordnance he advanc'd to *Dorsten*, where he rendesvouz'd his Infantry together, and so returned to *Wesel*; waiting there for the Cavalry, which yet was quartered in the Province of *Colen*, until the Bridge over the *Rhine* could be made ready: Which on the 20th was finished, and then the Horse cross'd the *Rhine*, and came to *Dorsten*: Several Skirmishes also happened between several Parties, till the *French* began to march up higher, quartering at *Dormont* and *Lunen*. Thereupon the Imperialists and *Brandenburgh*'s Forces joyned together, and forming an Army of above 20000 choice fighting men, on the 26th of *January* began to march towards *Lipstadt*, where his Electoral Highness on the third of *February* arrived, with the Dukes of *Bournonville* and *Loraine*, who on the 4th march'd in the head of the Army towards *Soest*. Marshal *Turenne* on the third sent some of his foremost Troops before *Unna*, under Command of Sieur *De St. Albret*, one of his Lieutenant Generals; that place being not very strong, and few Souldiers in it. However, about 1000 Boors for a time stoutly defended it, killing many of the *French* before it, till at last the City being most part of it set on fire, they were constrain'd to surrender upon Mercy. *Brandenburgh* on the 5th arrived at *Soest*, but not being able timely enough to succour the lost City, he encamped not many miles from thence, expecting that the *French* would have come to a Battle. But *Turenne* expecting Supplies from *Condé* and the Countrey of *Liege*, lay still at *Dortmont*, *Loenen*, and *Unna*, making himself master of *Camen*, *Altena*, and other small places.

Upon this the Army of the Confederates, having lain thus long in the Field, marched again to *Soest*, seeing the *French* made no attempt against them. But *Turenne*, being now reinforc'd with the Infantry of *Conde*, and some Cavalry of *Duras*, and being now also joyned with the Bishops of *Munster* and *Colen*'s Forces, marched directly against *Ham*, where the Duke of *Brandenburgh* had left 2000 men in Garison. Who finding themselves unable to withstand so great a Power, that was absolutely resolved to attaque them, left the City, and retreated to the Army at *Soest*. The *French* having thus taken *Ham* into their possession,

advanc'd

advanced forward towards *Zoest*; in the way to which lay the Fort *Berkenbosch*, wherein was a Garison of the *Brandenburghers* men. This Fort *Turenne* soon mastered with his foremost Troops, under command of Marquiss *de Bourlemont*: Upon the loss whereof the Army of the Confederates broke up from *Zoest*, and marched to *Lipstadt*; whence on the 23 of *February* the *Brandenburgher*'s Army drew to *Bylevelt* with the Artillery, and the Imperialists to *Paderborn*, leaving *Zoest* open to the Enemy, but putting a strong Garison into *Lipstadt*. Thereupon the *French* still advancing higher towards *Zoest* and *Lipstadt*, the Imperialists and *Brandenburgh*-forces quitted their Quarters, and pass'd the *Weser*. On the 28th the Imperialists arrived in the Province of *Heldesheim*, while the *Brandenburghs* soon after came to *Halberstadt* and *Magdenburgh*; from whence again the first took their way towards *Frankenland*, and the later marched toward *Berlin*.

Thus the whole Country of *Marck* was left open to the Enemy to dispose of at pleasure, except onely *Lipstadt* and *Sparenbergh*, where strong Garisons were left. To which purpose the *French* encamped about *Zoest* and *Ham*; while the Bishops Forces marched higher up, as far as the *Weser*, bringing all under Contribution.

The first of *February* was the Magistracy of *Amsterdam* changed again after the old manner, as in the times of the Government of the Stadt-holders.

On the fourth of *February* his Highness went towards the Army, and all the other chief Officers each to their respective Posts. The Burgers of the Towns in *South-holland* drew also to the Army, those of *North-holland* to *Amsterdam*, and the Country people into the Villages round about; in hopes that the Frost might give them an opportunity for some Exploit, all things being in a readiness in order thereunto, and a great number of men got together: But the Frost not being very hard, and the strength of the stream hindring the Ice from gathering, all their preparation seemed onely to secure the Country, and amuse the Enemy.

On the 12 died suddenly at *Wirtsburgh* the Arch-bishop and Prince of *Mentz*, a great Favorite of the *French* Party; to whom succeeded *Lotharius Fredericus*, Baron of *Metterniche* Bishop of *Spires*, who *Anno* 1671, was chosen Coadjutor at *Mentz*.

On the 15th the *French* took *Fasse* in the Province of *Liege*; as also *Covigne*, *Chastelet*, and other small places, intending also to have surpriz'd *Thuyn*; but there they met with too great a resistance. However, in the Country they burnt all such places as refus'd to pay the Contribution which they demanded, and made themselves by force Masters of the whole Country of *Luyck*.

On the 12th of *March* the Empress deceased at *Weenen*, to the great grief of that Court, and especially of the house of *Austria*, she being with Childe of an Imperial Prince.

Now began the preparations of *France* for this year to draw into the Field, which were not inferiour to those of the year past. Several of *Turenne*'s Troops, and others out of the *Netherlands*, march'd towards the *Rhyne*, and so cross'd the River into the Country of *Liege*; they also caused several of their Frontiers to be demolished, that so they might need the fewer Garisons: the new Levies and Recruits for the old Companies went on very eagerly, and several of them began their march downwards, 100 Companies of Foot and 60 Troops of Horse being already compleated and mustered. At *Utrecht* was the Court prepared for the Prince of *Condé*. At *Rysel* (the Castle there) at *Doornick*, *Cortrick*, and *Charleroy*, several Lodgings were made ready for the reception of the King; many of the old Forces were order'd to rendevouze neer *Charleroy*: And in the Sea-havens they were alike busie about their Sea-Equipage, furnishing their Ships both with men and all other necessaries, and omitting nothing that might serve for carrying on the War. In their last Conquests they were not less busie. The house at *Gennip* was demolished; *Tiel* and *Doesburgh* wholly dismantled; *Harderwyck* made an open Village, the Walls being quite pulled down; onely the standing Garisons were everywhere re-enforced with fresh Troops; and to that end the Recruits for the Royal Regiments of *Bourgondy*, *la Ferte* and *Souches*, arrived at *Crayenbergh*, where the Fortifications were in every part repaired and bettered. At *Nimegen* they were busie about strengthening their Walls, and erecting a Cittadel at the upper end which might not be undermined. At *Arnheim* they press'd forward the finishing of the Fortifications, making a very high Katte by the *Sandberg*, where the Burghers themselves were forced to work. A great Magazine was also laid up there for all Provisions, the Guns from *Utrecht* and *Harderwyck* being carried thither. *Campen* was well furnished, and much Provision stored up in that place; and the Commander *Vonck*, Governour of *Swaen-shuyce*, took care of the Fortifications, casting up a high Wall by the Haven, and forcing off the *Swaen*-water with massie Piles of Timber; to which work they pressed the Burghers of *Gealmuyen*. At *Utrecht* all materials of Wood and Stone were prepared, Workmen pressed, and some houses thrown down, in order to go on with their projected Fortification, and building of their Cittadel. And because *Utrecht* and the whole Country round about was much incommodated by the high Waters, they resolved to stop the breach which was made in the *Leck-dyke*. The Fortifications at *Naerden* and *Utrecht* were also mended every day,

and

and all the new Conqueſts brought into ſuch a poſture, that they judged them eaſily tenable; and for the defray of the Charges, new Taxes were impos'd and ſtrictly rais'd.

The Biſhops of *Cologne* and *Munſter* made ſome ſtir in *Weſtphalia*, playing the Maſters there, while *Brandenburgh* lay quiet at home: but their further Preparations were to no great effect; and the Gariſons in *Overyſſel* and *Twente* were very mean; ſo that they rather made a countenance of ſome deſigne againſt *Frieſland*, than that they really intended it.

In *Holland* they neglected nothing toward their defence: for they raiſed new Forces, ſome of which were already arrived from *Hamborough* and *Oldenburgh*. The new Governour alſo, *Feriaux*, arriv'd at *Maſtricht*, putting all there in order, and zealouſly looking after whatever might ſerve for the defence of the City. He alter'd ſome of the Fortifications, that ſo they might be defended with the fewer men. Moreover, ſeveral Deputies and Chief Commanders were beſides appointed to take care of other Poſts and Fortifications. The High-land of *Groeningen*, as far as *Helpen*, was ordered all of it to be taken off. At *Gorcum* the Deputies appointed many new Works to be rais'd. *Worcum*, *Schoonhoven*, and *Oudewater*, were put into a compleat poſture. The *Goudſe*-ſluyce was ſtrongly fortified: and it was reſolved that the Poſt of *Nieuerbrugg* ſhould be again poſſeſs'd, and made ſtronger than before. The Fortifications of *Muyden* and the *Hinderdam* were much bettered: and for *Weeſep*, it was order'd to be formally fortified, and good care taken about all other places. No leſs buſie were the *Dutch* in providing for the preſervation of their Country; to which purpoſe they ſet on foot a Land-Army of 76000 Foot, 13942 Horſe, and 2000 Dragoons.

But now that we come to particulars; in the conquer'd Provinces, eſpecially at *Utrecht*, the Placaerts were renewed for the calling in of all that had left the Country, upon pain of having their houſes demoliſh'd: and the ſame was executed by throwing down of ſeveral of the principal houſes. On the other hand, the States on the firſt of *April*, by way of Retaliation, renewed their Placaert of the 27th of *September* 1672; whereby it was ordain'd, that all perſons poſſeſſing any Goods within the Dominions of this State, who remained with the Enemy, ſhould within the ſpace of one month return under the Command of the States, upon pain of having their houſes alſo demoliſhed: warning likewiſe every one in the conquered Provinces, that they ſhould buy no materials of any demoliſh'd houſes, upon pain of reſtoring Fourfold their value in caſe of a turn of Affairs.

The Earl of *Naſſau* having got together the Horſe of *Bergen*, *Heuſden*, *Breda*, and the *Boſch*, with a deſigne to have ſurpriz'd the *French* as they lay encamp'd about the *Grave*, came with his Troops to the ſide of the *Maes*; but finding the water ſo high that there was no probability of getting over, was forc'd to leave off what he had till then ſo hopefully manag'd. Thereupon the Horſe were again divided and ſent to their reſpective Gariſons; and the Earl of *Naſſau* on the third of *April* arrived again at *Breda*.

About this time his Highneſs made preparation for his Journey into *Zealand*, for the ordering all things needful there, and on the Frontiers of *Flanders*; having firſt made ſome reformation in the Militia.

April the Fourth, about 70 of the *Dutch* ranging abroad to ſeek their fortune, at a place called the *Veluw*, took Six *French* Officers priſoners; amongſt whom one Major of the *Switzers* Regiment of *Pfeiffer*. From *Muyden* alſo Count *Van Styrum* ſent out a Party of about 30 men, who fell upon a *French* Convoy, killed the Head-officer, and took Three Souldiers priſoners; the reſt making their eſcape. But that which makes the action moſt memorable was, that they left their Booty behinde; that is to ſay, Four Ships laden with all ſorts of Warlike Proviſions, Victuals, and much Wood.

On the Seventh, the Prince of *Condé*, with the Dukes of *Enguien*, and *Vendoſme*, the Earls of *Guiche*, *Soiſſons*, and others, departed from the Court to their ſeveral Commands. On the next day the Earl *de Lude* followed by the ſmall Artillery; and on the Tenth the Prince arrived at *Charleroy*. Upon whoſe ſo ſudden march, and the caſual leaving one gate of the City *Namen* opened, it was reported that the *French* had a deſigne againſt that place; the ſuſpition whereof awakened Count *Monterey*, and caus'd him to apprehend ſeveral perſons: but the buſineſs ſtopt there, without any further proſecution.

On the 13th, the Prince with his Train and 400 Horſe-men, took his way to *Tongeren*, where he arriv'd that night; and the next day went thence to *Maſeyck*, whence again, after a few days ſtay, he haſten'd to *Nimegen*; there he arrived on the 20th, and was viſited by ſeveral great Perſonages. But the Marquiſs *De Bethune*, Governour of *Cleve*, having left his Train at *Cronenburgh*, and being accompanied onely with two Lords, were ſet upon by twelve men under the Lieutenant of *Nimegen*; and though they defended themſelves well, yet were they forced to yield: However, they were ranſom'd the next day, he for 150, and they that were with him for 30 Piſtolets a man. But Count *D'Eſtrades* met with better luck; who being attacqu'd by the ſame number, not onely defended himſelf, but took ſome of the Aſſaylers priſoners, and carried them into *Weſel*. The Prince in the mean time having viewed *Tiel*, *Bommel*, *Creve-*

Crevecœur, *de Graaf*, and *Arnheim*, and muſtered all the Gariſons, arrived on the 13 at *Ceulenburgh* in order to go from thence to *Utrecht*.

On the 12 his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, having taken his leave of the *Swediſh* Mediators, and received the Farewel-compliments of the chief Magiſtrates, being accompanied with ſeveral of the Nobility, at eleven of the Clock before Noon, ſet out from the *Hague* for *Zealand* by the way of *Rotterdam*, and *Dort* with ſeveral Pleaſure-boats; and on the 13 towards the Evening arrived at *Terveer*; where he ſtay'd not long, but took Horſe for *Middleburgh*, where he arrived about eleven of the Clock. On the 14 in the Morning his Highneſs was welcomed by all the ruling Colledges, and Deputies of the Cities; and in the Afternoon was preſent in the Aſſembly, where he was again welcomed by the Pentionary with the teſtimony of their content and great joy to ſee him there; giving him withal a brief account of the poſture of affairs there, and propounding thoſe ſeveral matters which were to be debated: To all which the Prince anſwered in a very obliging manner, to the great ſatisfaction of them all. The next day was employed in a moſt ſerious conſultation how beſt to redreſs ſeveral matters for the ſecurity of the Province; and ſeveral things were reſolved upon, both in relation to the publick Revenue, and alſo in reference to the Militia. On Tueſday the 18, having made an end of ſeveral weighty matters of State, laſt of all an Act of Pardon was concluded on to be publiſhed there, as had been done in *Holland*; and thereupon his Highneſs the ſame day departed for *Flanders*, while every one took their leaves of him with all teſtimonies of Reſpect, Affection, and the general Applauſe of the Commonalty, and arrived at *Sluys*: And after he had viewed the Fortifications in thoſe parts, on the 19 he arrived at *Ardenbergh*. From thence he departed for *Yſendyck*, and ſo to *Bergen up Zoom*, whence on the 21 he ſet out for *Breda*, and on the 22 by the way of *Heuſden* to the *Boſch*, from whence that evening about eleven of the Clock he again departed; and by the way of *Gorcum* on the 23 arrived again at the *Hague*, having taken a ſtrict view of all the Fortifications throughout *Flanders* and *Brabant*, and given all needful Orders in all places where he came, and where he was ſtill received with the higheſt demonſtrations of Honour and Eſteem.

On the 18 ſeveral Troops from *Deventer*, *Swol*, *Haſſelt*, and *Steanwyck* gathered together, and marching into *Drent*, fell upon a Poſt at the Houſe at *Echten*, where Lieutenant-general *Rabenhaupt* had placed a Gariſon, who defended themſelves ſtoutly until ſome relief came; and then they ſallied out upon the Biſhop's men, and drave them from their deſigne, many of them being killed on the place, and the reſt eſcaping.

On the 21 the Enemy, with 300 men from *Steanwyck*, renewed the Enterprize, and advanced quite under their Counterſcarp. Whereupon they within opened their Gates as if they would have let them in; upon which the Enemy preſſing eagerly towards the Gate, was ſo warmly ſaluted with 3 great Guns laden with ſmall Shot, that many were killed upon the place, ſome taken Priſoners, and the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight.

Not long after, *Friezland* was in danger of having been ſuprized by the Biſhop's Troops: But for the more effectual and unanimous defence of that Province, Prince *Maurice* was diſpatched thither with a conſiderable force, moſt Horſe, to have the general Command there as Field-marſhal over the Militia of *Friezland*, and *Groeningerland*, more eſpecially of the *Holland* Forces then in ſervice there. By which means all differences were taken away, and the mutual aſſiſtance of thoſe two Provinces ſecured, without encroaching upon each others Juriſdiction; the Lord *Rabenhaupt* commanding the Militia as Lieutenant-general in *Groeningen*, and *Alna* in *Friezland*; and in each Province care was taken for the preſervation thereof, by fortifying all the Poſts and Paſſes, eſpecially in the *Heeren-vean*.

Flanders and *Zealand* were in danger of the firſt aſſault of their Enemies; therefore that there might be one General there alſo to command the Army in chief, the Field-marſhal *Wurtz* was ſent to *Flanders*, with ſeveral Troops of Horſe and Companies of Foot, with orders to put thoſe parts into a poſture of defence; and in caſe of any Invaſion, to be ready to ſecond the Iſland *Walcheren*; who in a very ſhort time brought all things into a very good poſture, demoliſhing *Ooſtburgh* with ſome Sconſes thereabouts, and fortifying others. And for the *Oudeman* and other *Polders*, or drained Marſhes, he ſet them under Water, the Poſts being there all commanded by good Officers. At *Sluyce* the Heer *Vander Leck* was Governour; at *Ardenberg*, Viſcount *d' Are* in abſence of *Spindelet*, who was made Governour of *Walcheren*; at *Phillipine* lay *Trinkelman* in the room of *Scot*, who, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, had reſigned his Charge; at *Sas van Gent*, *Marignault*, in the room of *Maiſon Neufve*, who was caſhiered; at *Yſendyck*, *De Lionne*; at *Liefkenſhook*, *De Waß*; in the *Juſſerſchons*, Monſieur *Saal*, and the like at *Axtel*. *Ter Neuſe*, *Moerſpeu*, and *Biervliet* were held by men of courage and Fidelity.

In *Holland* and the Frontiers of *Brabant*, the Field-marſhal Count *Waldeck* was to command under the direction of his Highneſs, by whoſe ſpecial zeal the Fortifications were much

amended, and especially the Fortifications at *Nieuwerbrugge*, which were almost compleated, and all the Militia throughout reformed. The Command of *Gorcum*, being vacant by the departure of the Field-marshal *Wurts*, was supplied by Count *Van Horne*; and his Brother put into his place at *Oudewater*: At *Muyden*, Count *Van Styrum* in the room of Prince *Mauritius*; and that nothing might be wanting, Orders were renewed, and Commissions given out for summoning the Townsmen and Countrymen: And this was the posture of the Military Affairs.

On the first of *May*, after long delays and great preparations, at last the Prince of *Condé* arrived at *Utrecht*: He came from the *Vaart* in the States Pleasure-boat as far as the *Solsteegsgate*, conducted by the Duke of *Luxemburg*, and other great Personages; and there, together with the Dukes of *Luxemburgh* and *Enguien*, and the Count *de Seaux*, he took Coach, and when he came to be received at the Gate all the great Guns were discharged from the Walls, and all the signes of joy usual in such cases shewn by the Commander *Stoupa*, who presented the Keys of the City in a Silver Charger to his Highness, and so through the armed Ranks of Souldiers drawn up conducted him to his Lodgings; the whole Garison in the Afternoon marched by, and were found to be 8000 men strong. Besides the great preparations at *Utrecht*, several Regiments were sent for from *Gelderland*; four of which, being Foot, lay ready at *Amerongen*, two at *Amersfoort*, and two at *Nykirk*, and one more not far from the *Wyck* in the *Betaw*; together with 1000 Horse at *Hoestaken*, two Leagues from *Amersfoort*: With these the Prince of *Condé* making a shew as if he intended to march upon some design, the second day after his arrival sent a strong Convoy for the Governour of *Woerden* to consult with him, to which purpose presently after he held a general Council of War. On the 6 he departed in person for *Naerden*, where at his arrival the great Guns were fired in testimony of respect: And having viewed every thing there, he returned to *Utrecht*; and caused all preparations to be made which might be needful for an assault. Accordingly on the 9th 600 men were commanded out of *Utrecht*, who marched towards *Breukelen*, and at night were followed by 300 more, and about 50 Horse. In the head of this Party was the Son of the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Luxemburgh* himself, seconded by several others, who after they had but once shewed themselves before the *Hinderdam*, on the 10th returned again to *Utrecht* without attempting any thing: But in regard that many of their men lingered thereabouts, and that the Regiments of *Languedock*, *Champaigne*, *Navar*, and *Piedmont* marched higher; and for that there were some Whisperings also of a designe against *Schoonhoven*, the *Dutch* were very vigilant to guard all their Posts; in particular they lodged good Garisons in *Gorcum*, *Schoonhoven*, and the places on the *Vecht*; to which end the Burgers in the Inland-towns, and Country people of *North* and *South-holland* were summoned, and particular provision made for the preventing all unwillingness and disorder; while the Fortifications begun in several places were with all possible diligence hastened.

On the same first of *May* that the Prince of *Condé* came into *Utrecht*, the King and his whole Court departed from St. *Germains*, having first committed the management of Affairs to the Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Council. He was complemented before his departure by all the Grandees, and Ministers of State that were then in his Court. The Artillery was sent several days before; and an Equipage infinitely rich and costly, belonging as well to the King's Train, as to the King himself, which was convoyed by the greatest part of the Army both horse and foot.

The King, being thus in great pomp departed from St. *Germains*, dined at *Bourges*, and lodged that night at the *Louvre* in *Paris*: The second day he dined at *Senlis*, and lodged at *Pont* St. *Maixence*. On the 3d he arrived at *Gowmey*, the 5th at *Roye*, the 6th at *Peronne*, the 7th at *Bapaume*; and being welcomed by the Marquis *de Mompesal*, on the Frontiers of *Artois*, on the eighth arrived at *Atreght* and lodged in the Bishop's Palace, where his Majesty remained for some days, and took a review of the Troops under the Command of of Sieur *Du Clar*, which had quitted the Country between the *Sambre* and *Maes*, and were quartered thereabouts; as also of certain other Troops that lay not far off. On the 12th the King departed from *Atreght*, and dining at *Lens*, arrived in the Evening at *Basse*, where two Couriers attended him; the one brought the ratification of the Agreement between *France* and *Brandenburgh*; the other the news of Marquis *de Granae*'s leaving *Cologne*, and that the Emperial Regiment had taken their Oath to the Magistracy. On the 13 his Majesty set forward from *Basse*, dined at *High Bourding*, and the same Evening arrived at *Ryssel*, where he was received with great state, and viewed the new Castle. On the 15 he went from thence to *Cortryck*, where he arrived towards the Evening; and on the 17 arrived there also his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was to march from thence, with the King's Army, as Lieutenant-general under the Duke *d'Orleans* to the general Rendezvouz about *Harlebeck*; the Duke of *Orleans* himself also on the 18, taking Post from St. *Clou*, came safe to the Army on the 20, and the same day his Majesty was complemented at *Cortryck* by Don *Jeronimo Agourto*, in the name

of

of Count *Montery*. And on the 22, in the view of the whole Army, he gave audience to the *Muſcovia* Embaſſador in the open Field. But ſome time before this, on the 3 of *May*, the *French* being gone out of *Crevecœur* with an intention to have caſt up a Work neer *Vlimen* on the Bank; in the Evening 80 men were commanded from the *Boſch* thither, who the next day in the Morning began a brisk skirmiſh with the Enemy; but the *French* being about 500 ſtrong, the *Dutch* retreated, till the Governour of the *Boſch*, having intelligence thereof, ſent 400 men to their ſuccour, who beat the Enemy back again with remarkable loſs, and ſo put a ſtop to their intended deſigne.

On the 7 of *May*, 40 *French* Troopers were on their march from *Crevecœur* to have burnt the Village of *Sufteren* in the Barony of *Breda*, becauſe they were behinde-hand in the payment of their Contribution: But the Gariſon of *Breda*, having notice of it, immediately diſpatched away a Troop of 120 Horſe, under the Command of the young Count of *Styrum*, and *Fritz Van Naſſau*, to their relief, who fell upon the Enemy neer *Eyndhoven*; whereupon the *French*, finding themſelves overpowred in number, left their Horſes, and made to a certain houſe not far off, where being very advantageouſly poſted, they ſtoutly defended themſelves, ſo that many of the *Dutch* were ſlain; but at laſt, having loſt a great number of their men, they were forced to yield, and were all carried Priſoners to *Breda*; the young Count of *Styrum* being kill'd, and Count *Fritz Van Naſſau* wounded in his Shoulder.

May the 13 the Prince's men poſted themſelves at *Nieuwerſluyce*; while the *French* at *Utrecht*, making all preparations for a deſigne which they had conceived, began to ſhew themſelves ſtrong neer the *Dutch* Poſts at the *Vegbt*, and were come as far as *Muyderberg*. They alſo drew together many men in *Graveland*, and ſent 150 Souldiers to the *Nieuwerſluyce* with Orders to poſt themſelves there, and to caſt up a Fort in the ſame place, ſo ſoon as the Dukes of *Enguien* and *Luxemburgh*, who were gone with a ſtrong Convoy to *Woerden*, ſhould be returned to *Utrecht*; an act of great contrivance thus to quarter themſelves, that from all ſides they might fall upon the *Dutch* Poſts: Of which deſigne his Highneſs being doubtleſs well informed, with all ſpeed made ready ſeveral ſorts of ſmall Veſſels, well ſtored with Souldiers, and on the 13 went thither himſelf, where he ſo ordered his buſineſs, that that very Evening a ſufficient number of men were commanded out under the conduct of Colonel *Stockheim*, with ſeveral Pioneers, who all with their Yachts, Sloops, Pleaſure-boats, and Rowing-boats, ſtor'd with all ſorts of Ammunition, on the 14 by three of the Clock in the Morning came to the Sluyce. Upon which the *French*, who lay thereabouts, (being warned by a Miller cloſe by, by drawing up the Sail of his Mill) retreated to *Breukelen*. But the *Dutch* being come to the Sluyce, immediately began to fall to their work, inſomuch that by Noon they lay all entrenched; and within two or three days were in ſuch a poſture of defence, that they were able to make good their ſtation againſt any attaque of greater force than was prepared to aſſault them. In the morning a *French* Officer with 16 Souldiers was ſent to obſerve the poſture of the *Dutch*; but one of his company was killed, which cauſed the reſt to retire back to *Breukelen*. By the *Dutch*, Captain *Toutlemonde* was ordered on the 16th with 150 men from *Nieuwerſluyce* to *Breukelen*, where the *French*, being about 300 ſtrong, retreated to the houſe of *Grundeſtein*, thinking to entice the *Dutch* within the reach of the ſmall Guns which they had planted there, and wherewith they fired ſo briskly upon their Enemies, that at the firſt charge they killed four of the *Dutch*, and forced the reſt to retreat; which that they might with the more ſecurity do, Captain *Toutlemonde* defended a Bridge over which his men were to paſs, until the laſt man had got over; though he himſelf, ſtriving to throw down the Planks that lay looſe, was ſhot in the Back; but was carried off by one of his Serjeants.

This poſting of the *Dutch* at *Nieuwerſluyce* did ſo alarm the *French* at *Utrecht*, that they knew not what courſe to take, the rather becauſe all their chief Commanders were then at *Woerden*; who being ſurprized at the news, firſt of all cauſed the Boors to pull down the Stone-Wall of *Nieuwenroy*, the better to defend themſelves in caſe the *Dutch* ſhould march up higher. Soon after came *Condé* and *Luxemburgh*, with above 4000 men to *Breukel*; but finding all things ſo well guarded, they ſaw there was little good by them to be done, onely to fortifie themſelves there, to prevent the *Dutch* from breaking in any farther. And thereupon, having given order for the making of ſeveral Batteries and Entrenchments, they returned back to *Utrecht*, leaving moſt of their men at *Breukel*, *Nieuwenroy*, *Maarſen*, and thereabouts, who preſently fell to work, caſting up ſeveral Batteries: though they were now and then moleſted by the *Dutch*, that in ſeveral Skirmiſhes killed many of their men, yet they went on as well as they could, ruining and burning all that lay in their way, even the greateſt part of *Breukel* it ſelf, and the curious Country-houſes thereabouts. Nay the *Dutch* themſelves were conſtrained to pull down ſome that were in their way; ſo that all that Harbour of pleaſure was ſoon turned to a perfect Wilderneſs.

This vigilancy and induſtry of the *Dutch* was not onely prejudicial to the *French* deſignes;

but alſo of ſingular advantage to the State: for thereby they made a Bulwark to the Fortifications of the *Vecht*, and a Wall of defence to many Villages, which till then had lain under Water; but by theſe acts of care were to be kept dry and ſecure: To which the Orders which his Highneſs gave out to Colonel *Palin* mainly conduced; who, according to Command, upon the 16th with 2 or 300 men from the *Vytborn*, poſted himſelf at *Willis*, and *Demmerick*; and ſo entrenched him there, that by that means the round Fen-lands were defended from all violence, and the *Freneh* hindered from marching in by the way of *Bilevelt*, or the *Emmerick*, *Zuwe*, and ſo from falling by the way of the *Geuſe-ſloot* upon the *Nieuwerſluyce*, or any of the Inland Villages. By this means alſo the Line of Circumvallation round all *Holland* was cloſed up, and that Province compaſſed about with a Wall of Fortifications from the Southern-Sea as far as the farther ſide of the *Waal* River, there being no gap left for the Enemy to come in.

On the 15th the Commander *Ranſdorf*, who had lain a long time in *Otmarſen*, ſate down before the Caſtle of *Gramsberg* with 900 Foot, and 11 Cornets of Horſe: They of *Coeverden* had put into that place a Gariſon of 36 men with an Enſigne, for the ſecurity of their own people that made inrodes into *Over-Yſſel*, as alſo to be a place of retreat for them upon all other occaſions: For this reaſon the Biſhop's men, to hinder them, and the more to annoy thoſe of *Coeverden*, which was but two miles diſtant, had a deſigne to make themſelves Maſters of that place, and fortifie themſelves there: To which end, having all things ready, they immediately ſtormed it with their Dragoons, but were twice beat off by the Beſieged, leaving many dead on the place. At length they within, finding the number of the Enemy to be ſo great that they could not poſſibly hold it out, parley'd, and agreed to march out with their full Arms and Colours flying. But the Enemy vexed that ſo ſmall a number had done ſo much miſchief, contrary to their Articles, detained them all Priſoners. Upon notice of this Aſſault ſeveral men were ſent from *Coeverden* to the relief of thoſe of *Gramsberg*; but came too late. However, to be in ſome meaſure revenged upon an Enemy too conſiderable to be match'd by open force, they laid themſelves in Ambuſcado; wherein they were ſo fortunate, that falling upon *Pylagh* and *Houtyn* in their Rear, as they were marching off to *Otmarſen*, they killed many of the Enemy, and brought 70 Priſoners into *Coeverden*. *Ranſdorf* nevertheleſs remained in *Gramsberg*, which he fortified very ſtrongly, and brought into a full poſture of defence.

On the 22 of *May* his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth* Lieutenant-General of the *Freneh* Army, Monſieur *de la Feüillade Roannes*, being ſent before him with a Squadron of 2000 Horſe, drew up the Army in Battalia, as they lay encamped between *Cortryck* and *Harlebeck*, to take a general review of them, in the preſence, and to the great ſatisfaction, of the Queen and all the Court-Ladies. Aſſoon as they were muſtered, being found to be above 20000 ſtrong, they broke up, and took their march towards *Denſen*, and *Lauderham*, hard by *Ghent*; there 80 pieces of Ordnance being already at *Audenarde*, and 50 more expected at *Aeth* to make up the whole Train.

On the 23 the Queen, with the Dutcheſs *de Valiere*, Madam *de Monteſpan*, and all her Court returned again from *Cortryck* to *Doornick*, there to remain as long as the Campagne laſted, being convoyed by the King half way; from whence, having taking their farewell in the Village *Lovinghem*, the Queen with a Conduct of 200 Horſe departed for *Doornick*, and the King to his Army who lodged that night at *Gothem* hard by *Deynſen*, and the next night at the Abbey of *Drongene*, a mile from *Ghent*.

On the 24 Monſieur *de Feüillade* lying encamped at *Mary-Kirk*, caſt two Ship-bridges over the River of *Bruges*, and on the 25 marched over with 2000 Horſe, under the Command of Monſieur *de l' Lorge* as Lieutenant-general, and Sieur *de Lorrain* as Field-marſhal, being followed by the Duke of *Orleans* with a Brigade of Foot and two Squadrons of Horſe; the Vantguard of his Army conſiſting of about 400 Horſe under Sieur *de Hauteville*, upon the 26 croſſed the Water over a Ship-bridge between *Sas* and *Ghent* near *Selſaten*, and preſently ſhewed themſelves before St. *John-ſtone*, half a League from *Sas*, to obſerve the poſture of the Country thereabouts; but finding that moſt of it lay under Water, and that the Marſhes of *Klinge*, *Kieldrecht*, *Ferdinandus*, *Abſdwelle*, and other places, were overflown, they onely plundred St. *John-ſtone* and another Village or two; and on the 27 retreated back again over the Ship-bridge at *Marickerk*, and joyned with the groſs of the Army near *Deynſen*. In the mean time the Princes of *Condé*, *d'Engien*, and *Luxemburg* were contriving at *Utrecht* which way they might beſt make ſome conſiderable attempt upon the Poſts at the *Vecht*, ſeeing they were ſo bridled by the *Nieuwerſluyce*. Thereupon they concluded to draw off all the Water from the drowned Lands Eaſtward of the *Vecht*. To which end they firſt came to *Nuyerburgh*, and took up their ſtation there, as alſo on the *High-dike*, about a quarter of a League diſtant from thence, where they caſt up a Battery and entrenched themſelves; and not onely there, but in the Low way by the *Hackelaers*-bridge, to ſecure themſelves that way from any impreſſion of

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the *Dutch* that might hinder their deſigne upon the *Dyke*; which Work they notably advanced, notwithſtanding the *Dutch* fir'd hard upon them both from *Muyden*, and from ſeveral Ships in great Flat-boats upon the *Vaert*: For they had preſs'd the Countrymen of *Goyland* to the Work, and held their Head-Quarters at *Muyderberg*, where they made many Tents under ground, and caſt up a thick Mud-wall of about eight or ten foot high round about every Houſe, to ſecure them from the Cannon; and by a Battery on the *High Dyke* they made a breach to let the Water from off the Land into the *Snyder*-Sea; and by making deep approaches, had advanced 200 Rods farther upon the Dyke, where they made a ſecond breach with another Battery to defend it. But after all this labour and pains, the oppoſition which they met with conſtrained them to give over the deſigne, with the loſs of many men.

Upon the ſecond of *June* at two of the clock in the Morning, the King of *France* broke up from *Liedekerk* and marched towards *Bruſſels*, in three Squadrons, with a mighty Artillery, and an incredible number of Wagons and Carts, and encamped in the low-ground by *Anderlecht*, where the Souldiers ruin'd and deſtroy'd all they came neer: Whereupon the Counteſs *de Montery*, by order of the Governour her Husband, who was then at *Antwerp*, ſent immediately Don *Emanuel de Lyra* with ſeveral other Deputies to the King, to complain of the ſeverities committed, and to deſire ſatisfaction.

On the 4 the *French* began to break up from before *Bruſſels*, marching towards *Charleroy*. On the 6 the King arrived at *Voſſem*; upon which day the Cavalry under Sieur *de Montal*, who hitherto lay in *Maſeyck* and *Tongeren*, and had onely now and then ſhewn himſelf before *Maeſtricht*, now not onely beſet the ſame City, but with a ſupply of 3000 Horſe under Count *de Lorge*, ſent from the Kings Army, quite blocked it up. The day before, Count *de Montery* had ſent thither two Regiments, one of Foot conſiſting of 1500 *Italians*; the other of Horſe, to the number of 400; upon which they within ſallied out ſeveral times upon the Enemy, more eſpecially on the 10th, when the *French* loſt many men. But the King, having in his way lodged upon the 6 at *Voſſem*, the 7 neer *Nethune* and *Boſſeyck*, on the 8 neer *Meldert* and *Hogarden*, the 9 at *Saten*, the 10 at the Caſtle of Baron *Van Backholt*, on the 11 ſate down in perſon before *Maeſtricht*, his Quarters being prepared in a place called *Ouwater*; the Count *de Lorge* aſſuring him, that ſince his arrival, there had no body gon in or out of the City. On that day the Line of Circumvallation upon the ſame ſide the City was meaſured out, and the Bridge of Communication was made over the *Maes* above and below; the King himſelf keeping Watch that night, becauſe he ſuſpected they might make a Salley out of the City upon him.

On the 12 the Line of the ſide of the *Wyck* was alſo drawn, and that quarter committed to Duke *d' Orleans*: For the upper quarter on that ſide of the City where the King firſt ſate down, the King kept to himſelf, the lower being guarded by the Duke of *Monmouth* with a body of 8000 Horſe and Foot: On the 12 and 13 the *French* were buſily employ'd in caſting up their Line of Circumvallation and Contravallation, which at firſt they made ſo ſlight, as if they had intended no long Siege, but either ſuddenly to ſtorm it, or ſoon to quit it.

On the other ſide of the Country upon the 6 of *June*, *Houtyn* with 18 Standards of Horſe, and 1500 Foot appeared near *Sonnega* in *Friezland*, and ſummoned the Gariſon to ſurrender; but being denied, ſome of them ſhewed themſelves near the *Bleſſer*-bridge, where the Marquiſs *de Monpovillan* lay entrenched, who ſtopp'd them there, being ſeconded by the Cavalry of *Berkoop* and *Wolvega*. Prince *Maurice* alſo was marching with the Troops of *Herenean*; but the Enemy being retreated, ſome few onely in the Rear were killed and taken Priſoners. Yet for the prevention of any further Invaſion of the ſame nature, his Grace Prince *Maurice* gave order that by the opening of the Sluyces the Country thereabouts ſhould be lay'd under Water; which, by the help of a ſtrong Wind, ſucceeded according to deſire.

But now his Imperial Majeſty, having on the 6 of *June* made known his reſolutions to the ſeveral Provinces, that for the ſecurity of the Empire he would raiſe a conſiderable power wherewith to oppoſe the proceedings of *France*; Hereupon *Turenne* on the 10 began to move, and according to the Treaty with *Brandenburgh*, to quit his Country, and to break up with his whole Army to ſtop the Imperialiſts. To which purpoſe he takes his march towards the Country of *Waldeck* over two Bridges which he had laid over the *Roer*, and made his head-Quarter at *Coerbach*. From *Coerbach* he removed his head-Quarter to *Wetzlaer* lying on the *Lhaan* in the Country of *Naſſau*, whence he ſpread himſelf through *Heſſen* and *Wetteraw* as far as hard by *Hanau*. Thus as it were environing *Frankfort*, and ruining all thereabouts.

It was now the 17 of *June*, when the *French* reſolved to open their Trenches before *Maeſtricht*; at ſeven in the Evening a body of Horſe and Foot were ordered to march within a Muſquet-ſhot of the City, in two ſeveral places. The Horſe-men carried Bavins, the Foot-

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men Spades and Axes, of which many were cut off by the ſhot from the City; but the night was favourable to the Enemy, being very dark and rainy; ſo that the next Morning they had three Batteries ready mounted with 26 pieces of Cannon, wherewith they ſhot ſo violently againſt the City, that they ruined ſeveral Batteries; but they were ſoon repaired, and from the Beſieged as violently diſcharged on the Enemy, who notwithſtanding advanced with their approaches. On the 20 the Duke of *Monmouth* had the Watch in the Trenches, at which time they ſhot very furiouſly out of the City; which annoyed them not ſo much as the great Rains, whereby many of the Souldiers were forced to wade up to the half Leg through the Water in the approaches. But a worſe accident befel the King's Battery, where the Powder was accidentally ſet on fire, by which means many Souldiers were blown up; yet for all that he advanced within 30 Rods of the Counterſcarp, and approached ſo near, that they reſolved on the twenty fourth to ſtorm the Counterſcarp. The Aſſault was deſigned upon three ſeveral places, though they principally aimed at one: The Duke of *Orleans* on the ſide of the *Wyck*; *Montal* on the other ſide upon the left hand; the Duke of *Monmouth* upon two places, one being onely to divert them on the right ſide, over againſt the Green Half-moon; and the other which was to be the principal place between both, where the King himſelf was preſent in perſon. At eleven of the Clock at night, having given the Signe by diſcharge of 5 Cannon, they began the Attacque. The Aſſault of the Duke of *Orleans* was commanded by Sieur *de Lorge*, Chevalier *de Lorrain*, and Monſieur *de Vaubrun*, as Field-marſhals; who were ſo ſucceſsful, that after a vigorous reſiſtance they remained Maſter of the Out-works, in regard they were not expected on that ſide: for the *French* had ſcarce opened any of their Trenches that way; ſo that there were at that time but 400 men upon that Work, where the commanding Officer and ſeveral others were killed. The *French* themſelves, not expecting ſuch ſucceſs, loſt an opportunity, having deſigned that Storm onely for a falſe Alarm, could not, for want of Scaling-ladders and other Inſtruments, follow their Victory, although they were advanced as far as the ſide of the Moat. The King himſelf ſtood at the opening of one of the Trenches upon a Hillock, where he beheld an Aſſault which was very violent, and a Reſiſtance not leſs ſtrenuous; but at laſt the Enemy breaking through all oppoſition, got footing on the Counterſcarp, and caſt up a Work there; upon the encouragement of which ſucceſs, he advanced farther to the outſide of the Half-moon, which was on the ſide of *Bruſſels*-Gate, and after one hours hot ſtorm gained it, though the *Dutch* made a courageous oppoſition, and blew up two Mines, though both to little purpoſe: For thus the Enemy had lodged themſelves on the Out-works of the Half-moon, and joyned their Line of Communication with the Counterſcarp ſo lately won. On the other ſide, the *Dutch* re-entrenched themſelves on the inſide of the ſame Half-moon, and intended to have done the Enemy great miſchief with a Mine on the left ſide; but the Enemy diſcovered it, and carried the Powder away. The next Morning, when the *French* thought themſelves ſure of their new Conqueſt, the *Dutch* fir'd a Mine on the right hand, and falling immediately with great valour upon the Enemy, drave them not onely from the Half-moon, but from the Counterſcarp alſo; a Captain and 60 Souldiers being blown up into the Air by the Powder. But the undaunted Duke of *Monmouth*, not to be ſcar'd, renewing the fight, ſoon gained the Counterſcarp again; and being followed by Monſieur *de Artignan* and about 12 or 14 *Engliſh* Voluntiers beſide, he with a ſignal bravery drave the Enemy before him, and remained abſolute Maſter of the Half-moon alſo. After which he was relieved by Monſieur *de la Feüillade*, whoſe turn it was that night to mount the Watch.

The 25th there fell much Rain, yet the Enemy neglected not to fortifie themſelves in their new Poſts: Beſides, they caſt up that night two great Batteries, upon which the Great Guns from *Charleroy*, that were brought along with the Army, were mounted. Whereupon it was reſolved, that upon the 27 the Out-works ſhould be ſtormed again: To which end, all things being made ready, Count *de Lorge*, whoſe turn it was to be in the Approaches, was commanded to aſſault the Horn-work on the left ſide of the Half-moon which his Highneſs the Duke of *Monmouth* had maſtered; and at the ſame time Monſieur *Fourille* General of the Cavalry and Field-marſhal, was ordered to attacque the Green Half-moon on the right ſide of *Bruſſels*-Gate: So that at eleven of the Clock at night, the Signe being given by two Cannon-ſhot, the *French* fir'd one Mine by the Horn-work, and immediately fell on; and notwithſtanding a vigorous reſiſtance, and a whole ſtorm of Hand-granadoes, they at laſt maſtered the ſame: For indeed the *Dutch* had blown up ſix or ſeven of their Mines, fill'd with Granadoes, without doing any great prejudice thereby to the Enemy; beſides that ſome of their Miners were taken Priſoners at the ſame time, who diſcovered ſeveral others of the *Dutch* Mines. Monſieur *de Fourille* alſo, after a reſiſtance no leſs reſolute, beat the *Dutch* from the Half-moon; ſo that the *French*, though with the loſs of many men, became Maſters of moſt of the Out-works on that ſide. The King all the while ſtood upon a riſing ground to ſee what paſſed, and ſent again the next day two *French* Battalions to reinforce Monſieur *de Lorge* in his new Conqueſts.

Wedneſ-

Wedneſday the 28 in the Evening, came his Highneſs the Duke of *Monmouth* to relieve Count *de Lorge*, who made his approaches farther, within 10 or 15 Foot of the Moats, when the *Dutch* again, at ten of the Clock in the Evening, blew up five Mines; and yet for all that the Duke, to a wonder, kept his Poſt.

Upon the 30th the Governour, finding himſelf preſſed by a ſtrong Enemy abroad, and one much ſtronger within, a mutinous people; and perceiving the Gariſon much weakned by frequent ſtorming, and tired with continual watching, and withal being uncertain of any Relief, at ſix a Clock in the Morning, having by a Drum deſired a ceſſation of Arms, ſent ſeveral Colonels to the King; and at laſt delivered up the City upon honorable and profitable Conditions.

Aſſoon as the Articles were agreed on, Marquiſs *de Rochfort* with a Regiment of Guards, took poſſeſſion of the Gate of *Maeſtricht*; and Count *de Lorge*, with another Regiment, of the *Wyck*-Gate, until the 2d of *July*; at which time the Gariſon, with Baggage and compleat Arms, two Cannons, and one Mortar-piece, marched out towards *Hertogenboſch*; and at the ſame time the *French* marched in. On the 6th the King himſelf went into the City *Incognito*, and made Count *d'Eſtrades* Governour of the Town, and Sieur *le Roy* Lieutenant-Governour.

On the other ſide, Lieutenant-General *Rabenhaupt*, having all the Winter preſerved the *Olde Ampt*, and the Lands round about, from the Invaſion of the Biſhop of *Munſter*, by a Blockado of the *Lang-Acre* or *Nieuweſcons*, his Excellency on the 10th of *June* made all things ready with a reſolution to aſſault that place by main force. The Biſhop, knowing the conſequence of that Poſt, ſent 600 Dragoons, and 400 Horſe, under the Command of *Meynderſhagen*, to raiſe the Siege; but they were ſo ſharply encounter'd, that, with the loſs of the greateſt part of their men, they were forced to retreat. The Biſhop reſolving to make another tryal, made a new attempt with 3500 men under the Command of *Weddel*, *Nagel*, *Vout*, St. *Paul*, and others, deſigning by means of a new-made Bank to cut off Colonel *Aquila* from thereſt of the Army. But *Rabenhaupt*, having intelligence of the Enemies deſigne, ſent immediately nine Companies under Major *Heym* to his aſſiſtance, who ſoon put the Enemy to the rout; of whom there were above 300 ſlain and wounded. After that advantage, at one of the Clock in the night the Aſſault began, and was carried on ſo fortunately, that after ſome reſiſtance, the *Dutch* carried the Redoubt; and the Enemy, fleeing in great diſorder, were followed quite through the Gate into the Fort, by thoſe that ſtormed, though but few in number; while the Enemy, ſurprized by ſuch an unexpected accident, thinking the whole body of the Enemy had been at their heels, threw down their Arms, and cried for Quarter. A Victory ſo unlook'd-for, that *Rabenhaupt* himſelf, not expecting ſo eminent a ſucceſs, would have favoured the Stormers, ſhot againſt the Scons after his own men were Maſters of it.

But now the King of *France*, having put a Gariſon of 1500 Horſe, and 6000 Foot into *Maeſtricht*, demoliſhed all the Works which his Army had made there; and having cauſed all the Circumvallations, Entrenchments, Approaches, and Batteries to be thrown down, encamped himſelf on both ſides of the *Maes*, near *Viſe*, whilſt the new-made Works of *Tongeren* and *Maſeyck* alſo were by his order demoliſhed, not needing now, ſince his taking of *Maeſtricht*, any other Forts in the Country of *Liege*, or on the *Maes*, for the defence of thoſe parts. As for the Army it ſelf, the King ordered the greateſt part of it to march under the Command of the Marquiſs of *Rochfort* into the Biſhoprick of *Trier*. He alſo ſent 5000 away to *Turenne*, who was paſſing the *Rhine* by *Andernach*; and as many to joyn with the Prince of *Condé*, who lay below. Two thouſand Horſe were likewiſe ordered under the Marquiſs of *Bellefonds* to *Tournay*, to convey the Queen thence into *Lorrain*; and then, leaving another body beſides in the *Spaniſh* Conqueſts under Marſhal *de Humieres*, to keep his eye on the *Spaniards*, he himſelf, on the 12 of *July*, with the reſt of the Cavalry, broke up from *Maeſtricht*, to meet the Queen in *Lorrain*. That night he lodged at *Waaren*, the next near *Pernez*. On the 14 he came to *Chaſtelet* near *Charleroy*, where the Duke of *Orleans* and his Highneſs the Duke of *Monmouth* took their leave of the King: The Duke of *Orleans* departing for *Paris*, and ſo to St. *Clou*, to viſit the Dutcheſs, who, during the Campagne, was delivered of a young Prince; and the Duke of *Monmouth* for *London*, where he was received by the King with a reſpect anſwerable to his Noble Actions.

From *Chaſtelet* the King of *France* marched through *Phillipville* and *Marienburgh*, to *Grand-Pré* where he met the Queen, who on the 5 of *July* departed with the Court from *Tournay*, and on the 8 arrived at *Amiens*, where ſhe ſtaid, being ſomething indiſpoſed, for a few days. On the 13 ſhe departed thence to *Grand-Pré*, from whence both their Majeſties on the 22 arrived at *Thionville*; upon the 30 at *Metz*; and on the fourth of *Auguſt* came both ſafe to *Nancy*.

Monſieur *de Rochfort*, with the Groſs of the Army, conſiſting of 13000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe

Horſe, having croſſed the *Maes* near *Viſe*, marched on the 13 of *July* through *Limberg*, quartering on the 18 between *Staveloo* and *Almedy*, and on the 21 in the Province of *Luxemburgh*, whence, after he had very much waſted the Country, upon the laſt of *July* he came to *Grevemecherem* upon the *Moeſel*, ſending the Field-marſhal *Fourilles* with a ſmall body along the *Moeſel*, to *Trier*; and Marquiſs *de Vaubron* on the other ſide of the River, who encamped himſelf near *Feneſtrang* on the *Saar*: yet were not all theſe ſo far diſperſed, but that they might ſoon be drawn together again.

In the mean time the *French* at *Utrecht*, being ſenſible of their miſtake at *Muyden*, made ſhew as if they intended to make ſome attempt near to *Vianen*: but the Prince of *Condé*, finding himſelf at a great loſs by reaſon that the *Dutch* had poſted themſelves at the *Nieuwerſluyce*, and ſeeing no where any likelihood of effecting any thing to purpoſe, departed on the 15 early in the Morning with his Son and many perſons of Quality, from *Utrecht* to *Arnheim*, and thence to the *Grave*: For now he deſigned to try his fortune in *Brabant*; to which end ſome part of the Army followed the Prince of *Condé*, who alſo met there, beſides the Troops which the King had ſent him from *Maeſtricht*; with which, after he had for ſome time hover'd about the *Meyery* of the *Boſch*, near the City it ſelf, he turned again to the *Grave*; and at laſt, finding as little probability of doing any good there as at *Utrecht*, he marched with a conſiderable body quite up to *Lille*.

All this while the States, after the ſurrender of *Maeſtricht*, were uncertain which way the *French* would turn their Arms; but in all appearance they thought the ſtorm would fall upon ſome City or other upon the Frontiers of *Brabant*, as the *Boſch*, *Heuſden*, *Breda*, or *Bergen up Zoom*: Therefore, that they might upon all adventures be able to ſuccour them with anſwerable aſſiſtance, an Army was embodied about *Raamſdonk* and the *Lange-ſtrate*, between *Hueſden* and *Gertruydenbergh*, from whence they might with eaſe be ready to relieve whatever place the Enemy attacqued. And the Prince of *Condé* was no ſooner gone from *Utrecht* to the *Grave*, but the Prince of *Orange*, upon information that they had ſome deſigne upon the *Boſch*, or *Breda*, immediately marched to *Raamſdonk*, where he found a conſiderable Army, expecting a farther reinforcement of 5 or 6000 *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries.

In the beginning of *Auguſt*, the Biſhop of *Munſter* came in perſon to *Swol*, to keep his Reſidence there for a certain time, and went immediately and viewed *Haſſelt* and *Swart-ſluyce*. Not long after his being at *Swol*, having gathered together all the force he could make out of all the Gariſons, as well his own as the *Colen* Troops, and reinforced them with 45 Cornets of *French* Horſe, from *Nimmegen*, *Arnheim*, *Utrecht*, and *Zutphen*, making in all about 7 or 8000 men, with ſeveral Field-pieces, on the 25 marched with all his force into *Frieſland*, and advanced as far as *Schoten*, hard by the *Herevean*, bringing all the Country thereabouts under Contribution. But at laſt, after he had plunder'd ſeveral Villages, and burnt ſome, upon the 30 and 31 he quitted thoſe parts again.

The Prince of *Condé* being now broke up from near the *Boſch*, the States did not think it fit that their Army ſhould lie idle at *Raamſdonk*; whereupon Orders were given to the *Spaniſh* to march, though ſoon countermanded. On the 21 his Highneſs arrived perſonally in the *Hague*, and upon advice of the Biſhop's invading *Frieſland*, ſent ſeven Regiments thither; but coming to *Amſterdam* they received new Orders to diſembarque themſelves, and to march to *Weſep*, intelligence being come that the Enemy had left *Frieſland*. On the 30 his Highneſs broke up with his Army from *Gertruydenberg*, and on the 31 encamped at *Werkendam* neer *Gorcum*: the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, upon notice thereof, fearing ſome attempt upon that ſide, marched immediately with 6000 men to *Tiel*; but his Highneſs having another deſigne, on the 31 at twelve at night croſſed over the *Taamer-bridge*, and ſo forward towards *Amſterdam*. On the 5 of *September* in the night, the foremoſt of his men were landed over the *Vecht* in ſmall Boats, as were afterwards all the reſt, though it were terrible ſtormy weather, ſo that if the *French* had had more ſtrength, they might eaſily have hinder'd it: For only thoſe 200 men which were there, made it diſputable enough, though at laſt they were forced to flie. Aſſoon as part of the Army was landed on the firm Ground, His Highneſs took poſſeſſion immediately of the *Looſdrecht* together with ſome other Poſts, and now ordered all things for the Siege of *Naarden*.

In order whereunto, the *Dutch* Army, above 25000 ſtrong, on the 8 of *September* began to fire their Cannon againſt the Town, from whence the Beſieged anſwered but faintly. On the 11 they advanced almoſt under the Counterſcarp: Whereupon they reſolved to ſtorm both the Counterſcarp and the Ravelin of the *Huyſer*-Gate. To which purpoſe it was concluded, that the Marquiſs *de Wargines*, whoſe turn it was to be upon the Guard at that time, ſhould have that task, with his Regiment, whilſt the *Rhinegrave*, and Colonel *Palin*'s Regiment ſtormed the Out-works on the out-ſide. Thereupon, at eleven of the Clock at night, the *Dutch* fell on ſo furiouſly, that they were ſoon Maſters of the Counterſcarp, and after three hours fight gained the Ravelin alſo. Upon which, no ſooner the Morning appeared, but the Enemy, ſeeing the

Dutch

Dutch Masters of their Counterscarp and Ravelin, and that all things were ready for a general Storm, hung out the signe of Parley, and soon after yielded.

After they had hung out the signe of Parley, Hostages were exchanged on both sides; the Marquis *de Louvien*, the Lord *de la Motte*, and the Major of the Regiment of *Navarre* came into the quarter of Don *Francisco de Agourto*; and the Lord *de Lean* Earl of *Tilly*, and Captain *de Frank* went into the City: whereupon the Articles, being agreed upon, were signed that night, and brought out of the Town to the Army. Immediately the Marquis *de Wargines* took possession of one Gate, and the *Rhinegrave* of one Bulwark. And thus the Siege was ended with as much success, as it was managed with Prudence and Valour. It was by Capitulation agreed on, that the Enemy should march out with all their Baggage and Arms, Colours flying, Drums beating, and two Cannons; which the next day was punctually performed by the management of the *Rhinegrave*, and the former Governour Monsieur *Du Pas*. Onely strict search was made whether any Runnagadoes had hid themselves in the Baggage-wagons; of which about twenty, though much disguis'd, were found; some of which were shot to death, the rest pardoned. The *French* were convoyed to *Arnheim* by a Troop of Horse.

After the *French*, with about 50 Baggage-wagons with sick and wounded men, were marched out, the *Dutch* Garison marched in, and immediately fell to repairing the Fortifications; Count *Koningsmark* being made Governour of the Town, and the Circumvallation, Trenches, and Batteries without, being all immediately levelled.

The *French* by *Nieuwerslayce* no sooner heard of the surrender of *Naerden*, but immediately they retreated for fear to *Utrecht*, blowing up a house at *Grundesteyn*, and burning another at *Nieuwenroy*; by which means they left all open to the *Dutch* as far as *Utrecht*: But whilst all people were now in expectation, that the Army of the *Dutch* should have made some other attempt on the *Veluw*, in prosecution perhaps of some designe which was in hand before the Siege of *Naerden*, they broke up, and marched into *Brabant*, and encamped neer to *Rosendael*. His Highness also followed the Army, and had personal conferences with the Earl *de Montery* concerning the joynt employ of the *Spanish* and *Dutch* Forces.

But now the forces which the King of *France* had left in *Flanders* under Marshal *d' Humieres* as General of all the Militia in the *Spanish* Conquests, daily embodied, being before divided into several Garisons. The Prince of *Condé* also himself, who had lain a long time at *Hintem* by the *Bosch*, joyned with the Marshal: For the Prince, not daring to attempt any thing in those parts where he lay, advanced upon the 9th of *August* towards *Maestricht*, sending away several Troops under Sieur *du* St. *Clar* towards the Bishoprick of *Trier*, and with the rest of his Cavalry marched towards *Charleroy* to joyn with the Army under Command of Monsieur *Humieres*, between *Tournay* and *Lille*, consisting in all of about 14 or 15000 men; of whom a general review was took, and that was all; for they were no sooner mustered, but they were sent back into the Garisons. The Prince on the 17 and 18, after a Conference held with the Marshal at *Aeth*, returned to *Lille* and *Tournay*, where he lay still the Moneths of *August* and *September* without undertaking any thing considerable.

To prosecute the actions of *France*, we must now trace them quite into *High Germany*: For the King, whether for fear of the Emperour's Army, or in order to advance his other great designes, had drawn most of his power out of the *Low Countries*, and for the security of his own Kingdom against all Invasion, marched in person into *Lorrain* and the *Elsas*. He sent Marquis *de Rochfort* into the Bishoprick of *Trier*, and Marshal *de Turenne* he ordered into *Frankenland*.

While the King gave these Orders, he stay'd with his Court at *Nancy*, and all the while he continued there, he took great care to compleat the Fortifications of the Castle: In the mean time now and then he suffered his Troops to range into the Upper and Lower *Elsas*: For upon the 25 he departed for *Brisac*, where he arrived on the 30th. As he advanced he took possession by the by of the Towns of *Colmar* and *Slechstadt*, environing *Colmar* with a Brigade under the Duke *de Feuillade*, and *Slechstadt* with the Troops under Monsieur *de Beguemar*; being well assured that those Towns would surrender without any resistance. From thence he sent for Deputies from the other Towns, who came and immediately submitted. These Towns had held themselves a long time dubious between the *French*, *Imperial*, and *Cantons* protection; but now had submitted themselves into the hands of the *French*, together with the whole *Elsas*, all which, and especially *Colmar*, he quite rased, carrying away all the Guns, Artillery and Ammunition to *Brisac*: the quantity of which was almost incredible: amongst other things, 90 Cannons, and 400000 l. of Gun-powder, besides that the Commonalty were above measure burthened with quartering of the Souldiers.

The King after these successes being returned to *Nancy*, and having now secured all *Lorrain*, and the Upper and Nether *Elsas*, had the same designe upon the Arch-Bishop of *Trier*, upon a pretence that it was necessary for him so to do, for the security of his Estates; but

the chiefeſt reaſon was, becauſe the Biſhop had placed an Emperial Gariſon at *Coblentz* and *Ehrenbreitſteyn*; to that end he had already taken poſſeſſion of moſt of the Cities, Caſtles, and Forts in that Biſhoprick, and had brought all the Country under Contribution. Monſieur *Fourilles* lay a little below *Trier* advancing ſtill nearer and nearer to it. The Sieur *de Sourdis* on the one ſide, and Marquiſs *de Rochfort* on the other ſide of the *Moſel*, higher than the City; to whom came about 40 Comets of Horſe more, ſent from the Prince of *Condè*, under Sieur *du* St. *Clar*. Upon the 26 of *Auguſt* was the firſt ſhot againſt the City it ſelf; which conſidering the ſmall Gariſon that was in it, defended it ſelf valiantly; ſo that many of the *French*, amongſt whom 30 Officers, were ſlain, and the Marquiſs *de Rochfort* himſelf ſorely wounded. But after ſome days ſiege, the *French* advancing cloſe upon their Walls, they were forced on the 8th of *September* to ſurrender, to the great benefit of the *French*, who found ſtore of Proviſions therein. It was agreed that the Souldiers ſhould march out in order; but the Townſmen were left to the mercy of thoſe who laid very heavy burthens on them. And thus did that whole Province fall into the hands of the *French*, except *Coblentz*, and the invincible Caſtle of *Hermenſtein*, whither the Prince Elector and his Court were retreated, adhering ſtill to the ſide of the Emperour.

In this manner the whole Country on this ſide the *Rhine*, as far upwards as *Switzerland*, being in the hands of the *French*, who were thereby ſufficiently guarded againſt any Invaſion, they now laboured to bring their Arms into the heart of the Empire; and to that end Marſhal *de Turenne* on the 11 of *Auguſt* decamped from *Wetzlaer*, advancing upwards towards *Hanau*; to which end he laid a Bridge over the *Mayne* near *Selingſtadt*, over which he marched on the 18 with part of his Horſe; and thus marching on both ſides of the *Mayne*, towards *Aſſchaffenburgh*, which they had alſo ſecured to themſelves, they advanced forwards towards *Wertheim* four miles from *Wyrtzburgh*, where he erected his Magazine, intending to march up higher into *Frankenland*: The chief reaſon of which ſudden march was thought to be upon ſome deſigne againſt *Wyrtzburgh*; which Caſtle the Commander was to have delivered up to the *French*, having already received 80000 Rixdollers; but the Plot being diſcovered, and the Commander impriſoned, *Turenne*, having firſt well provided all his Poſts on the *Mayne*, marched with his Army up to *Ochſenfurt*, where on the 11 of *September* he encamped himſelf on the high Grounds, in regard the Emperial Army alſo was arrived thereabouts.

The Emperour having openly declared that he would ſuddenly marry the Arch-Dutcheſs of *Inſpruck*, and his reſolution to ſend his Army towards the *Rhyne*, on the 15th of *July* diſpatched away the Atillery, which conſiſted of 38 Cannons, and four Mortar-pieces, with all neceſſaries thereto belonging, from *Vienna* with 600 Horſe, beſides thoſe that lay ready in *Bohemia*; and then in like order the other Regiments followed, marching to *Egra*, the place of general Rendezvouz. The Emperour himſelf, with all his Nobility, on the fourth of *Auguſt* departed from *Vienna*, and on the 18 arrived at *Egra*, where alſo ſeveral of the *German* Princes met him; and on the 20 the Duke of *Saxonie*, and his Son the Prince Elector arriving, they were ſolemnly received by the Emperour himſelf: Count *Coningsbeck* alſo about the ſame time came thither, who had been ſent to the Elector of *Beyeren* for a final Anſwer concerning the diſpoſal of his Troops, and the granting paſſage through his Territories: But though that Prince ſeem'd unwilling to declare, yet all things were made ready for a march: the whole Army being found to be 38560 men.

Theſe Troops on the 22 in a very large Field were drawn up into Battalia before his Imperial Majeſty, and the other Lords and Ladies there preſent, and were divided into two Battalions; the firſt commanded by the Duke of *Bourneville*; the Right-wing of the Horſe by General-field-marſhal *Spork*; and the Left-wing by Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*. The Infantry was commanded by Prince *Pio*, and Count *Portia*: The ſecond Battalion was under Field-marſhal *Vertmiller*; the Right-wing led by *Caprara*, and the Left by the Count *Chavignon*. The Artillery under the Conduct of Prince *Harman Van Baden*: But the General Command was committed to *Montecuculi*.

The Imperial Army, marching thus through the upper *Paltz*, encamped themſelves on the firſt of *September* within a League of *Nurenburgh*, where they divided themſelves into three parts, and ſo broke up towards the Dukedom *Wyrtenburgh*; the Left-wing keeping their march chiefly through *Frankenland*. General *Spork* led the Van, who on the ſixth approached near to *Wurtzburgh*; and ſoon after the whole Army follow'd near *Ochſenfurt*, where they had ſeveral Skirmiſhes with the *French*: But *Turenne*, being poſted there ſo advantageouſly, could not without their prejudice be brought to a Battle, ſo that the Imperialiſts ſought onely to cut them off from their Proviſions which were ſent to them from *Wertheim*; and on the 15 they fell upon and beat a *French* Convoy between *Wertheim* and *Wurtzburgh*, where they took 17 Mules, two whereof were laden with Money, and 16 Wagons. From thence they marched up to *Wertheim*, where they deſtroyed 14 of the *French* Victualling Ships. Whereupon *Turenne*, wanting

wanting Provisions, was forced to leave his former Post, and to retreat to *Aſſchaffenburgh*: In which Retreat the Imperialists, falling upon his Rear, did him no small prejudice.

October 1, his Highness the Prince of *Orange* having, after the happy retaking of the City *Naerden*, brought off again the greatest part of his Army, especially the Cavalry, from the heathy Land, to the Borders of *Brabant*, sent the greatest part of the Troops before; and then his Highness in person, attended by the *Rhinegrave*, *Styrum*, *Monipouillian*, *Brederode*, and other Chief Officers, departed from the *Hague* on the last day of *September*, through *Rotterdam* and *Dort* to the old *Bosch*; and on the first of *October* he arrived near *Bergen up Zoom*; from whence, with 17 Regiments of Horse and 7 of Foot, making together about 12000 men, he marched to *Rosendale*, where the Van of the *Dutch* Army had encamped themselves. From thence, on the 4 *ditto*, his Highness rode betimes in the Morning to the *Clampthout*, not far from *Antwerp*, there to confer with the Earl of *Montery*; and upon the 7th of the same Moneth towards Evening his Highness in person entred *Antwerp*, being received by the Earl of *Montery* without the City. Then returning to *Rosendale*, on the 13 he broke up with his Army and marched to *Herentbals*, to joyn with some *Spanish* Troops that lay in those quarters.

The *Spaniards* now addressing themselves more than ever formerly to the War, had a good while before this gathered together many Souldiers in the Confines of *Antwerp* by *Mechelen* and otherwhere, with all necessary Provisions requisite for a Campagne; which the Earl of *Montery*, after he had conferr'd with his Highness at *Clampthout* and *Antwerp*, ordered to march on the 12 of *October* under the Command of the Marquis *Affentar*, General Master of the Camp, to *Herentbals*, there to joyn with the Army of his Highness. And, now all things being ready for an open Rupture, upon the 26 of this Moneth he proclaimed War by a Trumpeter against *France* in several Cities of the *Spanish Netherlands*, of *Luxemburgh* and *Burgundy*.

The King of *France*, on the other side, having been for some Moneths detain'd in *Lorrain* about the Fortifications of *Nancy*, about this time drew most of his Troops together, both out of the *Elsas* and the Bishoprick of *Trier*, making a shew as if he intended to fall upon the Dukedom of *Burgundy*; but whatever it was that put a stop to that designe, the Troops which were already upon their march thither, with the Artillery, were countermanded again, and Monsieur *de Coulange* with the Horse drawn together out of several places, was sent to *Colmar*, to quarter in *Alsatia*, in the room of those Troops that had been commanded from thence to *Nancy*. His Majesty himself, after he had left 54 Companies of Foot, and six of Horse, under Monsieur *de Bissy* in possession of *Bancy*, on the last of *September* broke up with the whole Court and all his Army, taking his way to St. *Quintin*: He lay that night at *Toul*; the first of *October* at St. *Michael*, the 2d at *Nanzey*, the 3d at St. *Manehould*, where the Army staid to refresh themselves the next day; the 5th he marched to *Nostre-Dame de la Spine*, the 6th to *Sillery*, the 7th to *Cornicy*, and the 8th to *Laon*, where again the following day the Army refreshed themselves, and received Orders to march back under the Sieur *de Fourilles* to St. *Quintin*, and there to joyn themselves to the Army of the Prince of *Condé*. The King, attended by most of the Cavalry of the King's Horse, taking his way throgh *Soissons*, *Villers-Cotres*, and *Dampmartin*, to *Versailles*, on the fourteenth arrived there with the whole Court.

In the mean time the Prince of *Condé* had drawn together about *Oudenard* all the Companies out of the *French Netherlands*, and taken out of the Garisons as many as they could conveniently spare, which made up a Body of about 5000 Horse, and 6000 Foot; and then observing the approaching march of the Prince of *Orange*, on the 3d of *October* he sent the Marquis of *Louson* to the Earl of *Montery* in the Name of the King of *France*, to desire that no Forrain Troops should be permitted to pass through the *Spanish* Territories into the *French* Dominions, but to oppose them according to the Agreement of Neutrality. Whereto Answer was given, that the *French* had more than once passed through the same places; and that his Excellency had no Order from the King his Master to deny the same priviledge to the Princes people. Upon which *Condé*, having on the 9th received an Express from the King of *France*, held a Council of War the next day, and then marched to *Tournay*, and St. *Quintin*, there to joyn with the Troops which came from *Nancy*; with which conjoyned force the Prince of *Condé* fell down again to *Pont d'Esperies*, and there encamped himself.

All this while the Armies of the Earl *Montecuculi* and the Marshal *de Turenne* had now lain for some time close one by another in *Frankenland*, without any appearance as if either the one or the other intended in earnest to hazard a Field-battle, but onely to impede each others passage, and by skirmishing to weaken insensibly each others force: Which wary designe on both sides fell out much to the advantage of the Imperialists, who totally routed a considerable Convoy, under the Conduct of 50 Dragoons, going from *Wertheim* towards the Army with Provisions, and destroy'd several of the *French* Ammunition-ships: insomuch that

Turenne was conſtrained to retire from the *Mayn* to the *Tauber*, very angry at the Biſhop of *Wurtzburgh*, who notwithſtanding the pretended Neutrality, had yet given leave to the Imperialiſts to poſſeſs themſelves of a Bridge, whereby they not onely paſſed the *Mayn*, but took the *French* unawares: Whereupon *Turenne* gave up the whole Juriſdiction of that Biſhop to the rage of his Souldiers, ſo that ſome Villages were plundered and burnt; upon which the Biſhop gave full liberty to his Subjects to fall upon the *French*, of whom many were killed by the Boors, and among the reſt 40 Victuallers at one time.

The Imperial Army having now, by the retiring of *Turenne* to the *Tauber*, a large paſſage open through *Frankenland* to *Lohr* on the *Mayn*, began the firſt of *October* to break up from about *Zallingen* by *Wurtzburgh*, where they had for a while reſted; upon which the *French*, being uncertain whither this march might tend, put themſelves into a poſture of giving Battle: But finding the ſame day General *Spork* with 6000 Imperialiſts drew out of *Lohr* over the *Mayn* directly towards *Hanaw*; thereupon *Turenne*, being afraid of *Aſſchaffenburgh*, drew up himſelf preſently beyond the *Tauber*, till he came under *Wertheim*, and ſent the Earl of *Guiche* with 4000 Horſe, and 2000 *Fantaſſins* to *Aſſchaffenburgh*, for the better defending that place. Of the Van of the Imperialiſts 60 Troopers lay the 4th cloſe under *Frank-fort*, 400 Dragoons having over-maſtered and aſſured themſelves of the Bridge at *Gelenhauſen*, while other 40 of them brake down the Bridge of *Lamboy* by *Hanaw*. The ſame day came the Earl of *Hohenlo*, Commiſſary-General of the Emperour's Army, into that City, declaring that the whole Army was upon their march, and that excepting onely ſome Regiments left in *Frankenland*, they were paſs'd over the *Mayn* on two Ship-bridges on the 3d and 4th neer to *Lohr*; the foremoſt of which Army, being 2000 Horſe, ſhewed themſelves the 8 *ditto* about *Hanaw*; General *Montecuculi* then taking up his head-Quarters at *Gelenhauſen*, an Imperial City lying on the *Knitz*; and on the 10 *ditto* came the Marquiſs *de Grana* with 60 Troopers to *Frankfort*, where he beſpoke of the Magiſtrates all neceſſary Proviſions for the approaching Army. Whereupon the main Body of the whole Army the 15 encamped about *Frank-fort*, and that night a party of the Imperialiſts under the Marquiſs of *Baden*, with four pieces of Ordnance and two Morter-pieces, came before the free Imperial City of *Fridberg*, of which the *French* had left a ſmall Gariſon in poſſeſſion; but after a ſmall reſiſtance, they within ſurrender'd up both the City and Caſtle; moſt of the Souldiers being *Dutch*, who afterwards liſted themſelves in the ſervice of the Emperour.

On the 29 the Emperour ordered a Bridge over the *Mayn* a little below *Frank-fort*, over which ſome Troops marched the next day; but finding the *French* gone already from the *Mayn* to *Darmſtadt*, and holding their march up the *Berg-ſtraet*, they came back again over the ſame Bridge with a reſolution to follow that way after them; whereupon the Army broke up from about *Frank-fort*, and held their march toward *Rinkaw* below *Mentz*, the Earl *Montecuculi* taking up his head-Quarter the 21 *ditto* at *Wisbaden*, riding the 23 *ditto* with the Marquiſs of *Baden* to *Mentz*, there to confer with that Biſhop; and the day following he began to lay a Bridge over the *Rhine* below the City, while the *French* on the other ſide, having already ſent away their Bridge which they had laid over the *Rhine* at *Andernach* to *Bon*, diſperſed the men, who lay there fortified for preſerving it, into ſeveral Quarters. The Emperour's Forces which were left in *Frankenland*, on the 25 of *October* part of them paſs'd by *Mentz* in 14 Ships, becauſe that paſſage by Water, ſince *Turenne* was now withdrawn from the *Mayn*, was wholly ſecure, carrying along with them 22 Proviſion-ſhips down the *Rhine* as far as *Coblents*; and the next day the whole Army begun to march out of *Rinkaw*, the Bridge over the *Rhine*, which was then as good as ready, being ordered on the 27 to be taken away again; for the Artillery and the Foot-ſouldiers were ſent away by Water lower down the *Rhine*, while the horſe took their way through *Weſterwald* towards *Andernach*; where upon the 31 both Horſe and Foot rejoyning, to the number of 15000, after they had there and at *Lintz* left a ſufficient force to ſecure thoſe Gariſons, they fell down lower to joyn with the Troops that were marching up under the Prince of *Orange*; which occaſioned ſo great a diſturbance at *Bon*, that all people that could, fled from thence in a hurry to *Colen*.

Marſhal *de Turenne* at the ſame time, having ſent the Earl of *Guiche* to *Aſſchaffenburgh*, and reſolving to plant himſelf by the *Tauber*, croſſed that River, and encamped all along upon the ſame from *Biſhopheim* to *Wertheim*. But when he underſtood that the Imperialiſts were paſs'd the *Mayn* by *Lohr*, and perceived their nimble march through the Wood *Speeſhart* to the *Wetteraw* and *Frank-fort*, he ſoon left the *Tauber*, and drew all along the *Mayn* to *Aſſchaffenburgh*, being all the while in continual expectation of a conſiderable recruit. To which purpoſe Monſieur *de Vaubrun* was upon his march towards *Phillipsburgh*; and Sieur *de* St. *Clar* lay at *Spire* with ſome Cavalry, to the end they might march together through the *Palatinate* to the *Mayn*: But they being oppoſed, *Turenne*, finding himſelf too weak to oppoſe the Imperialiſts, or to hinder their march; and ſeeing that they were now already ſo far advanced towards the *Rhine*, that it was impoſſible to ſtop them; but that on the contrary, they had cut off

his

his Paſs below, ſhut up the *Mayn* and *Rhine*, and by that means had deprived him of free paſſage for Proviſions, did on the 20 of *October* break up from the *Mayn*, quitting all that he had there in poſſeſſion; and not daring to truſt the Biſhop of *Mentz* (though he pretended to be neutral) any more than the Biſhop of *Wurtsburgh*, he thought it not convenient to draw down through his Territories to the Dioceſs of *Trier*, or *Lorrain*, but was neceſſitated to march up the *Berg-ſtraet* toward the *Palatinate*, where the 22 he paſſed with his Army over the *Necker* on a Bridge laid at *Laudenburgh* between *Heidelburgh* and *Manheim*, taking his march to *Philipsburgh*, where he paſſed over the *Rhine*; and being ſtrengthned with ſome Troops of Sieur *de Vaubrun*, being then in all about 26000 ſtrong, without making any ſtay there, he drew forth again along the *Rhine*, and the 27 marched forward by the Walls of *Spire*, taking his way toward *Neuſtadt*, having ſadly ſpoiled and harraſſed the whole *Nether Palatinate* in his march.

This being now the ſtate of Affairs, while the Imperialiſts in a full body were marching downwards, his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, after he had joyn'd with ſome *Spaniſh* horſe and foot by *Herenthals*, with an Army conſiſting of 11000 Horſe, and 14000 Foot, and a proportionable Train of Artillery, broke up on the 16 of *October*, leading his men through *Eyndhove* and the *Meyery* of the *Boſch* to *Venlo*, where a Bridge was laid over the *Maes*, over which his Highneſs paſſed the 22 and 23 of the ſame Moneth; and taking his way to the Province of *Gulick*, upon the 24 had his head-Quarters at *Dhalem* and *Kaarkirkin*; from whence on the 25 his Highneſs came to *Caſter*, ſome of the Van-guard of his Army having taken in the ſmall City *Bedburg*, and in part plundered it; where, after that, the Spaniſh kept their Quarters. Another part of the Army alſo ſhew'd it ſelf upon the 26 cloſe under *Nuys*, which gave the *French* no ſmall occaſion to fear that that might well be the place aimed at. However they drew up higher, and the Van-guard ſhewed themſelves before *Colen*, while his Highneſs taking up his Head-Quarter the 27 in the Abby of *Browiller* two miles from *Colen*, ſtrangely alarm'd the whole Dioceſs.

And indeed this march, as it had terrified the Dioceſs, no leſs diſtracted all the *French* in thoſe parts, and that in ſuch a manner, that they began in earneſt to think how they might beſt make oppoſition againſt it.

The Duke of *Luxemburgh*, being uncertain where the blow would light, for ſome time kept his Forces in Arms; and in the end of *September* ſent out of the Province of *Utrecht* upwards a body of Horſe, amongſt which were alſo ſome of *Colen*'s and *Munſter*'s men, of which on the 7 of *October* 5000 paſſed through *Nimmegen* upon the Heath: and aſſoon as he obſerved that the Army of the State was ready to march, he himſelf alſo rouzed up for the ſecurity of the *Netherland*-Conqueſts; and having, by Muſter on the 11, found that the Gariſon of *Utrecht* was above 7000 men; and by another Muſter on the 16, that the Gariſon of *Amersfort* conſiſted of 8 Troops of Horſe, and 5 Battalions of Foot, he gave order to the Horſe that lay quartered there, as alſo at *Barnevelt*, *Zeyſt*, and other Villages in the Province, that upon the firſt ſigne they ſhould march to *Arnheim*. To which purpoſe, having taken notice that his Highneſs was drawn up the 16th, he cauſed certain Guns to be fired on the 17 from the Steeple at *Utrecht*; and after he had given the Signal, he departed the next morning with many Officers, and moſt of the whole Cavalry of the Province, to *Arnheim*; and from thence on to *Nimmegen*, bringing his Army forthwith upon the Heath to defend the confines of that Country: However he drew the ſame back again under the Cannon of *Nimmegen*, ſo ſoon as his Highneſs advanced towards the *Maes*, at which time ſeveral of his Troops, ſent out upon diſcovery, were beaten by the *Duteh*; after which the Duke himſelf, when his Highneſs had paſſed the *Maes*, and had croſſed quite through *Gulick-land* above *Colen*, turned back again to *Utrecht*; for that then the greateſt danger which he feared was over. Yet had he firſt ſent ſome Troops of Horſe and Dragoons out of *Bommel*, *Thiel*, *Nimmegen*, the *Grave*, and *Arnheim*, higher up to *Rhineberg*; and had cauſed all about *Nimmegen* for two miles round to be waſted and burnt, to the end they might be the more ſecure in caſe of any irruption that way: and having ſo done, he returned again to *Utrecht* on the 29.

The Prince of *Condé* himſelf was alſo much alarm'd at this march; who thereupon, leaving the reſt of his Army encamped by *Pont d'Eſperies*, took along with him 5 or 6000 Horſe, and putting a conſiderable recruit of ſome hundreds of Wagons into *Charleroy* and *Maeſtricht*, made haſte to joyn with another body that was upon its march from the Lower Countries to obſerve the motion of the Prince of *Orange*, and to give him all poſſible diſturbance. With this deſigne upon the 24 of *October* the Prince of *Orange* lodged in the Abbey of *Cambron*; from whence the next day he advanced towards *Charleroy*, and having paſſed by *Leuſe*, *Cheures*, *Lens*, *Havre*, and St. *Denis*, in regard that he was at that time terribly diſcompoſed by the Gout, he himſelf returned back to *Tournay*, giving order to Marſhal *Humieres* to march on with thoſe Troops the ſame way he had appointed. According to which Commands the Marſhal ſet forward, and arrived ſafe at *Maeſtricht* the 31 without any interruption from the *Spaniards*,

who

who had really deſigned it: But though he brought the Convoy ſafe to the Town, yet he came too late to do his Highneſs any prejudice. *October* the 4 the Earl of *Dona*, after a long and tedious ſickneſs, died at the *Hague* of the Wounds which he received in the defence of *Maeſtricht*.

On the 17 of *October*, about 4000 men, Horſe and Foot, under Don *de Valaſco*, were drawn from St. *Omer* into *Boulonnois*; but they were oppoſed by the *Burgh de Guines*. The Prince of *Vaudemont* alſo with 1000 Horſe, ventured under the very Walls of *Aeth*, from whence he brought with him ſome Priſoners, after he had put all the Country round about under Contribution, ſome places which had made any oppoſition being plundered and burnt. Following theſe Examples, Don *Francisco d' Agurto* with 600 Horſe, marched from *Camerick* to the Walls of St. *Quintin*, where he likewiſe brought all the Country under Contribution. Another Body of full 2000 men, hovering about *Waert* and *Reuſel*, plundered ſeveral Villages there, together with ſome part of the Gariſon of *Cortrick*, and the whole *Burgh* of *Thourois*. The Knight *Fourilles* alſo with a ſtrong Brigade of Horſe, roved as far as under the Walls of *Bergen*, where he cauſed the Bar to be hacked in pieces, and attacqued the uttermoſt Watch; but the Cannon firing upon him, he was forced to retire with ſome diſadvantage to himſelf.

Thus while both Parties ſtrove for Contribution, acts of Hoſtility were frequently committed: For on the 31 of *October*, a party of 60 men being drawn out of *Valencienne* to aſſault a Caſtle called *Warleyn*, upon the River *Eſcarp*, they took it by a Stratagem; which the Prince of *Condé* no ſooner underſtood, but he came four days after before it with above 3000 men: And queſtionleſs the *Spaniard* was as loath to quit it, as he deſirous to regain it; for they within made ſuch a ſtout defence, that between 2 and 300 *French* fell dead before it, though at laſt, being wearied out by the continued Aſſaults of the Enemy, they ſurrendered themſelves upon good and Souldier-like Conditions. The Prince of *Condé* having put a hundred men in the Caſtle, and cauſed the *Spaniſh* to be convoyed to *Valencienne*, departed again to *Dorwick*, and from thence to *Ryſſel*, where he was met by the Marſhal *de Bellefonds*, who was ſent from *Paris* on the 7 of *November* to eaſe the Prince for that time, and to take upon him the Command of the Forces in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, whilſt the Marquiſs *d' Humieres* was ſent for the ſame intent into the *Holland*-Conqueſts, in regard that the Prince himſelf was expected at Court, where, with his Son the Duke *d' Enguien*, he arrived upon the 16th of the ſame Moneth.

Leaving the Prince of *Condé* at *Paris*, let us return to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*; who on the laſt of *October* drew forth from *Brevil* by *Bon* towards *Lintz*, intending there to joyn with the Imperialiſts; but on the ſecond of *November* he met with ſome oppoſition in his way from thoſe of *Rhinebach*, where the Citizens, ſtrengthned with ſome Souldiers and Country-people, made a ſmart reſiſtance. They from within ſhot two of his Captains dead. His Highneſs commanded two Regiments of Dragoons to ſtorm the place; which they did, and carried it; putting all to the Sword that they found in Arms, to the number (as 'twas ſaid) of two or three hundred. The Lord *Valconbergh*, who had led on the Aſſailants, and was ſlightly wounded in the Onſet, was by his Highneſs appointed Governour, with order to fortifie the place as much as it was poſſible.

Whilſt his Highneſs was removing this little Remora, ſome of the foremoſt of the Emperour's Troops came the 3d of *November* to *Duys*, right over againſt *Colen*, very early in the Morning: At firſt the Citizens chain'd up the Paſſages, and plaid very fiercely with their Great Guns upon the Imperialiſts, withal ringing their Alarm-bell, which gave notice to Colonel *Schadé*, who lay not far off with a Troop of Horſe, to come to their aſſiſtance: but at length, the Colonel, having loſt the beſt part of his men with his Colours, and being himſelf mortally wounded, was over-maſtered by the Imperialiſts; who no ſooner had it in their poſſeſſion, but they carefully fortifi'd it, as being moſt advantageouſly ſituated to command the *Rhine* before *Colen*.

As for his Highneſs, after he had taken *Rhinebach*, he advanced on the ſame 3d of *November* with his own men in the Van over the *Ar-ſtream* by *Lyntz*, being followed by the *Spaniſh* Scout-maſter-General Monſieur *de Louvigny* with the Cavalry, and the Earl *Aſſentar* with the *Spaniſh* Infantry, and joyned between *Lyntz* and *Andernach* with a part of the Emperour's Leaguer: While Prince *Pio* and the Earl of *Starenburgh* landed the ſame day near *Bon* with the Forces under their Command, which had filled 86 Ships, though the main Body lay yet encamped about *Coblentz*; where, after ſome Ceremonies had paſſed between the Generals, the conjoyned force of the Allies drew from thence, and upon the fourth ſate down before the City of *Bon*, the Reſidence of the Elector of *Colen*; his Highneſs taking his quarter below the City towards *Colen*, in the Cloiſter *Graen-rindorf*; the Earl *Montecuculi* above the City, in that of *Holy Croſs*; and the Earl *Aſſentar* in the middle at *Keſſenig*. They within, being reſolved to defend themſelves, upon the 5 ſet on fire the fair Cloiſter *Dietkirchen*, and other

ſtately

ſtately buildings, which they apprehended might prove advantageous to the Enemy: For beſides the hope which they had of Relief, they had a good Fortification, a Magazine of all ſorts of Proviſions, and a Gariſon of above 2000 men, commanded by a *French* Brigadier *Revilon*, who was held to be a vigilant Souldier; whoſe Deputy-Governour, on the Biſhop's behalf, was then Major-General *Laensburgh*, to whom the Earl *Montecuculi* at his firſt coming ſent a Trumpeter, deſiring to ſend out the *French* Gariſon and take in the Emperour's: But the Earl received for Anſwer from *Laensburgh*, that the Prince-Elector his Maſter had commanded him to keep the *French* Gariſon which he had with him for the defence of the City, whom he was bound to obey.

So ſoon as the Confederates had ſurrounded the City, notwithſtanding the violent ſhooting of the Defendants from within, they preſently began to open their Trenches, and ſoon after that to caſt up their Batteries; Baron *Schellart* commanding in his Highneſs's Approaches till the 8th, by which time they were advanced within 50 paces of the City-wall, the Earl being then releaſed by his Highneſs's Regiment of Guards under *Coningſmark*. True it is that the beleaguer'd made a Salley on the 7th, but to little purpoſe, or rather to their own loſs; which nevertheleſs nothing diſcouraged them, in regard of the great hopes they had to be relieved by *Turenne* and *Luxemburgh*, though neither of both appear'd; onely the Marſhal *d' Humieres* ſeemed willing to do ſomething: And therefore on the firſt of this Moneth he marched through *Maeſtricht*; on the ſecond he got to *Wyler* and *Eych*, keeping himſelf on both ſides the *Guel*, whither he was further followed by 2000 Horſe from the parts near *Maeſtricht*: on the third he advanced to *Gulick*; from whence he ſent an expreſs to the Duke of *Chaulnes* to *Colen*, giving him notice of his march, and of his intention ſo ſoon as he ſhould be reinforced by the Duke of *Luxemburgh*'s Troops, to endeavour to remove the Enemy from *Bon*. The Troops which he expected were ſent him under the Command of the Earl of *Choyſeul*; and ſo he came with 9 or 10000 Horſe on the 6th to *Berchem*; where the Duke of *Chaulnes* ſufficiently underſtanding that his coming with ſo ſmall a force was to no purpoſe in reference to raiſing the Siege, he onely on the 8th ſent to the City Monſieur *de Silveſtre*, with 100 Horſemen, and eight Officers, who giving themſelves out for *Lorrainers*, coming to relieve the Guard, had the good hap without any hindrance to get into the City; but 150 more, being upon the ſame adventure, and intending to follow the former, were diſcovered, and all killed or taken Priſoners. The Marſhal *d' Humieres* being thus diſappointed, and finding he could effect nothing againſt the Imperial Leaguer, preſently turned off to *Nuytz*, from whence he ſent back the Troops under his own immediate command to *Maeſtricht*, and went in perſon with the three Squadrons ſent him under the Conduct of the Earl of *Choyſeul*, towards the *Holland*-conqueſts, where he was ordered to Command as General in the place of the Duke of *Luxemburgh*.

Bon thus abandoned by the *French*, the Beſiegers ſate down: For upon the 8th of *November*, the Batteries being ready, they began firſt at ſix a clock in the Evening with their great Cannon to play upon the City; and the next day to caſt their Granadoes into it, which they continued to do with great fury; and all the while they made ſuch haſte with their Approaches, that on the 10th his Highneſs was advanced within a few paces, and the Imperialiſts cloſe up to the City-wall; where the Cannon of the City lying high, did them little or no harm; ſo that on the 11th they were all over on the ſide of the Wall. In the Evening alſo the Ravelin before the Gate of *Colen* was ſtormed and taken by his Highneſs; and in purſuance of that advantage, all things were made ready for a general Storm the night following: To which end the Imperialiſts had two Mines in a readineſs on the dry ſide; but the Beleaguered having got intelligence thereof, and being quite out of hopes of any Relief, on the 12th in the morning beat a Parley, ſoon after capitulated, and that very evening at one Gate let in the Emperour's Forces, according to the Agreement made between the Confederates. A ſurrender not ſo ſuddenly expected; for the City had been plaid upon not above four, or rather three days, that is to ſay, the ninth, tenth, and eleventh of *November*. In this Siege ſeveral of the *French* were ſlain; yet as many of the Confederates, who loſt upon their attacque of the Ravelin between 3 and 400 men, moſt *Hollanders* and *Spaniards*; among whom were the Earl *Coningſmark*, the young Earl of *Schellart*, Lieutenant-colonel *Kielmaning*, and other Officers of note. The 13 in the morning the Gariſon marched out with three Field-pieces and their Baggage, and were convoy'd by 400 Horſe to *Nuytz*. They were no ſooner marched out, but the Imperial Gariſon enter'd, finding in the City, beſides 80 metal Pieces, a fair Artillery, a great quantity of Ammunition, Victuals in abundance, and all ſorts of Apparel.

On the 14th came thither the Marquiſs of *Grana*, who took up his Quarters in the Lodgings of the Biſhop of *Straſburgh*, and diligently took care for the reparation of the Fortifications. In order whereunto, he forthwith repaired the Bridge over the *Rhine*, and fortified it on the other ſide of the River, to the end the Imperialiſts might in that place always

have

have a free paſſage to and fro: And for the better ſecuring thereof, he cauſed the Fortifications of *Siburgh*, which had been demoliſhed by the Duke of *Newburgh*, to be made up again. By which means the Emperour's Forces kept ſure footing on that ſide of the *Rhine* for their ſervice upon all occaſions.

Bon thus taken, his Highneſs, having drawn up his Army in Battalia in ſight of the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries at *Colen*, broke up the next day, and drew downwards, together with ſome of the Emperour's Horſe, under-General *Spork*, quartering that night near *Colen*; having in the day-time ſent away a ſmall party to take in the Caſtle of *Brevil*, which ſurrender'd it ſelf without any reſiſtance, and received an Imperial Gariſon.

Much about the ſame time another party of the Imperialiſts iſſu'd out of *Bon*, and privately embarquing in two Ships, fell at unawares early in the Morning on the Elector's *Gritzbridge* of *Bon*, being then an Out-lier, provided with Guns, before *Colen*, which they likewiſe took and brought away to the Gariſon. In the mean time a good part of the Emperour's Army, having repaſſed the Bridge, as his Highneſs upon this ſide, ſo did they alſo on the other ſide, march all along by the *Rhine*; which ſtrangely alarm'd the Cities on the other ſide: but in regard the deſigne of the Imperialiſts was onely to ſecure the upper part of that Dioceſs, the *Germans* retreated back to *Bon*, and his Highneſs alſo drew from the *Rhine* down to the *Maes*, quartering the 17th at *Brouiller*. The next day the Imperialiſts drew before *Lechnitz*, and the Prince begirt *Kerpen*. *Lechnitz* having but a little before been reinforced with an addition of 200 *French*, reſolved at firſt to defend it ſelf; but before the Evening, a breach being made in the Walls of the Caſtle, the Gariſon ſurrender'd at diſcretion, as they of *Kerpen* alſo did to his Highneſs the next day. Both which Caſtles being furniſh'd with Gariſons, the Armies purſued their march to *Duuren*; and having alſo taken that, enlarged their Quarters, and refreſhed for ſome days in *Gulickland*. And after that on the laſt of *November* the Imperialiſts returned again to the Dioceſs of *Colen*; and the *Spaniſh*, with his Highneſs, to *Roermond* upon the *Maes*, which there they both repaſſed.

So ſoon as his Highneſs in the firſt beginning of this expedition had paſſed the *Maes* at *Venlo*, and that the Duke of *Luxemburgh* was returned from *Nimmegen* to *Utrecht*, men begun clearly enough to perceive what would be the effects of this march: for the *French* from that hour began to make preparations for leaving thoſe places which afterwards they forſook in the *Netherlands*: The intercourſe between *Turenne* and *Luxemburgh* being thereby cut off, and they forced to retreat with a conſiderable Army out of the *Low-countries*.

But now to return to Marſhal *de Turenne*, whom we left in the *Newſtadt* on the *Haart*, we finde that he, having ſpoiled moſt part of the *Palatinate*, on the ſecond of *November* broke up with his Army towards *Keiſerlauter*, advancing thence to *Creutſnach*, where he made havock for eight days, and upon the 12th ſuddenly broke up again, leaving behinde him his Train of Artillery, and paſſing over the *Nob* along the *Hunſruck* to the Biſhoprick of *Trier*, purpoſed to have given a further viſit to the Imperialiſts: but receiving intelligence by the way of the ſtate of Affairs about *Bon*, and that the Duke of *Lorrain* lay encamped upon the *Moſel*, he retreated back again; and to controle the free march of the Imperialiſts along the *Rhine*, he took poſſeſſion of the *Muyſentoorn*, and lodging a Gariſon in it, threatned alſo to paſs over the *Rhine* into *Rhynkow*, thereby wholly to ſhut up that paſſage: But the Country people in the Fort *Ehrenfels*, that lay right over againſt the *Muyſentoorn* (or *Mice-tower*) hinder'd him in that deſigne: So that *Turenne*, obſerving that the poſſeſſion of the Mice-tower could do but little hurt to them that marched by, quitted the Tower again. However, in deſpite of the Elector of *Mentz*, he made himſelf Maſter of *Binge*, and ſuffered his Army to ravage through the whole Biſhoprick. But then finding that Army melted exceedingly away, he began to think of drawing into Winter-quarters, which he reſolved to take up all along the *Moſel*. To this purpoſe he again quitted *Binge*, and on the 22 of *November* ſent away about 4 or 5000 men, Horſe and Foot, with ſome pieces of Cannon, under the Chevalier *du Pleſſis-Praſlin* to *Bern*-caſtle on the *Moſel*; to the end, that being Maſter of that place, he might there quarter and ſecure himſelf. But that party taking notice that the Gariſon there was newly reinforced with 1000 men, durſt not attempt it; onely they gave the Marſhal intelligence thereof, who then lay with his Troops diſperſed in the Dukedom of *Zimmeren*. Being therefore thus diſappointed, he ſent ſome part of his Forces to *Trier*, and marching with the reſt to *Lorrain*, whither the Earl *Vignory* Governour of *Trier* had ſecured him a Paſſage, by poſſeſſing of *Zaarburk* with a *French* Gariſon. So ſoon as he came thither, he quartered his Souldiers all along the *Saar*, and himſelf in the beginning of *December* went to *Paris*, having with his whole Army which he brought out of *Weſtphalia*, and which had ſo many times been reinforced with new Succours, effected nothing all the whole Summer.

But now to return again to the *Low-Countries*, great was the change of Affairs there, while the *French* quit all their conquered Towns and Provinces, almoſt with the ſame haſte that they had over-run them. They begun with *Woerden*, which though the laſt of the Cities they had

had taken, had the good hap to be the first that was relinquished: For that City being not to be kept without a numerous Garison, and their further marching into the Land being now stopp'd, they made preparation to draw out of it by packing up their Baggage, their Spoil and Ammunition; withal ruining in part the Fortification, and causing some Bulwarks, Gates, and the Castle to be undermined. They threatned also to plunder the City and set it on fire; but those disasters were bought off for 16000 Gilders, the half in hand, and the other half to be paid at a certain time: Whereupon upon the 4th of *October* they marched out with 12 pieces of Cannon, their Magazine and Baggage, under a good Convoy to *Utrecht*: of which when the *Dutch* had intelligence, Major-General *Fariaux*, with three or four Regiments that quartered thereabouts, was commanded to possess himself of that Town. The Fortifications were found to be less endamaged than they were thought to have been: besides that there was a Mine which was fortunately discovered before it went off; so that in a short time the City was brought again into a good posture of defence.

Harderwyck was also quitted: on the fourth of *November* the Garison departed to *Arnheim*.

Bommel was the next that was quitted, though it cost them money: for the Inhabitants were forced to give the Garison 36000 Gilders to prevent the burning of their Houses; one half whereof the *French* having received in hand, took some Hostages with them for the rest; and on the 14 of *November*, marched out at noon; and the Earl of *Horne* taking possession again for the *Dutch* at three in the Afternoon.

Crevecœur, in it self a considerable Fort, yet in regard the *French* were forced to leave *Bommel*, not being well to be defended, must therefore also be forsaken; but the Garison being way-laid by the *Dutch* at *Empel*, were many of them cut off in their march to *Grave*.

Utrecht was in the next place to be freed; but *Stoupa* the Governour demanded 200000 Rixdollars to prevent plundering and firing; which though it were a sum that the Citizens declared themselves very unable to pay, yet they were forced to raise the one half to be presently pay'd, and to deliver up Hostages, which were sent away to *Arnheim*, for the other; which being done, upon the 22 of *November* the Governour delivered up the Keys of the City to the Magistrates, who were there present, taking his leave in very civil terms, and wishing them all health and prosperity. Immediately thereupon the Gates of the City were shut, the Citizens had their Arms, which had been taken from them, put into their hands again, and all manner of joyfulness was expressed for the deliverance.

As in the Morning the *French* Garison was drawn out, so in the Afternoon at five a clock Major-General *Fariaux* entred with three Regiments. He carried with him not onely Power, but private Orders; by vertue of which he presently discharged the Citizens from the Watch, and ordered the Guards of the City distinctly by himself; wherein he was not onely countenanced by Count *Horn*, but by the Deputies of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Friesland*, and *Groeningen*, till time and leisure should restore the disordered Government of the City. *Amersfoort*, *Wyck*, *Rheenen*, and *Wageneage* were also quitted at the same time.

Elburgh likewise, a little City on the Southern-Sea, being not now tenable while the *Velow* stood open, the Garison there prepared themselves for a departure. However they bargained first with the Citizens to give them 12000 Gilders, for redeeming their City from firing; which being pay'd, they marched out on the 2d of *December*.

Steenwyck, not held by the *French*, but by the Bishop of *Munster*'s Forces, was in like manner forsaken by the Enemy.

Meppel also, an open Market-town, the next day after the leaving of *Steenwyck*, was abandoned also by the *Munsterians*, after they had first squeez'd a sum of Money from the Inhabitants, by the same method of threatning to plunder and burn.

Campen had long beheld the *French* preparations to leave that City. For indeed the Bishop of *Munster* pressed hard to have that place delivered into his possession, the better to secure his Conquests in the *Yssel*: but it was denied him, in regard the *French* hoped a better market from the Citizens themselves, of whom they demanded the sum of 100000 Gilders, to save them from burning: Nor could they get off for less than 80000 Gilders, to be paid at three payments. Which being agreed to, they packed up their Baggage, loaded their Cannon and Ammunition, and sending all their other Train to *Arnheim*, on the 25 of *December* the whole Garison marched out without committing any insolence, through the good Conduct of the Marquis *de Magalotti*.

Lastly, *Hattem*, now not able to hold out any longer, upon the quitting of *Campen*, was also forsaken, after that the Garison had squeez'd out of the disabled Citizens what Redemption-money they could get, and the Souldiers had in some places broken down the Walls.

The *French*, having thus drawn so many of their Forces out of their Conquests, it was sufficiently apparent that they drew their Army together, not so much to countermine the designes of the Confederates, as to secure *France* it self against all Invasions on that side next

the *Dutch*, pouling their march to that purpose out of the *Netherlands* toward their own Country. For the hindrance whereof, as much as lay in his power, and as much as could be, to cut them off in their passage, Count *Waldeck*, having some while before gathered together in the *Langestraet* a body of 10 or 12000 men, with a proportionable Train, his Excellency himself with some other Officers, on the 19 of *November* departed from the *Hague* thither; and from thence on the 26 broke up with the Army, designing to joyn with the *Spanish* Forces which the Earl of *Monterey* had drawn together, consisting of 110 Troops of Horse, and 20 of Dragoons, with the *Spanish* Regiments of Infantry, commanded by the Duke *de Montalto*, *Agiery*, *d'Espinosa*, *Waregnie*, and *Westerlo*; two other Regiments, and that of the Prince of *Vaudemont*, together with eight Companies of the Earl of *Beaumont*: All which Forces his Excellency, the Count of *Monterey*, after he had held conference with his Highness in his return, upon the 8th of *December*, and with Count *Waldeck* at *Herentals*, ordered forthwith to march to *Deist*. From whence, taking the Field himself, attended by most of the Nobility of the Land, with an extraordinary Equipage, upon the 13th he marched to *Erpe*; and the night following quartered in the Abbey of *Perck* by *Leuven*, where on the 16th he held a Council of War with the Earl of *Waldeck*, who led the Van with 6000 Horse under the Earl of *Nassau*, and was followed by 8000 Foot, bending his march to *Tienen*, the appointed Rendezvouz, where the Earl of *Monterey* also arrived upon the 17th. Nor was his Highness the Prince of *Orange* long behinde, who upon the 17th brought along with him to the same place, seven pieces of Cannon, and three Regiments of Foot more. And thus both Armies being conjoyned, according as the designe was laid, they took their march towards the adjacent parts to *Luyck*; so to hinder the Enemy, should he endeavour to pass through *Maestricht* to *Charleroy*.

On the other side, the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, having drawn together all the Forces which the *Netherland*-Conquests could spare, and rendezvouzed them near to *Rhineberg*, broke up from thence in the beginning of *December* with 18 or 19000 men, marching in four Brigades on the 3d of the same Moneth by *Meurs*, and so farther along the *Rhine* to *Nuyts* and higher up, pretending as if his intention had been to break through the Dioceses of *Colen* in despight of the Imperialists into the Bishoprick of *Trier*. But the Duke *de Bournonville* observing his motion, speedily drew together the best part of his Forces, as well those that lay on this side, as even of them also beyond the *Rhine*, and set himself in posture to prevent the Enemy from passing that way: Which when *Luxemburg* took notice of, he presently marched from the *Rhine* through *Gulickland* to the *Roer*, and on the 8th passed by *Linnig*, enlarging his Quarters all over *Hertogenrade*, *Geelkerk*, *Vubach*, and so within two or three miles of *Maestricht*; where having for some days encamped himself, on the 12 he advanced as far as *Valkenburgh*, almost under the Walls of *Maestricht*: But seeing little likelihood of his getting through *Maestricht* to *Charleroy* while the conjoyned Armies lay in his way, and having by that time consumed all thereabouts, he broke up from thence on the 19th, marching along the *Maes* to *Luyck* and higher, thinking to turn home that way through the *Ardennes*. Of which when the Confederated Armies had intelligence, with all speed they drew by *Namen* over the *Maes*, to shut up that passage also. However, the *French* met with another misfortune; for assoon as their Van-guard was drawn over the *Black-water*, the Bridge fell down, which hindered the rest of their Army from following; so that the foremost Companies, finding the *Spaniard* to be at hand, after some slight Skirmishes, were drawn back again, and the *French* Army was enforced to lie encamped for some days upon the *Black-water*. Nor was the Duke less narrowly watched by the Imperialists, who, lest he should break through *Stanelo* and *Luxemburgh* into *Trier* and *Lorrain*, presently advanced into the Land of *Limberg* with 5000 Horse, and a good body of their Infantry, to cut them off from that Pass. And being in a short time increased to 12000 strong, they quartered all along from *Aix* wholly to *Lutzenburgh*: So that at length the *French*, toward the end of *December*, were necessitated to retire altogether under *Maestricht*, finding themselves there secure enough against all Encounters.

But these were not the onely reasons that moved the Duke of *Luxemburgh* to draw his Army so close under *Maestricht*: For the Confederates, having duely weighed the retreat of the *French* back again over the *Black-water*, returned with all speed on this side the *Maes*, leaving onely the Prince of *Vaudemont* on the other side, to the end that if the Duke should endeavour to pass that way to *Sedan*, he might joyn with the Imperialists in opposition to the Enemy: In the mean time the Confederates fell down beneath *Luyck*, and finding that the *French* lay still encamped upon the *Black-water*, began to think of laying a Bridge over the *Maes*, there to open themselves a passage to fall upon the Enemy: Which the Duke perceiving, and unwilling to tarry their coming, thought it most convenient to retire under the shelter of a fortified Town. In pursuit of whom, the *Spaniards* with some *Dutch* Troops, spread themselves upon the great Causey, while his Highness encamped himself about *Hasselt*

and

and *Bilſen* in the way to *Charleroy*. At length the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, not being able to ſubſiſt where he lay any longer with his Army, began to divide it, ſending one part thereof into *Maeſtricht*, another part into *Maſeyk*, and the reſt back to the *Rhine*. Thereupon the Confederates, tired out with marching to and fro, began to think of parting likewiſe, and of returning homewards.

To which purpoſe the Earl of *Monterey* upon the 4th of *January*, 1674. took leave of his Highneſs, and returned to *Bruſſels*, while the Prince and Count *Waldeck* returned to the *Hague*; dividing their Troops and Regiments into their ſeveral Winter-quarters.

The news of the ſtopping the march of the Duke cauſed ſuch an alteration in the *French* Court, that there was nothing then thought upon but how to free the Duke of *Luxemburgh*. The King at firſt was reſolved himſelf to have undertaken the Enterprize; but at length he was perſwaded that the Affair ſhould be managed by the Prince of *Condé* as Generaliſſimo, and Marſhal *Turenne* as General. All the Forces near the Court received order to march to *Charleroy*; thoſe who lay quartered on the *Saar*, thoſe in *Trier* and *Lorrain*, thoſe even in *Alſatia*, were order'd to be on the 15th of *January* at the ſame place, as being appointed the general Rendezvouz.

To this end *Bellefonds* had brought together ſome thouſands of Horſe, and the Prince of *Condé* was departed from *Paris*; all the Commanded Troops were every where in motion: At what time the King received intelligence that the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Armies were ſeparated, and gone to their reſpective Quarters. Upon which all the preparations alſo of the *French* ceaſed again, and the Prince of *Condé* turned back to *Paris*. Yet for all that, *Luxemburgh* would not ſtir with his men, which upon the 10th of *January* had paſſed the *Maes* at *Maeſtricht*, till that Monſieur *Schomberg* was come to him with 4000 Horſe more from *Charleroy*. Then leaving the Infantry, all too much wearied out, in *Maeſtricht*, and other Cities in the Country of *Luyck*, on the 15 he ſet out from *Gemblours* without any Carts or Baggage-wagons, which were moſt of them ſold, broken, or loſt, by their turning here and there; and the ſame day, together with Marſhal *Schomberg*, arrived at *Charleroy*. From whence they both together proſecuted their Journey to *Paris*; which was the concluſion of the Dukes Field-expedition for that Year.

Anno 1674.

But to ſhew that the *French* could not long lie idle, they began again the next year very early: For the King having long endeavoured to bring *Burgundy* under a Neutrality, to the end he might ſpare an Army from thence, and avoid the fear of Invaſion from that ſide; yet not being able to obtain his deſires, he therefore reſolves to try whether he could make himſelf Maſter thereof by a ſudden Attempt. To which end, even in the midſt of *January*, the Troops under the Duke of *Navailles* begun to draw out of the Dukedom of *Burgundy* into the *Franche Comte*, with orders to begin with the City of *Gray* at unawares. To which intent, being about 9 or 10000 ſtrong, on the 23 of *January* the ſaid Duke paſſed along the Borders; but being interrupted by the high Waters, on the 12th of *February* he marched up again by the way of *Auxone* with his whole Artillery, being ordered to receive by the way a reinforcement of 3 or 4000 men, which being joyned with him under *Coningsmark* as Field-marſhal, he paſſed the Rivers *Sone* and *Oignon*, where the Sieur *de la Fueille* had been by him left for ſecuring the paſſage. In his way to *Gray* on the 14 he took in the Caſtle of *Peſme*; from whence the Gariſon, conſiſting of 400 *Italians*, retired to *Luxemburgh*. He alſo took the Caſtle *Mornais*, with ſome other places upon the *Oignon*. On the 24 of *February* he ſate down before *Gray* it ſelf; from whence the Gariſon within, under Colonel *Maſſiette*, at his firſt coming, ſallied out courageouſly upon him; in which encounters many of the *French* fell, and the Duke himſelf had his Periwig ſhot from his Head: But the Beleaguerers powerfully advancing with their Approaches and their Great Guns, upon the 28th the Gariſon capitulated, and ſurrendered up the City with all the Proviſion, being very conſiderable, which was in it. The Souldiers marched out with white Sticks to *Luxemburgh*, onely 400 *Switzers*, who were within, were ſent with their Weapons home. The Duke having for ſome time refreſhed his Troops, left the Sieur *de la Fueille* for Governour, and marched with moſt of his Troops out of the *Franche Comte* directly to *Dijon*. Upon which enterprize the *Switzers*, much alarm'd, preſently ſent Deputies on both ſides, to bring the ſaid Earldom under a neutrality; whereto the *French* by reaſon of their ſucceſs ſhewed themſelves then not ſo inclinable as before.

At the ſame an occaſion of another nature put the *French* upon another Winter-expedition: For the Duke of *Simmeren* being dead at *Kruytſnach* without Heirs, his Eſtate and Goods fell to the Palſgrave of *Heydelberg*; in oppoſition to whom the Biſhop of *Mentz* pretended that the Caſtle and Bailywick of *Boeckelheim* belonged to his Biſhoprick. Upon this they diſputed ſo long on both ſides, that in a while it came from the Pen to the Sword: but at laſt the prudence of other Princes brought the caſe either to be try'd by the Judicature of the Imperial Chamber of Juſtice, or otherwiſe to the arbitration of the Emperour himſelf. This caſe having ſomewhat overſway'd the Prince Elector Palatine towards the Emperour's ſide, the King of *France* taking from hence an occaſion of jealouſie, and being troubled likewiſe about *Philipsburgh*, upon a pretence of an intercepted Treaty between the Prince Elector of *Heydelberg* and his Imperial Majeſty, drew his Forces together out of *Alſatia* under the Marquiſs *de Vaubrun*, and out of *Lorrain* under the Marquiſs *de Rochfort*. *Vaubrun* and *Rochfort* were no ſooner joyned, but immediately they came before *Germerſheim*, which place they took without much oppoſition, and then quartered their Troops round about in the Towns and Villages of the Prince Elector: which Invaſion ſo ſorely alarm'd that Prince, that he beſought the Emperour's aſſiſtance, and openly declared himſelf an Enemy to the *French*. Upon which the Troops of *Saxony*, who lay quartered in the *Wetteraw*, and another party of the Imperialiſts from the *Moſel* in the *Palatinate*, which in all made up a body of about 12 or 1400 men, were drawn together for his defence; between whom and the *French* out of *Landaw* on the 23 of *March* there happened a ſmart encounter, wherein, if *Caprara*'s own Letter may be believed, there fell above 200 of the *French* ſlain upon the place, and about fourſcore were taken Priſoners; whereupon the *French*, demoliſhing their new Fortifications of *Germerſheim*, not onely quitted that place, but *Landaw* alſo.

Theſe early alarms of the *French*, made the *Dutch* to haſten their warlike Land-preparations; and to the end their Arms might prove the more ſucceſsful, they bethought themſelves that it was high time to take into conſideration the eminent ſervices of the houſe of *Orange*; finding therefore the neceſſity of a Stadtholder for the ſupport of their Commonwealth, upon the 2d of *February* the whole States of *Holland* unanimouſly conferred on the perſon of his Highneſs the Hereditary Stadtholder and Captain-General-ſhip of *Holland*; withal eſtabliſhing and confirming the ſucceſſion thereof upon his lawful Male-deſcendents for ever; together with all the Dignities, Preheminencies, Prerogatives, Rights, and Honours thereto belonging, as any of his Anceſtors had formerly enjoy'd it in the ſupreameſt degree. To which the Provinces of *Zealand*, *Frieſland*, and *Groeningen* immediately alſo gave their conſent.

Much about this time the Citizens of *Utrecht* and *Campen*, having got the remainder of their Money ready, ſent it away to *Arnheim* for the releaſement of their Hoſtages; for from that place the *French* loaded all their booty in ſhips to *Nimmegen*. The Money was paid, and the Hoſtages were faithfuly returned: But it grieved two *Dutch* Seamen to leave ſo much of their Countries wealth behinde them, and to ſee the defence of their native Walls conveyed to forrain Lands to ſtrengthen their Enemy; and therefore they reſolved to retrieve as much as they could either of their Countries Money, or their Countries Money-worth. To which purpoſe, obſcuring themſelves in *Arnheim*, they lay ſtill in expectation of an opportunity; which, as it ſeldom fails the vigilant, was ſoon favourable to them: For it was not long ere they ſpied one of the *French* Veſſels, which had in it 19 Braſs-pieces, four Mortar-pieces, many Bombards, Granado's, and other Inſtruments of War, lying under the Crane empty of men: Into that Veſſel the two Seamen ſilently convey'd themſelves in the night, upon the 8th of *March*, undiſcern'd by the Watch, who, becauſe of the thick Snow, and ſharp Cold, were crept into their Watch-houſe; and cutting the Ropes, returned with the Veſſel ſafe into *Utrecht* before the next morning.

The next day the *French* threatned a moſt ſevere revenge, and demanding in lieu of their loſs the ſum of 40000 Gilders, talked of nothing but burning the *Velaw*, and all the upper part of the Province of *Utrecht*; or at leaſt to levy their ſum by plundering, in caſe of non-payment: but there was ſuch a guard and care over all that ſide of the Country, that their threatnings were of little value. In the mean time the Seamen were highly applauded for ſo valiant an act, well rewarded for it by the State, and further recompenſed by his Highneſs.

This was a particular act; but that which among the *Dutch* gave moſt cauſe of publick joy, was to ſee the *French* preparing, as they had begun, to quit all thoſe other conquered Towns which till then they had held in the *Netherlands*: For no ſooner was the Marſhal *Bellefonds* arrived at *Maeſtricht* with a Convoy of a thouſand Horſe, and fallen downwards to convoy the remaining Gariſons upwards, but the Gariſon of *Zutphen* immediately began to prepare for a removal: In order to which, upon intimation given, the Townſmen agreed with the Marquiſs *Montauban* their Governour for a reaſonable Contribution. And more than

that,

that, becauſe it was reported that the Biſhop of *Munſter* expected the poſſeſſion of the Town when the Marquiſs was gone, he left with the Burgers Arms for 600 men to defend themſelves. After this was done, having ſent away his Artillery, Ammunition, and Victuals by Water to *Nimmegen* and *Grave*, upon the 30th he drew out at night and marched to *Arnheim*.

At *Arnheim* the *French* went forward with their Fortifications till the 7th of *April*; at what time when the States perceived that Veſſels were come to carry away the Governour's Baggage and Houſholdſtuff, they agreed with the Intendant to pay 170000 Gilders for the City and the *Veluw*. Which being agreed to, and Hoſtages given, upon the 10th the *French* took the Guns from the Walls, and having ſhipp'd all their Ammunition, Victuals, and Artillery in two days time, upon the 12th they marched quite away, delivering the Keys to the Chief Magiſtrates without the Town.

Not long after, *Cuylenburgh*, *Beuren*, and *Thiel* were quitted upon the ſame, though leſſer terms; the Town-walls and Fortifications of the latter being in part demoliſhed. And thus when they had carried away all they intended out of the Towns upon the *Rhine*, and *Waal*, the Gariſon of St. *Andries* was alſo forſaken, the Scons *Voorn* being firſt thrown down and utterly ruined.

All this while *Nimmegen* was the place for all their Stores and Plunder; and it was thought they would have made that place the ſeat of the *Netherland* War; for there they were ſtill buſie about the Fortifications of the City, keeping above 3000 men daily at work: But on the 19th of *April* the Governour received Orders to leave that Town likewiſe. Immediately thereupon they ſhipp'd all the Great Guns that were planted upon the Walls, emptied their Magazines, and upon the firſt of *May*, after they had agreed for the ſum of 82000 Rixdollars, they cleared the Town by nine of the Clock in the Morning, and very civilly delivered back the Keys to the Magiſtrates.

All theſe Gariſons being rendezvouz'd near *Nuyts*, were muſtered there by Marſhal *Bellefonds*, and found to be 3000 Horſe, and 25000 Foot effective, with the *Colen*-Troops. From thence, thus muſter'd, with a great Train and ſeveral Guns, the whole Army marched to *Roer*, leaving the reſt of their Train, with their Magazine of Ammunition and Victuals, in the City of *Grave*, ſecured by a Gariſon of 5000 men under the Command of Count *Chamilly*.

At the ſame time alſo the *Munſter*-Troops abandoned all their Conqueſts, with whom the *Dutch* had made a particular Agreement: ſo that upon the third of *May* the Biſhop publiſhed at *Swol* a welcome ceſſation of Arms; whereby the *Dutch* were at laſt reſtored to their former liberty, and freed from the Enemy.

But now the time began to approach that the Armies were to take the Field: So that the *Dutch* and their Allies having reſolved to aſſail the Enemy toward their own Frontiers, it was thought convenient to have a Confederate Army in *Flanders*, under his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* as Generaliſſimo, and other Imperial and *Spaniſh* Generals, while the Army of the Empire kept the *Palatinate* on the *Rhine*. Which deſigne of the Confederates not being concealed from the King of *France*, he cauſed his great Council of War to conſult together at *Verſailles*; where it was concluded that the Prince of *Condè* with 25000 men ſhould be ſent into *Flanders*: that Marſhal *Turenne* with another Army ſhould march into the *Palatinate*, after he had firſt joyned with the Forces in *Lorrain* and the *Elſas*: and that the Duke of *Navailles* ſhould take charge of the Affairs of *Burgundy*; the King himſelf reſolving at firſt not to march in perſon that Campagne. And it was computed, that under thoſe three Generals, and in his Gariſons, the King of *France* had no leſs than three hundred thouſand Souldiers.

But while the ſeveral parts of this great Body are moving to their appointed places of Rendezvouz, the *Germans* labour might and main, by the mediation of their five Deputies, to procure a Neutrality for the Province of *Burgundy*: though all the while the *French* went forward with their Fortifications at *Gray*; either becauſe they intended not to accept thereof, or elſe becauſe they thought that *Spain* would not be content therewith. True it is, that on the 24 of *March* the Deputies arrived at *Beſanſſon*; but found little appearance there of any inclination to a Neutrality, the *Spaniards* hoping, by that Succour which they expected, to be Maſters there themſelves. Nevertheleſs they conſented to a Ceſſation of Arms. Thereupon the Deputies, being ſatisfied with the entertainment of the Governour Don *Franciſco Gonzales d'Alvedo*, departed thence for *Auſſone* to confer with the Duke of *Navailles*; who likewiſe conſented to a Ceſſation of Arms for a moneth: yet ſo, that neither of them ſhould in the mean time receive any Succours, but that all things ſhould remain in the ſame poſture they were in: Which being a thing that pleaſed the *Spaniards*, the Deputies departed home again *re infecta*. On the ſame day that the Deputies came to *Beſanſſon*, the Prince of *Vaudemont* arrived there alſo, having with a very ſmall Train, by many by-ways, ventured through

through many dangers and perils, that by his Preſence and Conduct he might provide and ſettle all things which might conduce to the ſecurity and reſtauration of that Province, expecting his Father the Duke of *Lorrain* with a conſiderable Succour from the *Spaniard*. The ſecond day after his arrival, being the firſt of *April*, he took the Field, and forced the *French* to quit *Arbois*, where they loſt ſeveral men, and left two pieces of Ordnance behinde them. The Prince had alſo good ſucceſs in ſeveral other Encounters, eſpecially under *Maiſons*, who totally ruined the Duke of St. *Aignon*'s Regiment of Horſe that kept Gariſon in *Orgelet*; and ſo ordered his affairs, that there was great likelihood, if the expected Succours came, not onely to defend, but clear the whole Province of the *French*: Which *Navailles* apprehending, departed for *Paris* to acquaint the King with the condition of affairs. Who thereupon ſent Orders to *Turenne* to impede the Duke of *Lorrain*'s march into *Burgundy*; reſolving, contrary to his firſt reſolution, to march himſelf in perſon to the conqueſt of that Country. To which purpoſe, having ſent before the Troops of the King's Houſe, and ſome other Forces under the Duke of *Enguien*, the King, the Queen, and the whole Court began their Journey on the 20th of *April*, and lay that night at *Fontainbleau*; thence he ſet forward through *Pont Surgonne*, *Sens*, *Villeneuve Le Roy*, and upon the 22 lay at *Joigny*; where after one days ſtay he went to *Auxerre*, *Stoyers*, and *Montbard*, and on the 15 he arrived at *Le fils Dulict*; from whence the Queen and Dauphine departed for *Dijon* and *Auxone*; the King towards *Gray*, being followed on the 28 by his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, who rode Poſt from *Paris*. On the ſecond of *May* the King arrived at *Gray*; but by reaſon of the Rain and badneſs of the ways, the great Guns could not follow ſo faſt. However, he immediately commanded the Duke of *Enguien* to environ *Beſanſſon*; ſending the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, and the Marquiſs *de Liſtenois* with about 3 or 4000 men, to take in ſeveral other Poſts: Who, after a few days, ſent advice to the King, that they had taken *Pontaliers*, *Chaſtearieux*, and the Caſtles of *Ornan* and *Scey*, and were now ready to environ *Salines*.

By this time the reſt of the King's Artillery being arrived before *Beſanſſon*, the King cauſed three Batteries to be raiſed, having opened his Trenches with two Battalions of the *French* Guards, under the Duke *de la Feüillade*, and Marquiſs *d'Arcy*, the Duke of *Enguien* being there preſent alſo. That night they advanced 200 paces; and on the 7 fired very ſmartly from four Batteries: the Guard being then relieved by two Battalions of the *Lionnois*, under Count *de Lude*, Marquiſs *de Genlis*, and the Chevalier *Nogent*, who advanced with the Approaches both on the right and left ſide. On the 8th, two Battalions of the Foot took their turn in the Approaches under Marquiſs *de Rochfort*, Marquiſs *de Reuil*, and Count *de Chiverny*; which night, notwithſtanding it rained very ſorely, they advanced very much on the right ſide; but not much on the left Line, becauſe of the rockineſs of the ground: whereupon the King commanded them to make their Approaches as well by day as by night; ſo that in ſhort time they advanced as far as the River, and were at Evening relieved by the Regiment of *Cruſſel*, and one Battalion of *Anjou*, conducted by the Earl *de* St. *Geran*, under the Command of Marquiſs *de Fourilles*, and three other Regiments, who preſently got within 150 paces of the Half-moon of the New Town. On the 10 three new Batteries were caſt up, which did great execution; nevertheleſs at two of the clock the Beſieged made a Salley upon the quarters of the Earl of St. *Geran*, wherein many of the *French* were ſlain, and the Earl himſelf mortally wounded: But the Salley taking no farther effect, the next night the King reſolved to paſs the River *D'Our*, and to that purpoſe more powerfully mann'd the Trenches with a double number of Souldiers under the Duke *de la Feüillade*, Chevalier *de Lorrain*, and the Earl of *Marſan*; but the Rain and tempeſtuous Weather for that time prevented them. But upon the 13th two Battalions of the Dauphine's, led by Marquiſs *de Reningen*, entred the right Line, and the Regiment of *Cruſſel* the left; and then, in ſpite of all the great oppoſition that was made, thoſe in the right Line croſſed the River, and lodged themſelves between the River and the Town; while they in the left Line, at the ſame time ſtormed the Half-moon of the New City, and took it, though many of the *French* were ſlain, and ſeveral of their chief Commanders: inſomuch that the King was forced to come to their aſſiſtance with a Battalion of the Guards. The next night they were hindred by the Rain and ſtormy Weather to proceed any further; but on the 15th the Duke *de Feüillade*, *Lorrain*, and *Marſan* entred the Trenches, and were reſolved to have hazarded a Storm that night; when the Townſmen juſt in the nick ſent forth two Deputies to the Army, which were followed by others from the Gariſon in the Morning; who plied their buſineſs ſo well, that the ſame day Articles were agreed upon, whereby it was agreed that the Townſmen ſhould enjoy their Priviledges, that the Nobility ſhould be at liberty to retire to their ſeveral Habitations; but that the Souldiers ſhould remain Priſoners of War till ſuch time that the whole Province ſhould be ſubdued.

The King, upon the taking of *Beſanſſon*, prepared immediately to force the Citadel, wherein the Prince of *Vaudemont* was retreated, and which that Prince alſo moſt courageouſly defen-

defended, till the whole Fortreſs being almoſt battered down about his ears, he was not able to hold it any longer. For that reaſon, upon the 24 of *May* he agreed to a ſurrender, on condition that the Gariſon ſhould march out unarm'd, and that the Prince of *Vaudemont* might have his liberty to go whither he pleaſed.

The King being thus Maſter of the Town and Citadel of *Beſanſſon*, the chiefeſt place for ſtrength in all *Burgundy*, he gave the Government of the Country to the Duke of *Ardas* Captain of his Guards, and ſent the Duke of *Enguien* with ſeveral Troops to his Father, the Prince of *Condé*, into *Flanders*; whither alſo he ſoon ordered the Duke of *Luxemburgh*.

As for the King himſelf, upon the 25 he broke up with his Army from *Beſanſſon*, and on the 27 encamped before *Dole*, whence the Beſieged made many a Salley. The next day after the King ſate down before it, the great Guns were brought; and the ſame Evening were the Trenches opened; though to oppoſe the Souldiers at their work, they in the Town made a brisk Salley, wherein they ſlew many of the *French*; yet the Aſſailants were ſo eager, that on the 4th of *June* they were Maſters of the Counterſcarp, and having lodged themſelves therein, had made all things ready for a general Storm: Whereupon on the 7th the Beſieged were forced to ſurrender upon good Articles: for they obtained that the Gariſon ſhould march out with compleat Arms, and be convoy'd to the Dukedome of *Milan*. So that now there was onely *Salines*, the ſtrong Caſtle of St. *Anne*, whither the Governour of the Province was retreated, and *Toux*, which held out.

Upon the ſurrender of *Dole*, the King ſent for the Dauphine, the Queen, and the whole Court from *Dijon* into the Army, where he gave them a Treat, and let them ſee the marching out of the Gariſon.

As for what remained as yet unconquered, he did not think it worth his while to ſtay: and therefore, committing the charge of that Affair to *Duras* and his other Generals, he departed with his whole Court for *Artois* homeward; and upon the 29th of *June* arrived at St. *Germains*.

While the King was upon his return, Monſieur *de la Feüillade* upon the 13 of *June* opened his Trenches before *Salines*, and on the 19, notwithſtanding the courageous oppoſition of the Beſieged, and the loſs of many men in the ſeveral Salleys that were made, he came very near the Out-works, having taken in the *Barcon* Fort, and the Star, which was the main defence of St. *Andrews*. Which being ſoon after taken, *Salines* it ſelf preſently followed, till at length the whole Province was quite ſubdu'd. An Enterprize that was accompliſhed before the Campagne for the year was really begun, ſo that the King was now become Maſter of all *Burgundy* without making uſe of an Army apart for that work: moſt of the Troops which were employ'd in this Expedition being ſuch as were ſent away either to the Prince of *Condé*, or *Turenne*.

It may be wondered where the Duke of *Lorrain* was all this while; and therefore, to ſhew he was not idle, he, on the firſt motion of the Duke *de Navailles* in the *French* County, had a deſigne to have marched to its relief with a body of 6 or 7000 men, having ſent his Son the Prince of *Vaudemont* before him. In order whereunto, after ſome conference held with the Duke of *Bournonville* General of the Imperial Forces at *Bon*, on the 10th of *April* he arrived with 7 Regiments of Horſe at *Frank-fort*; where being reinforced with the addition of three Imperial Regiments, on the 18 he croſſed the *Mayn*, intending through the *Palatinate*, and Dukedome of *Wyrtenberg*, and ſo to paſs the *Rhine* at *Rhinefield*; but obſerving the motions of Marſhal *Turenne* to diſpute his paſſage, he marched ſlowly through *Briſgow* near to *Baſil*, and on the 10th of *May* arrived at *Rhinefield*; from whence he ſent 2000 Horſe over the *Rhine* to diſcover in what a poſture *Turenne*'s Army lay; which they found ſo ſtrongly poſted, that the Duke of *Lorrain*, ſeeing it would be very difficult for him to break through, and conſidering that the King was upon his march with a great Army towards *Burgundy*, that ſeemed already to be as good as loſt, in the latter end of *May* he retreated back again with all his Forces, to joyn with the Confederates in the *Palatinate*; and accordingly on the firſt of *June* arrived at *Oberkirk* two or three Leagues from *Strasburgh*.

It was not poſſible for the Duke of *Lorrain* to do more, being ſo watched and way-laid as he was: For Marſhal *Turenne*, who on the 5th of *April* departed from *Paris* towards the Army, and arrived on the 8th at *Saverne*, where Monſieur *de Rochfort* lay encamped, immediately departed from thence for *Lorrain*; and having carried away with him thoſe Troops that were there, on the 16th encamped at *Steinbruck* near *Saverne*, four Leagues from *Strasburgh*, his Army daily increaſing with new Forces ſent to him. But upon the Duke of *Lorrain*'s marching towards *Burgundy*, the Marſhal, having received Orders from the King to oppoſe him, drew all his Forces out of *Lorrain* and the *Elſas*, quit and ruined *Seltz*, *Wyſſenburgh*, *Germerſheim*, *Landaw*, and other places in the *Palatinate*; and leaving Monſieur *de Vaubrun* poſted at *Hagenaw*, encamped himſelf from *Saverne* as far as near *Strasburgh*, not knowing but that the

the Duke of *Lorrain* might ſeek to break through that way. But when he ſaw the Duke take his march through *Briſgow* towards *Baſil*, ſo to paſs to *Rhinefield*; he alſo, having left a good Guard at the Paſs and Gate at *Savern*, broke up with ſeven Regiments of Foot, and four of Horſe, and on the 23 of *April* arrived at *Colmar*, from whence he marched towards *Briſack*, ſending the Count *de Royon* with 1000 Horſe beforehand almoſt as far as *Baſil*, to diſcover the Enemy; near to which City he himſelf upon the 8 of *May* arrived, and poſted himſelf to his beſt advantage upon all the Paſſes in the way to *Burgundy*; that ſo he might diſpute the farther advance of the Duke of *Lorrain*.

Both which Armies ſo near, did very much alarm the *Switzers*, eſpecially thoſe of *Baſil*; ſo that, for their own ſecurity, they armed immediately, not daring to truſt two ſuch renowned Captains, lying on both ſides the *Rhine*, either of whom might have attempted whatever they pleaſed. But *Turenne*, ſeeing that at laſt the Duke of *Lorrain* quitted his deſigne, and drew his Army downwards along by the *Rhine*, broke up alſo, and marched downwards on the other ſide of the River; and on the 28 of *May* arrived at *Colmar*, from whence next day he marched by *Schleſtadt* towards *Hagenaw*, that ſo he might gather his Army together near *Strasburgh*.

Nor muſt we omit what was done in other places at the ſame time: For the Prince of *Condé*, being in part recovered of his Gout, departed upon the 30 of *April* from *Chantilly*, in company with the Duke of *Navailles*, (who, inſtead of going into *Burgundy*, was now to be Lieutenant under the Prince in the *Netherlands*) and taking his way by *Peronne*, where he embodied together an Army of about 20000 men, he marched from thence for *Lille*, where he took a review of his Army, and ſo proceeded on in his march, encamping that night round about *Lenſe*; on the 13 at the Abbey of *Cambron*, the 14 at St. *Denis* and *Thionne*, on the 15 near *Pieton*, on the 16 near *Goſſeliers*, *Melle*, and the adjacent places, with an Artillery of 30 pieces of Cannon, and 500 Wagons laden with Ammunition. There his Army was alſo recruited with the Troops which were quartered about *Charleroy*, *Maſſieres*, and *Recroy*, where Monſieur *de Montal* came into the Army, whom the Prince of *Condé* upon the 18th had ſent before him with 3000 Horſe, to joyn with Marſhal *de Bellefonds*; of whom we have this to ſay before we paſs any farther, that *Navagne* croſſed the Marſhal *Bellefonds*, having drawn together all the Forces out of the *Dutch* Conqueſts, and brought them near *Weſel*, cauſed them on the 4th of *May* to paſs the *Rhine* over a Bridge of Boats near *Burick*; and following them the next day himſelf, (accompanied by the Count *de Lorge*, *Magalotti*, *Montaban*, and all the Governours and Commanders of the deſerted places) he encamped that night and the next day round about *Rhineberg*. On the 7th the Army broke up from thence, and the Gariſon marched along with them out of *Rhineberg*, encamping that night over againſt *Keyſerſwaert*; where alſo upon the 8th arrived Count *Van der Lip* with the *Colen* Troops out of *Deventer*, and joyned himſelf to the Army. The next day the Biſhop of *Straſburgh*, from *Keyſerſwaert*, coming in with his Life-guard, the Regiment of *Furſtenburgh*, and the *Saxon* Regiment, the Marſhal marched with ſix pieces of Ordnance and a great Train as far as *Linnigh*, and on the 10th arrived at *Gelekerchen*, where he ſtay'd one day to convey the Baggage and Artillery over the *Roer*. In the Morning by break of day he ſent away ſix Regiments of Horſe, and 500 Foot, moſt of them the *Colen* Troops, under Count *Van der Lip*, Marquiſs *de Bourlemont*, and Monſieur *de* St. *Marie*, with two pieces of Cannon, againſt the Town of *Erkelens*, belonging to the *Spaniard*; wherein was a Gariſon of 200 new-rais'd Souldiers, but not yet diſtributed into Companies; whom the Enemy aſſailed with ſo much fury, that they were forced to capitulate. But while the Gariſon was capitulating, Count *Van der Lip* got in at a Poſt where no body watched, and ſo the Souldiers were made Priſoners of War. In the Town they found good ſtore of Booty and Plunder; though it coſt them above threeſcore of their men.

After they had taken and plundered *Erkelens*, the Army on the 12th of *May* broke up again; and on the 14th came into the Territories of *Valkenburgh* and *Dalen*, near *Maeſtricht*: From thence on the 15th they hurried away to the Caſtle of *Arkantel*, or *Argenteau*, between *Leige* and *Maeſtricht*, wherein there were no more than 40 men, who preſently ſurrendered.

Argenteau being taken, *Bellefonds* immediately marched againſt *Navaigne*, cauſing ſeveral great Guns and Mortar-pieces to be ſent for into the Army from *Maeſtricht*; and loſing no time, preſently opened his Trenches; for it behoved him to make all poſſible haſte, becauſe of the approach of the Imperialiſts under the Duke of *Bournonville*, who were now near the *Roer*; and for that the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Army were come as far as *Bruſſels*. By the 29 of *May* he had raiſed two Batteries, from whence he fired 15 Cannons and one Mortar-piece againſt the Caſtle. However, the Gariſon, conſiſting of 300 men, defended themſelves ſtoutly; but could not hinder the advance of the *French* Approaches: So that at length the Beſieged, being extreamly tir'd out, and almoſt half of them wounded, upon the 22 ſurrendered

dered themſelves upon honourable Conditions; which they made the more haſte to do, becauſe they ſaw the Prince of *Condè* coming on with his whole Army towards them. The Gariſon marched out with two pieces of Cannon, their compleat Arms and Baggage, and were convoy'd to *Leuven*. The *French* were a long time in ſuſpence about theſe two Fortreſſes, whether they ſhould demoliſh or preſerve them; having ſent for the Country-people ſeveral times, ſometimes to raſe them, and then again to fortifie them: But at laſt, about the middle of *June*, they made ſeveral Mines in *Argenteau*, ſome whereof, by reaſon of the rockineſs of the place, had little ſucceſs; but did ſo much miſchief all together, that they ſufficiently ruined the Fortifications of the Caſtle.

On the other ſide, they were very buſie in fortifying *Navagne*, that ſo from thence they might the more ſecurely make their incurſions into the Land. But afterwards conſidering that, if taken, it might be prejudicial to *Maeſtricht*, and that it would ſtop all their Communication with *Liege*, they reſolved to demoliſh it; which in the Moneths of *June* and *July* they did, with great labour and charge; and ſo turned that ſtately Fortification into a deſolate heap, by that means alſo ſparing many men which would have been required for the defence of thoſe Works. Which work of deſtruction being over, the Marſhal croſſed the *Maes* at *Maeſtricht*, and joyned his Forces with the Prince's Army: to whom we muſt now return, after ſo neceſſary a digreſſion.

For now the whole Army on that ſide of the *Maes* being joyned with the Prince of *Condè*, who on the 26 of *May* lay encamped near *Tongeren*, he removed from thence the next day towards *Namen*: and in regard his Army was very powerful, conſiſting of 40 or 50000 men; and for that he made a halt between *Pennees* and *Gembloers*, it was ſhrewly ſuſpected that he had ſome deſigne againſt that place. But the Imperialiſts on the other ſide of the *Maes* being on their march, he broke up from thence, and made his head-Quarters at *Hauteim* above *Nivelle*, quartering his Army in the Country between the *Sambre* and the *Maes*. On the 7th of *June* he broke up again towards *Biricky* and *Bergben* in *Henebouven*, which place he made ſignes as if he intended to beſiege, having ſent for ſeveral Guns from *Liſle*, prepared a great number of Faggots, and beſet all the Paſſes round about with his Souldiers; beſides that he had ſent at that time 2000 Horſe to the Borders of *Flanders*, to diſcover the condition and poſture of the *Spaniards*, who were to come to *Waterloo*. But the Prince, obſerving the march of the Imperialiſts under General *de Souches* upwards towards *Ardernes* beyond *Namen*, and of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* towards the Territory of *Liege*, ſuddenly broke up upon the 13 of *July* from *Brugelet*, and paſſed by *Bragen* towards *Charleroy*, fixing his Head-quarters in the Abby of *Boneſperance* near the *Sambre*; from whence he ſent 7 or 8000 men to reinforce *Rocroy* and other Gariſons with requiſite ſupplies; and the Duke of *Luxemburgh* towards *Philipville*, to obſerve the motion of the Imperialiſts, who had already made themſelves Maſters of *Dinant*: but being informed that the Confederates had reſolved to joyn their Forces near *Nanney*, and that the Imperialiſts were to that end marched again downwards along the *Maes* from *Dinant*, the Prince of *Condè* drew all his Foces together, and encamped upon the ſide of the River *Pieton*, where he not onely had the defence of that River and the *Sambre*, but entrenched his Army alſo, that ſo he might be fortified againſt any aſſault of the Enemy, whoſe motions he onely deſigned to obſerve. For which reaſon, and for their better ſubſiſtence, he ſpread his Forces as far as *Andernach* and *Liaeme*, *Fonteyne l'Eveſque*, and *Philipville* it ſelf; in ſuch a poſture however, that every moment he could bring them all together again, having for that purpoſe laid ſix Bridges over the *Sambre*. And there he lay till the approach of the Confederates made him quit his Entrenchment.

On the Imperialiſts ſide their preparations were very great at *Vienna*, where Count *de Souches*, being arrived from his Government of *Waradyn*, received his Orders to depart immediately through *Bohemia* downward; and upon the 25 of *May* paſſed with a Convoy alone through *Frank-fort* towards *Coblents*; and after a ſhort conference there with the Prince-Elector of *Trier*, arrived at *Bon* the 27, from whence he departed to the Imperial Army, which lay now encamped between *Limburgh* and *Verviers*; and which the Duke *de Bournonville* had conducted ſo far, having upon the gathering together of the *French* out of the *Netherland*-conqueſts near *Rhineberg*, drawn all the Imperial Troops together on both ſides of the *Rhine*, either to attend or hinder the motions of the *French*. To which intent but upon the 15 of *May* the Duke diſcamped, and upon the 18 took a general review of his men at *Leckuigh*; from whence, being about 20000 ſtrong, he marched through the Province of *Cornelis Munſter* towards *Limburgh*. General *Spork* with 6000 Horſe led the Van; the reſt, with an Artillery of 26 Guns, paſſing through *Straſburgh*, on the 21 encamped at *Capelle*; where the *Harans* Regiment of Curaſſiers, and ſeveral other Troops joyn'd themſelves to the Army, which, as is ſaid before, then lying encamped between *Limburgh* and *Verviers*, on the 30 began to march thence towards *Deuren* beyond *Aix la Chappelle*, and on the firſt of

May the Duke took up his Head-quarters at *Eſwilar*, and the next day at *Legerendorp*. The ſame day Count *de Souches* arrived in the Army with 4000 men; whereupon the day following a great Council of War was held at *Dueren*, wherein the Command of the Army was ſurrender'd to the Count; after which the Army was muſtered, and remained ſome days near about *Dueren*.

The Duke of *Bournonville*, having thus ſurrendered the Command of the Imperial Army in the *Netherlands*, being to ſerve himſelf in the *Palatinate* as General of the Imperial Troops there, marched forthwith from *Dueren* to *Bon* with two Regiments of Horſe, and one of Foot; and on the 8th of *June* began his march thence, attended by Count *Portia*, with 3000 Horſe, 600 Foot, and ſix pieces of Ordnance, towards *Frank-fort*, intending to croſs the *Mayn*, and ſo to joyn with the Forces of the Duke of *Lorrain* in the *Palatinate*.

Now while the Duke of *Bournonville* was on his march thither, General *Caprara* had directions to joyn beforehand his and the Auxiliary-Troops of *Saxon* with thoſe under the Duke of *Lorrain*. In order whereunto, the Prince-Elector of *Heydelburgh*, and Count *Caprara*, met on the 25th of *May* at *Heydelburgh*, where it was concluded that the ſaid Troops ſhould paſs the *Necker* at *Ladenburgh*: and accordingly, toward the latter end of *May*, being followed by the *German Creyts*, they arrived at *Wiſſelogh* near *Philipsburgh*; which Town they fortified, to prevent thoſe of *Philipsburgh* from making any Incurſions that way. From thence they marched towards *Strasburgh*; not far from which City, upon the 4th of *June*, they joyned with the Duke of *Lorrain*; from whence, upon the 10th of *June* they diſlodged again, and ſo marched along the *Rhine* towards the *Palatinate*, to joyn there the Troops of the Elector of *Heydelburgh*, and the Duke of *Bournonville*'s Army, intending to paſs the *Rhine* at *Manheim*.

Before this March began, and the conjuncture was made with *Lorrain*, as long as the Duke lay encamped on this ſide of *Strasburgh*, *Turenne* on the other ſide was very buſie in fortifying *Saverne*; having, for the better conveniency of Foraging, every way enlarged his Quarters. But when he obſerved that the Duke of *Lorrain* began to move, he alſo diſlodged from his Quarters at *Hoogfeld* the 12th of *June*, leaving the Marquiſs *de Vaubrun* at a Poſt at *Hagenaw*; and ſo with 6000 Horſe, and 5000 Foot, marched with all ſpeed to *Philipsburgh*; where on the 14th he arrived, without his Infantry, who were not able to march ſo faſt; inſtead of which, he commanded the Field-marſhal *Colbert* to aſſiſt him with ſeveral Battalions of Infantry, and ſome Dragoons of the flying Army that lay there: With which reinforcement, and ſome Pieces of Ordnance, he immediately croſſed the *Rhine* over a Bridge of Boats, and the ſame day took in a little Town called *Broeckhauſen*, wherein there lay a ſmall Gariſon of 150 men. On the 15 early in the Morning, he departed towards *Wiſſelogh*, where the Imperialiſts had placed a conſiderable Gariſon, and therefore thought it not convenient to attacque the ſame; but, obſerving that the Imperialiſts bent their march towards *Heylbron*, he reſolved to follow them; and ſo on the 16 marched toward *Zintzheim*, where he was informed that the Imperialiſts had poſted themſelves very advantageouſly on a little Hill behinde a ſmall River, which was not to be paſſed, but onely over one Bridge at *Zintzheim*, guarded by the Imperialiſts with a ſmall Body of their Infantry, and one Troop of Dragoons, believing that the Enemy had been onely a ſmall party ſent out of *Philipsburgh*. But *Turenne* with all his Forces, conſiſting of 12000 men, fell on ſo vigorouſly upon the Paſs, and Poſt, that after a valiant oppoſition which laſted for two hours, and the loſs of many men on both ſides, he made himſelf Maſter of both. Whereupon *Turenne* paſſed over there with all his Army and Artillery, and coming to the other ſide of the Town, ſet his men in Battle-array; which he could not compleatly do, before three Squadrons of the Imperialiſts came down againſt him, and fell ſo furiouſly on his Van-guard, that they were forced to retreat; but then the reſt of the *French* Cavalry coming up, the Imperialiſts were again conſtrained to retire; but immediately rallying themſelves, beat the *French* under the very Walls of *Zintzheim*; at what time *Turenne* again brought up his Cavalry, formed his Left-wing, and planted his Artillery; but, whilſt he was thus buſily employ'd, the Imperialiſts the third time fell ſo fiercely upon him, that they put the *French* to flight, and had ſeized their Cannon; when the *French* Infantry ſeaſonably advancing, diſcharged ſo thick and deſperately amongſt the Victors, that the Imperialiſts were compelled to give ground; by which means the *French* not onely recovered their Guns, but their Cavalry had alſo time to rally, and ſo formed their Left-wing again. However, the Imperialiſts gave them a fourth charge, and fought it out ſtoutly, ſo that many fell on both ſides. The Duke of *Lorrain* and Count *Caprara* were ſeveral times in the midſt of the *French*, and *Turenne* himſelf was above half an hour engaged with the Imperial Curaſſiers; but at laſt the *French* kept the Field, and the Imperialiſts, after they had eight ſeveral times brought up their men againſt the *French*, were at laſt forced to retreat to *Heylbron*; being in number far inferiour to the *French*, and having no Cannon; ſo that *Turenne*'s Victory conſiſted onely in keeping the Field; for his loſs of men was as great as that of the Imperialiſts; which, if the ſhare was equal, amounted to 2000, in regard the whole was computed

to

to be about 4000; amongſt whom were ſeveral Officers of Name and Repute on both ſides.

After this Battle *Turenne* encamped at *Hegingerſtadt*, and ſtaid there all the next day, putting the whole Nether-*Palatinate* under Contribution. On the 19th of *June* he marched to *Philipsburgh*, and the next day paſſed below *Germersheim*, there to joyn with the Troops which he had left in the *Elſas* near *Saverne*; while the Imperialiſts, paſſing the *Necker* at *Heylbron*, marched by *Heydelburgh* towards *Ladenburgh*, there to meet the Forces under the Duke of *Bournonville*. As for Marſhal *Turenne*, he having reinforced his Army, not onely with the Troops that quartered in the *Elſas* and parts adjoyning, but alſo with two Regiments of Foot, and ſix of Horſe, out of the *Franche Comte*, and three of Foot from *Trier*, on the 30th of *June* repaſſed the *Rhine* at *Philipsburgh*, marching towards the *Necker*, with 22 pieces of Cannon, and near 20000 men: Thereupon the Confederates (ſcarce 12000, lying encamped at *Lambertſtein* by *Worms*) diſlodged, and marched towards the *Necker* to defend that Paſs; but finding the River, by reaſon of the low Water, in many places fordable, and themſelves not numerous enough to withſtand ſo great an Army, they reſolved to leave their Artillery and moſt of the Infantry at *Heydelburgh*, and to retreat with their Cavalry. In order whereunto, having firſt ſent away their Baggage, on the 14 of *July* they ſet forward towards *Frank-fort* by the way of *Bergſtraet*, intending there to ſtay for the Succours which they expected. In which march the Rear of the *Germans*, Commanded by Colonel *Dunewald*, was aſſailed not far from *Darmſtadt*, by 1500 of the *French*, who were ſo warmly entertained, that 200 of them were ſlain upon the place, 150 wounded, and ſeveral taken Priſoners, with little or no loſs to the *Germans*, who returned in a ſhort time victorious to the Body of the Army. On the 6th of *July* the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Bournonville* arrived at *Frank-fort*, where, after they had cauſed their Troops to paſs the *Mayn*, they encamped them between *Frank-fort* and *Hoegeſt*. *Turenne* in the mean time, being now Maſter of *Ladenburgh*, lay uncontrould beſide the *Necker*, pretending one while as if he would beſiege *Heydelburgh*, another time as if he would environ *Manheim*, or *Frankendale*. But his main buſineſs being to ſpoil the Country round about, and to labour by all perſwaſion and means to bring off the Prince-Elector of *Heydelburgh* from ſiding with the Imperial party; on the 22 of *July* he retreated again towards *Philipsburgh*, and at laſt repaſſed the *Rhine* at that place: at which time, the Army of the Confederates being recruited by many Auxiliary Bands and Reinforcements, began again to finde him more work.

Having thus far proſecuted the actions of the *French* and *Germans*, we are now to bring the Prince of *Orange* alſo into the Field; who upon the 11 of *May* departed from the *Gravenhague* to *Roſendale*, where the groſs of the *Dutch* Army was drawn together, conſiſting of 8000 Horſe, and 16000 Foot. On the 16th he ſet forward for *Mechelen*, being followed by the whole Army: on the 17th he arrived there, and took up his Head-quarters at *Duſſel*, while the Army quartered in *Mechelen*, and the parts adjacent. From *Duſſel* his Highneſs removed his Quarters to *Zenis*, and lodged his Troops in the Villages between *Mechelen* and *Bruſſels*: In the mean time General *de Souches*, upon the arrival of *Waldeck* and the Marquiſs *de Louvigny*, on the 5 of *June* took up his Head-quarters at *Elſuiler* and *Aldenhove*, the Army being embattel'd to march, the Right-wing through the Territory of *Hertogen-rade*; the Left-wing through the Country of *Cornelius Munſter*; the Body of the Army through the Dominion of *Aix la Chapelle*: In which order the whole Army, on the 21th and 22th came to *Leige*, where they furniſhed themſelves with ſtore of Proviſions, and ſo marched up higher through the *Condroſt* towards *Namen*. At *Chimay* a Bridge was made over the *Ourte* or *Black-water*; over which on the 24 the Van-guard paſſed, and the whole Army the day following: At *Hoy* they made a halt, whilſt Expreſſes were ſent to his Highneſs and his Excellency Count *Waldeck*; whereupon Orders were given for a Conference between the three Generals of the Imperial, *Spaniſh*, and *Dutch* Armies. To which end part of the Imperial Troops croſſed the *Maes*; and upon the 2d of *July* the Prince of *Orange*, Count *de Souches*, and Count *Monterey* met, a Council of War being held in the open Field. After which the Imperialiſts broke down the Bridge again which they had laid over the *Maes*, and marched higher towards *Namen* through *Ardennen*, as if they meant to croſs the *Maes* at *Ginnet*, and ſo to meet the Prince of *Condè* that way. But they returned again without effecting any thing of that nature, and encamped themſelves near *Dinant*: General *de Souches* with his chief Officers and ſeveral Souldiers went into the Town; where he acquainted the Governour and two of the Burgomaſters that the ſervice of his Imperial Majeſty required that the Town and Caſtle ſhould be delivered into his hands: Which the Governour, ſeeing no way to avoid, was forced to yield to; which being done, *de Souches* put a ſtrong Gariſon into both, and then, all along by the ſide of the *Maes*, marched back again towards *Namen*.

On the 28 of *July* the Confederate Army (whereof his Highneſs was owned as Generaliſſimo) began their march towards *Gemblores*, againſt the *French* under the Prince of *Condè*;

who now lay entrenched by the River *Pieton*, which near *Charlemy*, empties it ſelf into the *Sambre*. Count *Monterey* with the *Spaniſh* Forces led the Van-guard, his Highneſs the main Body, and Count *de Souches* the Rear; and the two Armies came ſo near in view of each other, that a Battle was expected.

But while theſe two great Bodies lie facing each other, and that *Turenne* lay encamped at *Philipsburgh*, the *French* Gariſon of *Cronenburgh*, conſiſting moſt of Horſe, being gone out upon ſome deſigne, was ſuddenly ſurprized by the Gariſon of *Keyſer's Lautere*, who had notice of the Enemy's intentions: Thoſe few men who were left behinde were all put to the Sword, and the place ruined: Six Standards, two Kettle-drums, ſixty brave Horſes, and ſeveral Mules richly laden, were made Booty by the Imperialiſts, who loſt but two men in the Attempt.

At the ſame time the Duke of *Holſtein* with a Brigade of Horſe, being ſent to diſcover in what poſture the Prince of *Condé's* Army lay, met with a party of the *French*, with whom he encountered ſo courageouſly, that they were forced to flie, leaving 150 Priſoners behinde them, with good Booty beſides; all which the Duke brought back with him into the Army.

As good fortune had the *Spaniards* of *Charlemont*, who, upon advice that the *French* had prepared at *Rocroy* a Convoy of 400 Wagons, to carry Proviſions to the Prince of *Condé's* Army, way-laid the *French* about a mile from *Rocroy*, under the Conduct of the Marquiſs of St. *Hilaire*. The iſſue whereof was, that the *French* were wholly routed, the Marquiſs himſelf and the Colonel ſlain, and the Proviſion all taken.

But moſt remarkable was the Encounter which happened about *Maubeuge*: From whence the Prince of *Condé*, having a deſigne to break up with his Army, ſent Monſieur *de* St. *Clar* with 500 Horſe to diſcover the poſture of the Enemy, and to do them what miſchief he could: who being upon their march, were met in a narrow way by another party of *French* from *Zulſnay*; who, ſuppoſing them to have been the Enemy, fell upon them, deſperately wounded St. *Clar* himſelf, and totally routed the reſt of his party, knowing no otherwiſe but that it was a party of *Spaniards*.

In *Luxemburgh* alſo happened a conſiderable loſs to a Body of above 300 of the *French*, who thought to have oppoſed the *Spaniards* that were ſent by the Prince of *Chimay* to gather Contribution in the Country: Where, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the *French*, and the aſſiſtance of the *French* Souldiery, the *Spaniards* not onely defeated the Enemy, but alſo burnt the Villages of *Ville Franche*, *Samoury*, *Suſſay*, and others.

Thus the leſſer Bodies ventured every where in queſt of Prey and Plunder, while great Bodies were careful how they hazarded all at a caſt; but lay in expectation of advantages, the Confederates againſt *Condé* below, and the Imperialiſts againſt *Turenne* above.

As for *Turenne*, he continued making havock in the *Palatinate*, where he deſtroyed all things in ſuch a ſad manner, that the Prince Elector made his complaint thereof in *England*. Upon which the King of *France* put forth a certain Declaration on the 13 of *July*, to the end he might ſtill, if poſſible, call back the friendſhip of that Prince. But the Elector remaining ſtedfaſt to the Emperour, notwithſtanding that Declaration, and all the entreaties of *Turenne*, the Marſhal at laſt, on the 26 of *July* quitted *Wynheim*, and *Bergſtraet*, and on the 27 with all his Baggage and Artillery marched over the *Necker*.

All this while the Duke of *Lorrain* and the Duke of *Bournonville* lay upon the *May* at *Harſheim*, waiting there for thoſe ſeveral Troops who were on their march to joyn with them, whither alſo the Marquiſs *Van Bade* was commanded with 5000 *Munſter's* Souldiers, belonging to General *de Souches*. But Marſhal *Turenne*, having paſſed the *Rhine* at *Philipsburgh*, and put Gariſons into *Neuſtadt* and ſome other places of the *Palatinate*, after he had burnt many places thereabout, took up his Head-quarters at *Landau*. This motion of *Turenne* rouſed up the Duke of *Bournonville*, who immediately laid a Bridge over the *Mayn* at *Flertheim*; over which on the 2d of *Auguſt* General *Dunewalt* marched towards *Manheim* with 2000 Horſe and Dragoons, being followed on the 5th by the whole Army of the Confederates, who paſſed forward the ſame way, and took up their Head-quarters at *Heraw* the Great, within the Dominion of *Darmſtadt*, thence deſigning higher towards *Manheim*. In this march a party of *Dunewalt's* Front, conſiſting of one Troop of Horſe, ſome Dragoons, and certain *Croates* of the Duke of *Bournonville*, met with about 500 *French* Horſe and Dragoons, who were come to *Maſten-heimſ-hof* to plunder the Town; but were ſo ſmartly charged by the Baron *de Marſe*, that 100 of the *French* were killed upon the place, 40 taken Priſoners, and the reſt put to flight; leaving behinde them every where Carts, with Proviſions and Booty which they had plundered in the Country.

While thus Marſhal *Turenne* lay poſted at *Landau*, where he had likewiſe fortified himſelf, the Duke of *Bournonville* remained for a while at *Heraw*, expecting ſeveral Auxiliary-Forces; but inſtead of going thence for *Manheim*, he ſuddenly broke up and returned back again,

croſſing

croſſing the *Mayn* on the 18 of *Auguſt* at *Flersheim*, and marched towards *Mentz*; where, after he had ſecured the paſſage over the Bridge, the Marquiſs *de Bade*, with his Horſe, marched firſt over, being followed the next day by the Body of the Army, with all the Baggage and Artillery. This ſo ſuddain march ſeemed to have been occaſioned by the intercepting of a certain Letter, which gave a kinde of intimation that the *French* Gariſon was drawn out of *Triers* in order to joyn with *Turenne*'s Army; which the Duke by this march might eaſily have hindered; but that deſigne was either counterfeit, or elſe by this march prevented. So that upon the arrival of the Prince-Elector of *Heydelburgh* at *Mentz* upon the firſt of *September*, the whole Army broke up the next day, and bent their march towards *Worms*; where they joyned with the Troops of the *Paltz*, *Saxon*, *Franken* from *Frankendale*, and *Manheim*, with 18 pieces of Cannon; and then upon the 5th encamped at *Moderſtadt* near *Manheim*: From whence on the 6th Count *Caprara* with 2000 Horſe was ſent to diſcover the Army of *Turenne*; which he found ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that there was little or no probability of beating up his Quarters: So that the Confederates on the 19 broke up, and croſſed the *Rhine* again by *Spiers*, marching towards *Strasburgh*, that, paſſing that Bridge, they might on that ſide annoy *Turenne*, or at leaſt make themſelves Maſters of the *Elſas*. To which purpoſe the Earl of *Hohenlo* went before to *Strasburgh*, to make all things ready there for a free paſſage over their Bridge towards the *Elſas*. The Imperialiſts were no ſooner got over the *Rhine* again, but Marſhal *Turenne* immediately ſent Monſieur *de Vaubrun* with ſeveral Troops to *Wanzenaw* near *Strasburgh*, and followed him with his whole Army, to hinder the Confederates from paſſing that way. To which end the Marquiſs *de Vaubrun* on the 24 early in the morning, being arrived before the City with 8 pieces of Ordnance, wrote a very civil Letter to the Magiſtracy, to this purpoſe, that they would not grant any paſſage to the Imperialiſts, who that day were arrived at *Kail*, a Village belonging to *Strasburgh*, being the defence of their *Rhine*-bridge; preſſing them withal to maintain their Neutrality, and that then no injury ſhould be done them. However, in the mean time he cauſed his men to advance between the Town and Bridge, who forced the Gariſon out of *Kuyperſaw*, which defended the Bridge on the Town-ſide. Thence they proceeded toward the Toll-ſcons, to make themſelves Maſters of that alſo: which the Magiſtrates hearing of, the Council of Thirteen met, and the whole City being preſently up in Arms, the Magiſtrates ſignified to Marquiſs *de Vaubrun*, that he ſhould deſiſt ſuch manner of procedures, and withdraw from under the reach of their Cannon.

They ſent alſo at the ſame time an Expreſs to the Army of the Confederates, informing them of what paſſed, and withal deſiring ſuccour: Accordingly they were promiſed, that if they could but hold it out till Evening, they ſhould receive ſufficient Supplies: In order to performance, the Imperial General ſent them firſt 1700 men; of whom 300 Dragoons were put into the Tol-ſcons, and 1000 in the Scons *Kaile* on the farther ſide of the Bridge, for the defence thereof; the other 400 being received under the protection of the City-cannon. In the mean time *Turenne* approached with his whole Army, and by Letters deſired that the Toll-ſcons might be delivered to him, and that part of the Bridge might be broken down; promiſing to repair it again afterwards, and to defend the City whilſt ſhe kept her ſelf Neutral. Whereupon the Magiſtracy, being in a ſtreight, becauſe they had not as yet ſufficient ſuccour, without which they were in danger of being forced to bow to a more numerous Enemy, they acquainted the Townſmen with the whole matter, to know their reſolutions; who made anſwer that they were reſolved to entertain the Imperialiſts, and to defend themſelves againſt the *French* to the very utmoſt. With which the Magiſtrates acquainted *Turenne*, deſiring him withal to retreat: Nor could he with all his earneſtneſs obtain any other anſwer from them, but onely this, that if he would not of his own accord withdraw, they would force him to it.

However, during theſe diſputes *Turenne* had made an Entrenchment before the Toll-ſcons, and brought ſeveral Fagots thither with intention to ſtorm the place; when very opportunely the foremoſt of the Imperial Troops approached, to whom 1700 of the Townſmen joyned themſelves to defend the Toll-ſcons; nor was the City wanting to play upon them from the Walls. Thereupon the *French*, ſeeing the Imperialiſts coming up ſo ſtrong, retreated again; and leaving the *Kupperſon*, betook themſelves into *Wantzenaw*; and thus ended the neutrality of *Strasburgh*. For immediately the Imperial Generals *Caprara*, *Holſtein*, *Baryt*, and *Chanvile*, entered the Town; and on the firſt and ſecond of *October* the whole Army of the Confederates marched over the Bridge, while *Turenne* fairly retreated towards the *Saverne*.

The affairs of *Strasburgh* falling out ſo advantageouſly for the Confederates, who by that means alſo got ſuch a commodious Paſs over the *Rhine* to a place of ſo great conſequence for the ſupport of their Army, they ſtaid there for the reſt of the Auxiliary-Forces which were coming towards them, that ſo they might be in the better capacity to drive the Enemy out

of

of the *Elſas*, and all places thereabouts. For firſt the Marquiſs of *Baden* was marching up with the *Munſter*-forces under the Command of General *Souches*: The *Luxemburgh*'s alſo on the firſt of *Auguſt* began to march that way, conſiſting of five Regiments of Horſe, one Regiment of Dragoons, and five Regiments of Foot, each Company having one hundred and twenty men, with an Artillery of 2 Demi-culverins, three Twelve-pounders, four Eight-pounders, 17 Field-pieces, and 62 Wagons of Ammunition; which the firſt night quattered at *Baluagie* in *Ligtenburgh*; and taking their way through the Land of *Heſſen*, under the conduct of the Duke of *Pleun*, who commanded in the quality of Field-marſhal, and Lieutenant-General *Chavet*, on the 25 paſſed the *Mayn*; and ſo with the Artillery and Dragoons marched through *Frank-fort*, while the Cavalry and Infantry drew below the City; and then croſſing firſt the *Mayn* again, and then the *Rhine* near *Mentz*, at length joyned with the reſt.

At the ſame beginning of *Auguſt* the Duke of *Brandenburgh* alſo made ready to march in his own perſon towards the *Palatinate*, with an Army of 12000 men, and a brave Artillery of 26 pieces of Ordnance, which the Field-marſhal *Dorffling* was to command. The general Rendezvouz was appointed at *Halberſtadt*; where, when the Army was all muſtered, they marched forward to *Muydenburgh*; from whence the Elector himſelf marched with his Army through *Turingia* and *Fulda*; and thence taking his march towards the *Palatinate* through *Frankenland*, upon the 27 of *September* he arrived at *Heylbron*, being followed by the remainder of the *Zell* and Nether-*ſaxon*-troops, which were about 3000 ſtrong. On the ſecond of *October* the Duke coming to *Frank-fort*, cauſed his Troops to paſs the *Mayn*, and to advance to the Confederate-forces. But having himſelf received a Letter from the Prince-Palatine, whereby his preſence was deſired at a Conference to be held at *Heylbron*, he haſted thither; where upon the 4th of *October* ſeveral Conſultations were had between himſelf, the Elector of *Heydelburgh*, the Duke of *Zell*, and other Generals, about what was farther needful to be undertaken againſt the Enemy; as alſo to conclude upon what Orders ſhould be obſerved about the conjunction of ſo many ſeveral Troops of different Nations. Which being ended, they immediately began their march towards *Strasburgh*.

But whilſt they were thus in conſultation at *Heylbron*, the *French* and the Imperial Forces fell to action near *Strasburgh*. For on the 2d and 3d of *Auguſt* the Imperialiſts croſſed the *Rhine*; and before they were well ranged in order, *Turenne*, whoſe Army was then 25000 ſtrong, marched againſt them from his Quarters at *Wantzenaw*, and arrived the ſame Evening at four of the Clock upon the little Hill of *Maeſheim*, whence he could diſcover the Army of the Confederates lying about a mile diſtant from him between two ſmall Rivers. Whereupon *Turenne* immediately ſecured the Bridges and Paſſes of both, and the next day early in the Morning paſſed over, and put his men in Battle-array by the ſide of the River *French*, between *Holtzheim* and *Enſeſheim*, and then marched towards a Wood about a mile long, that lay on his right hand, deſigning to have ſecured for himſelf the Village of *Enſeſheim*, of which the Imperialiſts, having embatteled themſelves in as good order as they could, had already got poſſeſſion. Moreover, they had placed their Right-wing on a little Hill upon the right-ſide of the Village, which was full of Hedges and Ditches; and their Left-wing on a Hill on the other ſide of the Village near the aforeſaid Wood: Which *Turenne* judging to be an advantageous place for him, ſent his Cannon with two Regiments of Dragoons of his Right-wing before, to ſecure the ſaid place: Againſt whom the Left-wing of the Imperialiſts, conſiſting of *Lunenburghers* and ſome *Germans*, under the Command of the Duke of *Holſtein*, ſent three Battalions of Foot-ſouldiers to engage the ſaid Dragoons, who were immediately ſeconded by more *French*; and a very ſharp Encounter followed, the *Lunenburghers* alſo being ſeconded by ſeveral *Munſter* and *Lorrain*-Regiments, which laſted from eight a clock in the Morning, till four in the Afternoon; at which time the *French* made the Imperialiſts a little retreat, and took two of their Cannon. In the mean while the Right-wing of the Imperialiſts, that lay amongſt the Hedges and Ditches, ſent out 18 Troops of Horſe againſt the Left-wing of the *French*, who were ſo advantageouſly poſted, that they could not engage them. However, the other part of the Right-wing of the Imperialiſts, conſiſting of 1500 *German*-Curaſſiers, and ſeveral other Troops of Horſe, attacqued ſome other *French* Squadrons, who were beaten off, but rallied again, at what time the Count *de Lorge* coming in to their aſſiſtance, routed the Imperialiſts, ſo that, not without ſome loſs, they were forced to retreat again to their former Poſt; and, ſeeing there was little to be done on that ſide, by reaſon of the inacceſſibleneſs of the place, the Duke *de Bournonville* ſent ſix Squadrons to the aſſiſtance of the Left-wing, to recover their Guns again: But they were ſo tir'd on both ſides, that they remained within Piſtol-ſhot the one of the other, and onely play'd with their Cannon till night parted them: At what time the *French* retreated again over both the Rivers into their former Quarters at *Scheltſheim*, and the Imperialiſts to theirs at *Ilkerk* and *Gravenſtadt*; neither ſide having had any conſiderable advantage one of the other; though of the two the *French* had the leaſt, who, meaning unexpectedly to have

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fallen upon the Imperialists, were forced to return to their Quarters again without effecting what they designed. On both sides the number of slain and wounded men was very considerable: For on the side of the Imperialists most of the *Lunenburgh*-Officers were killed or wounded; and besides them, the Earl of *Grammont*, Envoy from the Court of *Spain*, Sieur *de Pigny*, Colonel *de Berrier Lorrainois*, Monsieur *de Latour*, and others. On the *French* side, the Earl of *Clair*, the Earl of *Saldaigne*, and Sieur *Littleton* Colonel to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Regiment of Horse.

After this Battle the *French* retreated again towards the River *Saverne*, and the Confederates drew together near *Grabestadt*, intending there to stay for the Recruits which were now on their march from *Heylbron* towards *Strasburgh*; being followed by the Duke of *Zell* and his Forces; as also the Prince-Elector Palatine, who on the 17 of *September* marched over the *Rhine* with his: All which Recruits together made a very considerable Army, who used all their endeavours to provoke the Enemy to another Battle. To which end, on the 18 they marched directly towards *Marlebeim*, where *Turenne* had entrenched himself, General *Dorffling* marching before with 5000 Horse to discover the Enemy: But *Turenne*, being in time informed of their designe, broke up his Quarters the night before, and retreated towards *Des Wyler* and *Wilsen* over the River *Saar*; by the side whereof he encamped, and entrenched himself; being there secure enough against any assault of the Enemy: Who follow'd him so close, that they overtook several Wagons and Mules laden with Provisions; and being resolved to lie near his new Quarters, took up theirs near to *Duselheim*, wanting at that time but little of 50000 men. But though these two Armies lay encamped so near the one to the other, the Confederates could not by any perswasions invite *Turenne* to a Field-battle; nor could they well fall upon him within his Entrenchments. However, the Elector of *Heydelburgh*, laying hold upon this occasion, resolved while the *French* lay blocked up, to assail *Wassenheim*, where *Turenne* had put a Garison of 200 men; which after three days Siege, was surrendered up to him at discretion. Within it were taken 120 *French* Dragoons, and several Foot-souldiers; but what was most considerable, a large quantity of good Provisions.

All this while it vexed the Imperialists to lie so numerous, and so near the Enemy, and yet to effect nothing considerable. A great Council of War was therefore held at *Kogersbergh*, where the Imperialists kept their Head-quarters; at which Council were present his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburgh*, as Generalissimo of the whole Army; the Prince-Elector of *Heydelburgh*, the Dukes of *Lunenburgh* and *Zell*, Duke *de Bournonville*, Lieutenant-General *Caprara*, the Marck-Grave *Herman Van Baden*, the Duke of *Holstein Ploen*, the Field-marshal *Dorfflinger*, and Monsieur *Chavet*; for the Duke of *Lorrain* was abroad at that time with some of his Troops. In that Council it was debated whether they might not easily enough pass the River *Saar*, and fall upon the Enemy in his Trenches: But they could not at that time agree about it; some of them judging such an Enterprize too difficult, in regard the *French* lay encamped so advantageously amongst Hedges, Ditches, and Bogs: Whereupon, on the 29 the Council met again, and considering that by reason of the scarcity of Provisions so great an Army could not long subsist in that place, they began to consult how to divide their Army into Winter-quarters, most part of the Upper *Elsas* and *Suntgou* lying open for them as far as *Brisac*.

But while these things were thus in debate, the Duke of *Lorrain*, being marched with a considerable body from the Army towards the Hill of *Vauge*, under pretence of seeking Winter-quarters, was there informed that the Ban and Arrier-ban from *Anjou*, *Languedoc*, *Britaigne*, and *Beauvois*, consisting of about 700 Noble-men, who had every one of them two, three, or four men to wait on them, was on their march towards the Army of *Turenne*, he commanded Monsieur *Mercy* with four Regiments to way-lay them on the other side of the Hill: Nor was it long before he had the good fortune to light upon them in the Village *Menamenil*, not far from *Nancy*; where he could not well master them whilst they stood on their defence; and therefore he caused the Village to be set on fire in several places, and then environ'd it round; by which means very few of the *French* escaped, being either slain or taken Prisoners: So that besides the great number of persons of Quality, the booty of many excellent Horse, a great sum of Money, and other costly Equipage, was vastly considerable, besides the purchase of three or 400 Wagons of Meal. Of the *Lorrainers* side onely Baron *de Mercy* was shot with several Pistol-bullets; and Lieutenant St. *Croix*, two Captains, and about 50 Souldiers slain.

This Victory was seconded by another advantageous Encounter, which fell out between a *French* Convoy marching towards *Turenne's* Army, with the Baggage of the Duke of *Crequi* Commander in general of the *French* Ban and Arrier-ban; which Convoy the Imperialists wholly routed, took part of them Prisoners, and made booty of 11 Mules laden with Money, Plate, and other costly furniture belonging to the said Duke.

All this while the Army of the Confederates remained near *Kogersbergh*, and *Turenne* in his

his Entrenchments at *Sor*. Nor was any thing attempted againſt him, partly by reaſon of the diviſions among their Commanders, and partly becauſe he lay ſo ſtrongly entrenched: But the want of Supplies at laſt, forced *Turenne* out of his Works; ſo that upon the firſt of *November* 13 Regiments of Horſe, who had lain at *Nederwylen*, marched over the Hills of *Lutzelſtein* towards the *Zaar*, whom the greateſt part of the Infantry followed the next day, except ſome Companies who were left in *Saverne* and *Hagenaw* for the ſecurity of thoſe Gariſons: And on the 2d of *November* the Marſhal himſelf, with the Rear-guard, followed the reſt of the Army. In the mean time the Confederates ſent abroad ſeveral Parties into the Upper *Elſas*, who took in moſt places there, and ſo made themſelves Maſters of the Country; more eſpecially after that the *Brandenburghers* had conquered the City and Caſtle of *Thuyn*, being a place of that moment, that it opened the paſſage into *Burgundy* through *Lorrain*: Whereupon the Confederates retir'd to their Winter-quarters; the *Lunenburghers* into the Nether *Elſas*, keeping their Head-quarters at *Zlecſtadt*; the *Brandenburghers* into the Upper *Elſas*, at *Colmar*; the Imperialiſts, at *Suntgow*; and the *Lorrainers* from St. *Hippolite*, along the Vallies as far as *Lorrain*; *Schudenaw*'s Regiment being ſent over the *Rhine* in order to block up *Briſac* in *Briſgow*; while the Prince-Elector Palatine on the 25 of *November* marched with the *Kreyts* Forces towards the *Palatinate* to block up *Philipsburgh*; for that Gariſon continually made Incurſions into his Country, ruining all they could come near: As in particular they did on the 24 of *November*, when 1800 men from *Philipsburgh* with four pieces of Cannon, ſhewed themſelves before *Altszy*; and being denied Contribution, ſet on fire the Cloiſter of St. *Ian*, and three miles off another that ſtood without the Town; burnt ſeveral Villages, plundered the little City of *Franheim*, and carried the Spoil to *Philipsburgh*: Whereupon it was reſolved that the Marquiſs of *Baden*, with the *Kreyts* Troops, ſhould block up that City, thereby to prevent their farther inroads.

But though the Army of the Confederates were thus divided into their Winter-quarters, they made it ſtill their buſineſs to ſecure the *Elſas*. The *Lorrainers* maſtered *Domami* and the Caſtle St. *Lambert*: The Imperialiſts took *Henningen* near *Baſil*; and Prince *Herman Van Baden*, General of the Imperial Artillery, marched with the Forces of *Munſter* againſt *Betfort*; and General *Vertmiller* againſt *Lanſgow*, the two onely places which the *French* ſtill had in *Suntgow*: For the great deſigne was, to ſtop all Supplies from going to *Briſac*, in regard they were informed that the Gariſon was but ſlenderly provided with all ſorts of neceſſaries, and might therefore the more eaſily be forced by a Blockado to ſurrender. On the *Suntgow* ſide lay the Imperialiſts, *Brandenburgh*'s, and *Lunenburgh*'s Forces: On the *Briſgow* ſide, the General *Schuts* of *Friburg*. And for the furthering of this deſigne, the Duke of *Brandenburgh* on the 4th of *December* ſent to *Baſil*, to prevent any jealouſies or fears that might ariſe there, by reaſon of the approach of the Confederate Forces; and to communicate unto them the reaſons of their taking up Arms in the Empire againſt the King of *France*, and to proffer them all good Correſpondency and Neighbourhood; and withal, to diſſwade them, as much as in them lay, from ſuffering the *French* to raiſe any more Forces within their Territories. To all which, the *Switzers* returned a very kinde and friendly anſwer.

While the Confederates were thus labouring in the Upper *Elſas*, the old Duke of *Lorrain* went upon another expedition into his Dutchy: For in the beginning of *December* he marched ſuddenly towards the *Moeſel*, where he took in *Eſtinal*, and *Remiremon*, leaving a good Gariſon in both; and thence, the Country coming in to him, as being all his natural-born Subjects, he marched towards St. *Nicholas* and *Nancy*. To ſecond whom, Count *Caprara* with a Party of the Imperialiſts, and the Duke of *Holſtein* with ſeveral *Brandenburgh*-Troops, advanced toward the Frontiers of *Burgundy*. But *Turenne*, who lay at *Boekenheim* upon the *Saar*, being ſuprized by thoſe ſudden Invaſions, the Siege of *Benfort* and *Lands-Croon*, and the blocking up of *Briſac*, immediately drew all the Force he could together, to ſtop the progreſs both of the one and the other; more eſpecially reſolving, whatever it ſhould coſt, to relieve *Briſac*; upon which General *Schuts* on the *Friburg* ſide began already to play his Bombs and Granadoes, while the Prince of *Hombergh* on the other ſide was advanced within Cannon-ſhot of the City. *Turenne* therefore, aſſoon as he had gotten what Force he poſſible could together, began to move. Upon which the Gariſons of *Eſtinal* and *Remiremont*, not having had time to fortifie themſelves, retreated to the *Elſas*, as did the Duke of *Lorrain* himſelf, ſeeing ſo great a Power approaching.

All this while *Turenne*, with the Army of Marſhal *de Crequi*, that lay before the Gates of St. *Nicholas*, advanced towards *Burgundy*, having ſent before him 300 Horſe and Foot under the Earl of *Bourlemont*, to try if they could get into *Briſac*: But General *Chauvet*, with a Party of *Lunenburghers*, meeting them by the way, put them wholly to the rout. On the 23th Marſhal *Turenne* himſelf broke up from *Remiremont* towards *Burgundy*, and there did ſo beſet all the Paſſes, that the Confederates could finde no entrance into that Country. Thereupon they drew themſelves together alſo near *Altkirchen* to confront *Turenne*, while the Duke of *Bour-*

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ville with the Imperialiſts, *Munſters*, and ſome *Brandenburgh*-Forces, marched towards *Than*, and *Betford*, and quartred themſelves upon the ſide of the River *Tober*; The Duke of *Zell* towards *Markirchen*: The Elector of *Brandenburgh* remained with his Forces near *Colmar*, that on all occaſions he might ſpeedily ſecond the others. But on the approach of *Turenne*, the Imperialiſts retreated from *Bedford* towards *Mulhauſen*, while *Turenne*, being advanced as far as *Betford*, marched forwards with 30 Squadrons towards *Mulhauſen*: and being informed that the Imperialiſts had pitched themſelves in the way thither, lying with a ſmall River before them, with 8 Squadrons at the Foot, and 20 at the Top of an hill, he reſolved to attacque them on both ſides. To which end, on the 29 of *December* he ſent the Earl of *Broglio* on the one ſide with one Squadron, and the Duke of *Orleans*'s Regiment to the other ſide; who charged the 8 Squadrons at the bottom of the Hill, and kept them ſo long in play till the Body of the Army was advanced up to them. Whereupon the Engagement was very fierce on both ſides, without any great advantage any way, ſave that at the laſt the Imperialiſts retreated, leaving ſome Priſoners in the power of the *French*; and that the Imperial General *Caprara* broke his Arm in the Engagement. However, ſome of the *French* they took Priſoners alſo, and amongſt others, Mounſieur *Sanguin*. *Turenne*, the next day, being informed that ſome of their Baggage lay in a Village not far off, guarded by about 800 Souldiers belonging to the Rigiment of *Portia*, ſent a Party of Dragoons, who ſet the Village on fire; but the Caſtle being fortified with a broad and very deep Moat, he ſent ſome of his Infantry with four Pieces of Ordnance, who forced it to ſurrender at diſcretion. The Souldiers were ſent all of them as Priſoners of War to *Betford*; the baggage became a Prey and Booty to the *French*.

Upon this the Imperialiſts continue ſtill their retreat towards *Mulhauſen*, encamping themſelves on the River *Ill*: Thither *Turenne* alſo followed them, ordering the Marqueſs *de Montaubin*, with thoſe Forces under him to croſs the River, and charged ſix Squadrons of the Imperialiſts; who notwithſtanding the great diſadvantage he had, kept them engaged until the reſt of the *French* Forces had croſſed the River likewiſe. Then the diſpute began to grow very hot on both ſides; but the Imperialiſts, not being ſeconded courageouſly enough by the *Munſter*-Forces, were put to flight to their great prejudice, leaving in the hands of the Enemy ſeveral Colours, and two Kettle-drums.

Anno 1675.

THe next day, being the firſt of *January* 1675. *Turenne* marched with his whole Army over the *Ill*, and encamped three dayes at *Mars*, near unto *Mulhauſen*; whereupon the Confederates broke up from blocking up of *Briſac* on the one ſide, and drew their Forces together at *Colmar*; but the Van-guard of the *French*, upon the fifth early in the Morning, ſhewing themſelves early in the outermoſt Watches of the Confederates, they were forced to retreat. Thereupon the Prince-Elector of *Brandenburgh*, with 8 Battalions of Foot, ſeveral Squadrons of Horſe, and ſome Pieces of Ordiannce, marched towards a ſmall River, to hinder the *French* in their paſſage toward *Colmar*: Which *Turenne* obſerving, ſent Monſieur *de Foucault* Lieytenant-General of his Army, and Marſhall *de Mouſley*, with ſix Battalions of his beſt Infantry, ſeveral Squadrons of Horſe, with ſome great Guns, to attaque the Poſt at *Turkheim*, which they carried after a ſmall encounter, and took the whole Gariſon Priſoners, all but 300 Dragoons, who narrowly eſcaped. Nevertheleſs, the Right-wing of the Confederate-Army, being reinforced with the Rigiment of *Brandenburgers* under the Command of *Dorfflinger*, with ſome *Lunenburgh* Forces; they began a fierce encounter with the *French*, wherein many were ſlain on both ſides; but the *French* being relieved by new Succours, got at laſt the upper hand. Whereupon the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who till then had kept his Poſt, aſſoon as he heard the iſſue of this encounter, occaſioned chiefly by the difference amongſt the Officers, the next day early in the Morning he broke up thence; becauſe the *French* having now free paſſage through *Ruffag*, might march beyond *Colmar* and cut off all the Paſſes and Avenues from *Schleſtadt* and *Strasburgh*. Thereupon the Confederates that night ſomething confuſedly broke up from thence, and marched towards *Schleſtadt*, and ſo forward towards *Strasburg*, leaving ſome men and Baggage at *Colmar*, Monſieur *Monclar* however wth two Brigades, was commanded after them to obſerve their motions, while the Earl of *Roy* was ſent againſt *Ruſtack*, which immediately ſurrendered. After which the *French* Army marched directly towards *Colmar*, and of all that the Confederates had left there, made good Booty, taking the remainder of the whole party Priſoners: And inded during this Expedition the *French* took between 2 and 3000 of the Confederates priſoners; though the number of the Slain on each Side differed not much. But the keeping of the Field, and carrying off ſo many Enſigns, did without diſpute yeild the Victory to the *French*, who on the 9 arrived at *Schleſtadt* and took poſſeſſion thereof; whilſt the Confederates were diſputing about the miſcarriages and differences amongſt them. Thereupon the *Munſter*-forces were immediately diſmiſſed, who on the 11th croſſed the *Rhine* near *Straſburgh*, being followed by the reſt of the Confederates, who were to have their Winter-quarters in *Briſgow*, and the Markgrave-ſhip over againſt it. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* took his march towards *Hailborn*, intending thence to march homewards: Only at *Dagſtein* the Imperialiſts left a ſtrong Gariſon, who were well provided of all things needful for their holding out a Siege; and another Body remained in the Scons at *Strasburgh*-Bridge over the *Rhine*, for the defence thereof. Thereupon *Turenne* removed his Head-quarters to *Gemar*; between *Colmar* and *Sebleſtuet*; from whence again, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Proviſions, he ſent part of his Troops into *Lorrain*; and on the 22th of *January* departed himſelf for *Paris*; leaving the ſtrong Fort of *Dagſtein* blocked up by his Forces under Monſieur *Vaubrun*, who had Drawn all the Water from the Town, and followed the Siege ſo cloſe, that on the 28, under the defence of 8 Demi-culverins, planted within Piſtol ſhot of the Town, he ſtormed it valiantly, but was as valiantly repulſed till the next night renewing the ſtorm, he made ſo great a breach, that the beſieged fought with no more defence than if they had been in the open Feild, to the loſs of much Blood on both ſides: and, which was worſe, the Governour himſelf, *Howitz* by name, as he was caſting the Granadoes into the Lower Town, to ſet it on fire, was unfortunately ſlain: not without ſome

ſuſpition that it was done or cauſed to be done by Count *Contarini*, by reaſon of ſome particular jealouſies and envy which he had againſt the Governour. Whereupon the Beſieged fled confuſedly into the Caſtle, againſt which the *French* immediately planted their Guns; which cauſed ſo great a conſternation among the Beſieged, now commanded by Count *Contarini*, that they would no longer hear of defending themſelves any more, but immediately ſurrendred. The Common Souldiers remained Priſoners of War; the Officers had all their liberty, who with eight Baggage-wagons, and the Corps of the Governour, marched out on the 30th towards *Strasburgh*. Where the aforeſaid *Contarini*, having firſt burnt all his Writings, ſhot himſelf through with a Piſtol as he lay in his Bed, and was buried by the Executioner in the place where Criminals are buried. His Servants and other Officers who had ſigned the Articles of Surrender, were ſeized on and carried Priſoners to *Friburgh*.

Thus we have ſeen the proceedings of the Confederates againſt the Enemy in the *Elſas*; where one while we find them wholly Maſters, and in all probability of keeping their Winter-quarters there; but in a ſhort time after, abandoning the whole Countrey to the Enemy, though no way inferior, nay rather exceeding the Enemy in Power. But now leaving thoſe Confederates in their Winter-quarters, and *Turenne* at *Paris* with his Army diſpoſed of, we muſt now to the Army of the Confederates that lay below encamped againſt the Prince of *Conde*.

In the beginning of *Auguſt* the Army of the Confederates was gotten near *Nivelle*, whilſt *Conde* lay entrenched behind the River *Pieton*, which diſchargeth it ſelf into the *Sambre* near *Charleroy*. On the 3d of *Auguſt* his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* had his Head-quarters at *Genival*; Count de *Soucket* near *Oharam*, and Count *Monterey* near *Wavereen*; where they lay encamped for ſome time, in expectation that the Enemy, who lay not above two Leagues from thence, would come out of his Entrenchments to give them Battel. But notwithſtanding all their Provocations and Stratagems, the Enemy ſhewed no inclination at all to a Battel; therefore at a General Council of War, it was concluded that they ſhould march beyond the Enemy towards *Binge*, to cut off his proviſions that way, or elſe to force him out of his Trenches. To which end, on the 9th of *Auguſt* the whole army broke up from *Nivelle*, and poſted themſelves near to the Village *Seneſ*, ſpreading their Right-wing towards the wood of *Buſſeray*, and their Left-wing towards *Arken*, keeping *Seneſ*, a little Village between *Nivelle* and *Mariemont*, before them. There they lay ſtill all the 10th day; on the 11th, two hours before day, the Army of the Confederates began to move upwards, intending to encamp between *Mariemont* and *Binge*. The Imperialiſts led the Van; the *Dutch-Netherlanders*, the main Body; and the *Spaniards* brought up the Rear. Beſides all this, a party of about 4000 *Spaniſh* and *Dutch* Horſe, with ſome Dragoons were ſent under Command of the prince of *Vaudemont*, to ſecure the Army on that ſide next the Enemy; becauſe they knew that the Armies in their march would ſometimes of neceſſity be ſeparated. All which Brigade the ſaid Prince placed in Battel-array before the Village of *Seneſ*, in a way which the *French* muſt paſs to come at the Confederates.

The Prince of *Conde* obſerving the march of the Confederate Army, and knowing that the inconveniency of the Road would force them to a ſeparate March, together with the Duke of *Enguien*, *Navailles*, and *Luxemburgh*, the Marquiſs of *Rochefort*, and Sieur *Fourilles*, betook him to an Aſcent, from whence he could diſcover how the march was ordered. Whereupon immediately he cauſed the Out-guards to march with all ſpeed to a place where they might obſerve the Army of the Confederates: withal he ordered the Battalions of *Navar*, of the Queen, *La-Fere*, and the Brigade of *Felladet*, to croſs the River *Pieton* at a Ford below *Gony*, to aſſiſt the Gaurds. Then he commanded a Party of Fire-locks alſo to march with four pieces of Ordnance, the Life-Guards, the Curaſſiers, and Light-Horſemen of the Guard, together with ſome other Troops of reſerve, which he placed near *Gnoy*, and ranged them all in an open Field, where they could not be ſeen, giving Orders in the mean time to the reſt of the Army to ſtand to their Arms. When he had done all this, he ſent the Marquiſs of *Chiſoul* to a certain high Ground on the Left ſide, to obſerve the poſture of the foremoſt of the Enemy; and went himſelf to the right-ſide, to ſee how far the Rear of the Enemy reached. In the interim the Duke of *Luxemburgh* and Sieur de *Fourilles* advanced with 100 Horſe to a certain high Ground, called *Reveſart*, who thence diſcovered thoſe men which the *Dutch* had ſent before, and were poſted on two ſmall Hills, between which and the *French* was a marſhy Valley that was impaſſable, only in two places. Whereupon the prince of *Conde* commanded the Dragoons under the conduct of the Marquiſs *de Rannes* and Sieur *Treladet* to march againſt the Confederates, and withal cauſed the Regiments of *Navar*, of the Queen, and of *La Fere*, to advance alſo under the Conduct of the Field-Marſhals, the Earl of *Montal*, and the Marquiſs *de Miſſoy*.

On the approach of theſe Dragoons, the Prince of *Vaudemont* acquainted his Highneſs that the Enemy began to appear, and had already began to ſkirmiſh with ſome of his Dragoons; and therefore deſired that two Battalions of Foot might be ſent to his aſſiſtance; becauſe the narrowneſs of the place, and the broken land hinderd the Horſe from acting as they ſhould. Thereupon the Reigments of Prince *Maurice* Field-marſhal, and the young Prince his Couſin, making together three Battalions, were ſent to him under the Command of the young Prince himſelf; who placed themſelves before the Horſe on the other ſide of a little River that ran by the Village *Seneſ*. Afterwards finding it convenient that the Horſe ſhould retreat over the Bridge, the three Battalions which were in the wood came and poſted themſelves at the Bridge for the ſecurity thereof; and in thoſe Skirmiſhes they had with the Enemy, *Montal* broke his leg.

Whilſt theſe three Battalions defended the Bridge of *Seneſ*, and that the Horſe lay in a narrow Valley behind the Village, the Prince of *Conde* and Sieur *Fourilles* with the Horſe of the Left-wing paſſed the River higher, to engage the Horſe that lay behind *Seneſ*. Whereupon the three Battalions received order to retreat to their aſſiſtance; which could not be done ſo ſuddenly, but that the Enemy firſt forced in upon them, and made a great ſlaughter amongſt them; beſides that, ſome of them who ſheltered themſelves in the Houſes of *Seneſ* were taken Priſoners.

The Enemy being got now beyond the Horſe, the Confederates would fain have charged them before they could have rallied themſelves again into a poſture of defence; but the hollowneſs of the way which the

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Prince of *Vaudemont* was to paſs, made it impoſſible, who had not time enough, by reaſon of the ſudden preſſing on of the Enemy, to bring up the three Squadrons, which he led in due order, that is to ſay, of his own Regiment, and two others of *Holſtein* and *Languerack*, commanded by their reſpective Colonels; eſpecially being to encounter four Squadrons of the Enemy; ſo that the whole Party was quite routed, many of them ſlain and taken Priſoners; and notwithſtanding all the induſtry which the Prince of *Vaudemont* uſed to prevent it, the reſt fled: of which ſome part rallied again under ſome of the *Spaniſh* Cavalry commanded by the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa*, who ſtood below a little Hill ſcituated between the *French* and the Village *Fay*; the Infantry rallied again with the other Foot that were on the top of the Hill, againſt whom the *French* preſently marched, the Prince of *Conde*, Dukes of *Enguien* and *Navailles* towards the right, and *Luxemburgh* to the left-ſide, skirmiſhing briskly on both ſides, until the *Spaniſh* Horſe at the deſire of the Marquiſs *d' Aſſentor*, was ſeconded with four Battalions of Infantry which ſtood on the Top of the Hill, (*viz.*) the Regiments of *Velna* and *Swartzenburg*, and one Battalion of *Thomarts*. At the ſame time the Earl of *Saut*, the Marquiſs of *Villeroy*, *Mouſſay*, and *Rames*, with the *French* Dragoons, the Regiments of *Navar*, of the Queen, and *La Free*, with one Troop of Fire-locks, advancing towards them, preſently fell on; *le Saut* on the right-ſide, and *Villeroy* on the left, having marched moſt of the way over Hedges and Ditches. At firſt they fought courageouſly on both ſides, but the Cavalry was quickly brought into diſorder, notwithſtanding all the induſtry which the Earl of *Aſſentar* uſed, who himſelf was there ſlain. The Infantry ſtood at firſt alſo ſtoutly to it; but ſeeing the Horſe ſo routed, they fled alſo: So that the Brigade of *Weede*, which lay on the Top of a Hill where the Earl of *Waldeck* alſo was, conſiſting in all of three Battalions, were forced to bear all the brunt. The firſt time the Prince of *Conde* commanded them to be charged, the ſecond time he charged againſt them himſelf; and the Duke of *Enguien* undertook the third charge. Nevertheleſs they defended themſelves ſo bravely, that they regained the place the Enemy had gotten from them: And that they might the better follow the Enemy and flank them, the Earl of *Waldeck* took along with him a Squadron of the Cavalry, which had rang'd themſelves thereby; but not being ſeconded, after a bloody ſlaughter, they all were brought into confuſion, and the Earl of *Waldeck* ſorely wounded.

Thus all lay open to the Enemy as far as the Village of *Fay*, where moſt of the retreated Troops had rallied and poſted themſelves. Now behind the Village was a Hill, where the reſt of the army had pitched themſelves, being reinforced by the Imperial Van-guard, who were now come to their aſſiſtance. There again began a very hot diſpute; for upon the left-ſide of the Village was a Quagmire, and all the places round about were full of Holly-buſhes; ſo that the Confederates had by that means the opportunity of putting themſelves into a good poſture again. At which time the Prince of *Conde* ſent the Duke of *Luxemburgh* to obſerve the ſcituation of that Poſt, whileſt he fell upon the Village: *La Mothe* with the Regiments of *Enguien*, *Conde*, *Conti*, and *Auverge* aſſaulted it on the left-ſide; *Montal*, with the Regiment of the *French* Guards, and the *Switzer*-Regiment of *Stoupa*, *Erlag*, *Pheyfer*, and *Salis*, attacqued them on the right-ſide. This Encounter proved very bloody, and laſted near five hours; many on both ſides, but moſt of the *French*, were ſlain; the whole Regiment almoſt of the *French* Guards was there ruined: Four of their Captains were killed, and three ſorley wounded; and the loſs of other Officers was proportionable.

Upon the left-ſide of the Village, *La Mothe* had ſome advantage at firſt, which occaſioned ſome little confuſion, the more, becauſe the Poſt on the right-ſide was alſo loſt; but the Foot of the Confederates retreated from the Village to the Body of the Army which lay on the Top of the Hill behind *Fay*; between which Village and Hill the Baggage was placed, where the Duke of *Luxemburgh* and the Marquis *de Villeroy* put the two diſorder'd Battalions to flight, who keeping the way to *Bruſſels*, had almoſt put *Fariaux*'s Regiment into diſorder; but the body of the Army moving on the Top of the Hill, they returned again unto the Village. After which the Battel grew warmer than ever: For not onely the reſt of the *Dutch* Infantry were there, conſiſting of the Brigade of *Heeſwick*, *Eſpagh*, and *Layillomire*, where alſo Prince *Maurice*, the Rhine-grave, and Major-general *Vane* were all together; but the Imperial Forces now alſo joyned with them.

The Duke of *Luxemburgh* being again returned to *Fay*, fain would have flanked ſome Troops which he heard too hotly engaged; but found himſelf immediately in the midſt of a Company of Foot, who had hid themſelves in the Wood. They fired deſperately upon him; nevertheleſs he broke through them into a valley, where he was reinforced by the Duke of *Navailes* with the Horſe of the Right-wing, the Regiments *de Marines*, three other of Foot, beſides the four of *Switzers*; where the Confederates, being alſo poſted by the ſide of a ſmall River, began to march behind the Wood, to cut off the Enemies Paſs; but they were prevented by *Luxemburgh* and *Chirſeul*, with a Brigade of Horſe under *Latroſſe*. Thereupon the Enemy endeavoured to go round about by the left-ſide, where Monſieur *de Chaneighnah* met them with the groſs of the Imperail Horſe, to whoſe aſſiſtance ſeveral Battalions were alſo ſent, who all together fell upon the Enemy, and with four pieces of Cannon, did much miſchief amongſt them. Whereupon the Duke *de Navailes* thinking again to get through on the right-ſide, made no ſmall ſtir there; but with as little ſucceſs, as on the other ſide firſt driving back three Squadrons, who again meeting with ſupplies returned upon him, and beat him back again, and ſo they continued fighting backwards and forwards for a good while; till towards the Evening, the Marqueſs of *Mouſſoy* ſuccouring the Foot which was in the Valley, the *French* got the better of thoſe Battalions that encountered them there; but then they were again ſtopped by the Earl of *Naſſaw*. Whereupon the *French* found every where ſo much work, that they could ſtand no longer, their men being tired, and the Reſerves under the Lord of *Montauban* and the Earl of *Bordimagalotti* not coming up to them; ſo that they were forced again to quit the Baggage they had taken, and in part plundered. So that the Battel ended with great loſs on both ſides, by the drawing off of the *French*; the Confederates keeping the Field above two hours after the Enemy was retreated.

The Army of the Confederates immediately after this Battel marched forwards toward *Bergin* in *Hanegaw*, where they arrived on the 13 of *Auguſt*, and lay encamped for ſome days, till they were ſupplied by new Convoys from *Bruſſels* with all neceſſaries: his Excellency Count *de Monterey* in the mean while being very intent upon all preparations that were needful for a Siege.

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As for the Prince of *Conde*, he remained ſtill in his old Poſt, out of which there appeared no way to entice him but by ſome enterprize or other. Whereupon the Army on the 20th marched up higher towards St. *Giſlan*, while the Prince of *Conde* went and encamped himſelf on the *Samore*, between *Celle* and *Challelneau*. Preſently after, the Confederates marched higher between *Quevignan* and *Valenciennes*, where the Prince of *Vaudemont* and *Fariaux* came to them with a conſiderable recruit of 4 or 5000 *Dutch* Foot, beſides ſome thouſands of Pioneers, with a great number of Waggons laden with Proviſions of all ſorts, and a good ſum of Money to pay the Souldiery. Nor was *Conde* far diſtant from them; who, the better to obſerve their motion, had paſſed the *Sabre*, and was advanced with his Vanguard very near to *Philipville*. However the *Dutch* Army, newly recruited and paid, toward the beginning of *September* began to move again, marching directly towards *Aeth*, with an intention to beſiege that City. To which end the Imperialiſts, who compoſed the left Wing, had already paſſed the *Rhine*, and were followed by all the reſt of the Army. But upon advice that Marſhal *de Humier* had put in a great recruit of men into *Aeth*, Orders were iſſued out for the whole Army to return to their former Poſts; where the Confederates received alſo a farther recruit of three *Spaniſh*, and ſome other Regiments, under the command of the Marquiſs *de Oſſera*, whoſe charge it was alſo to convey to the Army 3000 Pioneers, and four hundred Waggons laden with all manner of warlike inſtruments neceſſary for a Siege, being ſtrenghened by a reinforcement that lay to joyn with him in his way at *Aalſt*. Thereupon that they might not ſeem to be ſo greatly ſuppli'd in vain, a general Councel of war was called. After which the Army began to march, fully reſolving to have taken in *Oudenarde*; which on the 15th of *September*, being environed by the *Spaniards*, was the next day ſurrounded by the whole Army.

But aſſoon as the Prince of *Conde* obſerved their March, he broke up from his Quarters alſo upon the *Sambre*; and on the 15th already mentioned paſſed by *Queſnay*, whence he took his way towards the *Scheld*; and on the 17th kept his Head-Quarters at *Queverain*, where he paſſed *Hainſne*, and marching forwards from thence, left his Baggage at *Aeth*; from whence he advanced towards *Ryſſel*, and ſo toward the Army of the Confederates. In which march he ſet on fire *Cambron*, and ſome other ſmall places belonging to the Prince of *Vaudemont*.

The Confederates in the mean time carried on moſt vigorouſly their Siege of *Oudenard*; and though the Governour, the Sieur *de Reſeare*, had, upon their firſt coming, ſallied out with about 400 Foot, and 300 Horſe, yet after a hot encounter he was forced in again, with the loſs of fourſcore of his men. So that on the 16 they began to raiſe their Batteries, which on the 17th were compleated, and the Entrenchments alſo opened. The Duke of *Villa Hermoſa*'s Quarters were in the Abby *Enema*, towards the City of *Ghent*. His Highneſs lay on that ſide which was toward *Ryſſel*. The Imperialiſts all along the River, towards *Doornick*. On the 17th and 18th they plaid with their Great Guns againſt the City from four Batteries; and the ſame day alſo took one Redoubt. On the 20 ſeveral Breaches were made, and the Beſiegers, eſpecially the *Dutch*, being advanced cloſe under the Counterſcarp, there was no other probability but they would have been ſoon Maſters of the City; His Highneſs intending to have ſtormed it upon the 21: but in the nick of time, on the ſame 21ſt day, early in the morning, appeared the Prince of *Conde* with his Army; upon whoſe approach the Siege was raiſed; the blame whereof was laid upon the Imperialiſts: for the day before, being the 20th, upon advice of the march of the *French* towards them, the Confederates called a great Councel of War, wherein the Prince of *Orange* propounded, That they ſhould the next Morning betimes march againſt the Prince of *Conde*, notwithſtanding he had gotten all the force together he could, and preſently fight him, whilſt his men were yet tired with their hard and haſty march; which advice was approved by all the other Generals. But when the Prince of *Orange* (after a tedious and laborious toil all night, in filling up the Trenches of the Contravallation, that the Horſe might have free paſſage) had ſet his men in order, and there expected the Imperialiſts to meet him, they after a long delay, marched quite another way, and ſent word to his Highneſs that the place was no proper place to fight in. Which manner of proceeding his Highneſs not underſtanding, and perceiving that the Enemy in the mean time approached, he immediately ſhipp'd off his Cannon, and ſent them by water to *Ghent*; (whither the Evening before, he had ſent away all his Baggage, becauſe he would not be cumbered with it) and ſo marching with his Forces, about a mile from *Oudenard*, he again joyned with the Imperialiſts, it being then about four a Clock in the Afternoon: From which time till the Evening, the Confederates, ſo rejoyn'd, and drawn up in Battalia, ſtood within ſight of the Enemy. But by reaſon of a hollow ground between them, they could not come to an Engagement. Whereupon, the next day they retreated cloſe under the Walls of *Ghent*, where his Highneſs in the Councel of War declared his diſſatisfaction with the proceedings of General *Souches*, as being the occaſion that they fell not upon the Enemy early in the morning as he had propounded; and thereupon reſolved to leave the Army, foreſeeing there was no farther good to be done for that time.

FINIS.